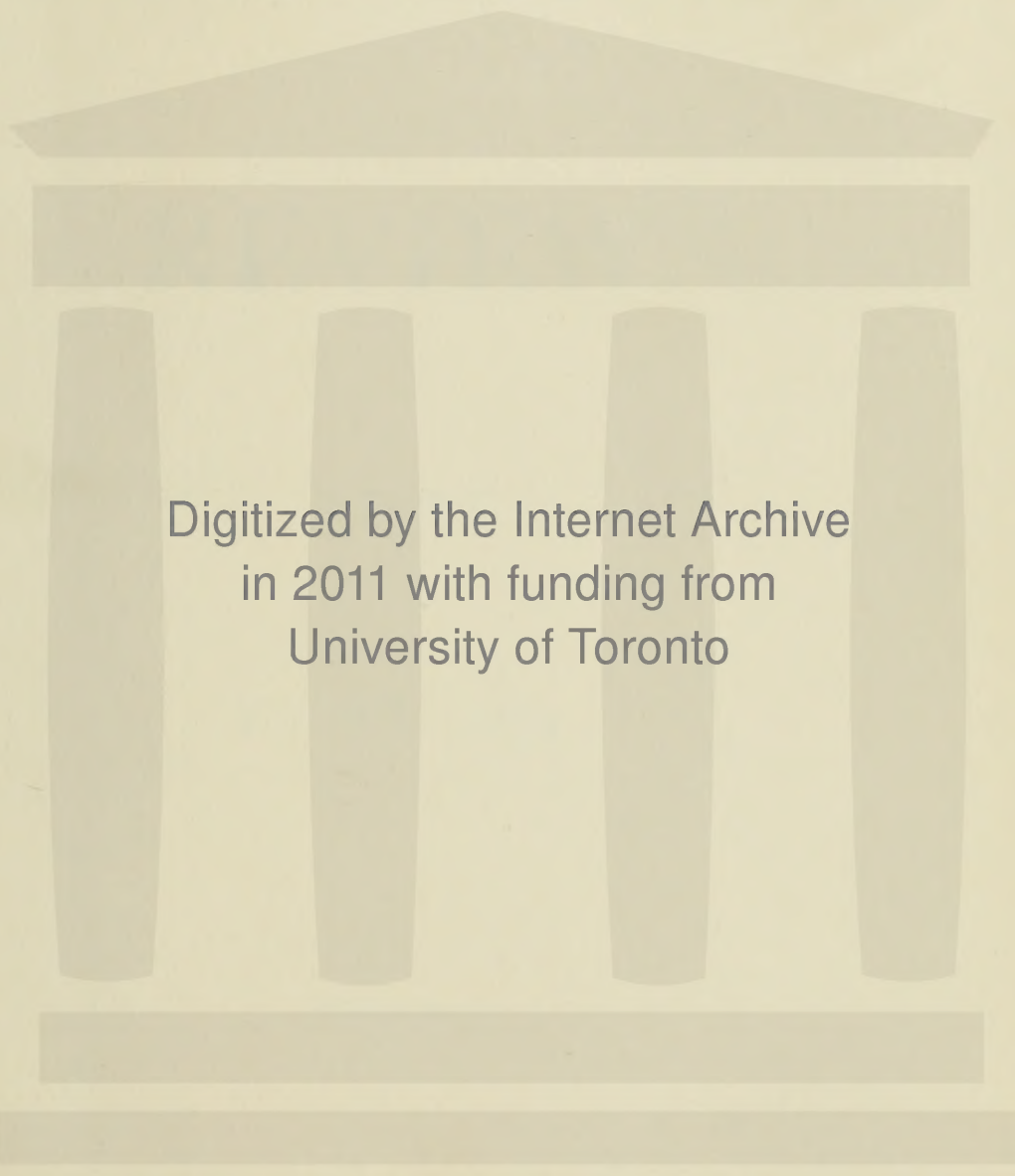




3 1761 08823774 8



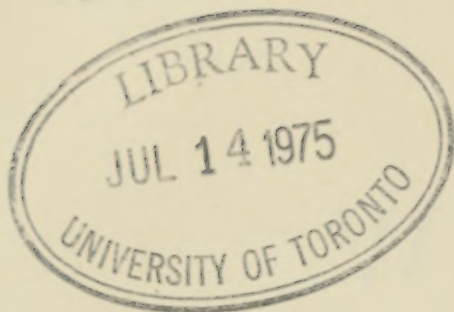
Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2011 with funding from
University of Toronto

THE
INTERNATIONAL
REVIEW.

VOL. VI. 1879.

NEW YORK:
A. S. BARNES & CO.

10



AP
2
I78
v.6

Copyright, 1879, A. S. BARNES & Co.

CONTENTS

OF VOLUME SIX, 1879.

	PAGE
FRUSTRATION. A POEM, Edgar Fawcett.	I
SUFFRAGE A BIRTHRIGHT, Hon. Geo. W. Julian, of Indiana.	2
THE POLITICAL FUTURE OF FRANCE, Alfred Talandier, Deputé de la Seine, France.	21
THE AMERICAN EXPORT TRADE, F. H. Morse, late U. S. Consul-General, London.	39
MORALITY IN FRANCE, Edmond de Pressensé, France.	54
RECOLLECTIONS OF THE VIEWS OF MAZZINI ON RUSSIA AND THE EAST. I., Karl Blind, London.	64
IN CONFLICT WITH SCIENCE. A REVIEW OF MR. TYNDALL, An American Mechanic.	85
ENGLISH AND AMERICAN PAINTING AT PARIS. I., Philip Gilbert Hamerton.	113
GAS STOCK, Prof. John Trowbridge, Cambridge.	133
THE BIRTH OF THE COMMUNE, 1831-1839, J. H. Diss Debar, Philadelphia.	141

	PAGE
RECOLLECTIONS OF THE VIEWS OF MAZZINI ON RUSSIA AND THE EAST. II. <i>Conclusion</i> , Karl Blind, London.	154
AN AMERICAN WEDGE, Edwin C. Taylor, New York.	170
ROBERT BROWNING, George Barnett Smith, London.	176
EXPRESSION OF EMOTIONS ON THE HUMAN COUNTENANCE, . . . Prof. Henry Calderwood, University of Edinburgh.	195
THE ADMINISTRATION AND CIVIL SERVICE REFORM, Edward Cary.	227
SLEEP AND DREAMS, Prof. N. S. Shaler, of Cambridge.	234
THE CURRENCY AND THE NATIONAL BANKS, George Walker, Vice-President New York Gold and Stock Tele- graph Co.	248
THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY. I., . . .	268
A FORGOTTEN ENGLISH POET, Sidney Lanier.	284
SELF-GOVERNMENT IN THE TERRITORIES, Decius S. Wade, Chief-Justice of Montana.	299
THE SILVER CONFERENCE AND THE SILVER QUESTION, Simon Newcomb, United States Naval Observatory.	309
THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA, . . . A. A. Hayes, Jr.	355
THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY. II., . .	368
BASQUE LEGENDS, Prof. T. F. Crane, Cornell University.	386
THE CIPHER DISPATCHES, By Edward S. Holden, U. S. Naval Observatory.	425
PRINCE BISMARCK AND THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR, Karl Hillebrand.	425
SIR HENRY RAWLINSON'S AFGHAN CRISIS, Axel C. J. Gustafson ("Carl Bremer").	443
TAXATION OF CITY BONDS, Perry Belmont.	463
JUGURTHA. A POEM, Henry W. Longfellow.	483

	PAGE
SIDNEY DOBELL, By Mrs. Mulock-Craik, Author of "John Halifax, Gentleman."	484
RAILWAY POOLS, J. W. Midgeley, Commissioner of the South-Western Railway Association.	503
ARMY REORGANIZATION, General Robert Williams, U. S. A.	518
OUR INTERNATIONAL CARRYING TRADE, Hon. Freeman H. Morse, late U. S. Consul-General at London.	532
ENGLISH AND AMERICAN PAINTING AT PARIS IN 1878. II., . . . Philip Gilbert Hamerton.	547
AMERICAN AUTOCRATS, Felix L. Oswald, M.D.	567
THE PRESENT CONDITION OF GREECE, Thomas Davidson.	597
TWO POEMS, F. W. Bourdillon.	616
THE INDIAN QUESTION, Hon. J. D. Cox, of Ohio.	617
THE SUPREME COURT AND THE CURRENCY QUESTION, Brooks Adams.	635
THE SHAKSPEARE REVIVAL IN LONDON, Julian Russell Sturgis.	650
ENGLAND AND TURKEY, 1856-1876, George Washburn, D.D., President of Robert College, Constantinople.	659
SOME OF THE REMEDIES FOR SOCIALISM, E. L. Godkin.	676
THE LITERARY MOVEMENT IN AMERICA,	93

Tyler's American Literature (94); James's Daisy Miller (95); James's The Europeans (95); Lowell's Old Dutch Town (96); Whittier's Vision of Echar'd (97); Taylor's Prince Deukalion (97); Miller's Songs of Italy (97); Guatemorin (98); The Danbury-News Man's England (98); Phillips Brooks's Sermons (99); Vail's Comprehensive Church (99); Ewer's Catholicity (99); Morgan Dix's Sermons (100); Joseph Cook's Conscience (100); Raymond's Job (100); Day's Onotology (101); Jennie J. Young's Ceramic Art (101); Ward's Etiquette (101); Harland's Year Book (102); C. F. Adams, Jr.'s, Railroads (103); Clark's Races of European Turkey (103); C. C. Coffin's Story of Liberty (103); Stock Breeding (103); The Blessed Bees (104); American Colleges (104); Whipple's Choate (104); Stewart's Dufferin (105); Words (105); American Ornithology (105); Arnold's English Literature (105); Memoirs of Anna Jameson (106); Hamerton's Modern Frenchmen (107); Johnson's Lives of the Poets (107); Grammarland (107); Von Laun's French Revolution (108); Shelley's Minor Poems (108); Serjeant's Greece (108); Ihne's Rome (108); Johnson's Normans (108).

	PAGE
RECENT ENGLISH BOOKS,	109

George Barnett Smith, London.

William Cobbett (109); Walpole's England (110); Farming Days (111); Beatty's Poems (111); Knight's Wordsworth's Lake District (111); Memoir of John Wilson (111); Cressida (112); Ramsay's Poems (112).

THE LITERARY MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND GERMANY,	205
--	-----

Recent English Books. London.

Pomar's New Novel (205); Selkirk's Modern Poetry (205); Nicolls and Napier (206); Teignmouth's Reminiscences (206); Skelton's Essays (207); First Violin (207); Macleod of Dare (208); Lang's Cyprus (208); Land Ahead (209); Vivian's American Tour (209); Register, 1877 (210); Payn's Less Black (210); Cradock's John Smith (210); Works of Lessing (211); Bute's Essays (211); Hardy's The Return of the Native (211); Works of A. Wilson (212); Mozley's Essays (212); Sonnets of Michael Angelo (213); Moltke's Letters (213).

Recent French Books. Paris.

Jules Simon's Thiers (214); Les Mirabeau (215); Works of Marco Polo (216); Danton (216); Bordone's Garibaldi (216); Literary Propriety (217); Basques et Navarrais (217); Guerre de Trente Ans (217); Nolte's History of the United States (217); Shakespeare (217); Cherbuliez's Jean Tétérol (218); Greville's L'Amie (218); Madame de Pompadour (218); Gubernatis's Mythologie des Plantes (219); Religion Romaine (319); Morale d'Épicure (219); Dodone (220).

Recent German Books. Leipzig.

Dohme's Art (220); Springer's Raphael and Michael Angelo (221); Lau's Greek Vases (222); Art Picture Sheets (222); Eber's Egypt (223); Eissenhardt's Gallery (223); Woltmann's Painting (223); Schultz's Virgin Mary (224); Sepp's Tyre (224); Hase-mann's Pius IX. (225); Baer's Minor Prophets (225); Riehm's Biblical Antiquity (225); Orelli's Holy Land (226); Varnbüler's Essays (226); Socialism (226).

CRITICAL NOTICES OF CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE,	334
--	-----

Dr. Weisse on the English Language; A Popular History of the United States; Some Recent Novels; The Telegraph in America.

A REVIEW OF RECENT ENGLISH BOOKS,	347
---	-----

Six Months in Ascension; The Public Life of Lord Beaconsfield; Mr. Geary on Asiatic Turkey; Bagehot's Literary Studies; Memoir of Matthew Davenport Hill; Machiavelli and his Times; Dr. Smiles's Robert Dick.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE,	468
------------------------------------	-----

Max Müller's Origin and Growth of Religion (468); Health Primers (473).

RECENT ENGLISH AND GERMAN BOOKS,	474
--	-----

English Men of Letters (474); Religion in England in the Eighteenth Century (475); The English Church in the Eighteenth Century (476); Essays on Art (476); Around the Earth (477); The Hallowing of the Sabbath (477); Christopher Columbus (478); Law and Budget (478); The Circumstances of Workingmen in North America (478); Pforte Boys (479); Ueber die Entstehung der Städte der Alten. Komenverfassung und Synoikismos (479).

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE,	578
------------------------------------	-----

Life and Times of Stein (578); The Lady of the Aroostook (582); Sugar Duties (584); Biology (585); Demonology and Devil Lore (587); Fanny Kemble's Girlhood (589).

CONTENTS.

vii

	PAGE
RECENT ENGLISH BOOKS,	592
The Eastern Question (592); Wild Life in a Southern County (594); The Poetical Works of Edward Vaughan Kenealy (594); On the Wolds (594); Marco Visconti : a Novel (595); Old Charlton (595); That Artful Vicar (596); Within the Precincts (596).	
CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE,	695
Matthew Arnold's Mixed Essays (695); Drone's Treatise of Copyright (699); Treatises on Æsthetics (702); The Age of the Antonines (704); Railroad and Municipal Bonds (706); Roscher's Political Economy (707); Entr' Actes (710); Joan the Maid (712).	
RECENT ENGLISH BOOKS,	713
Dramatic Idyls (713); Household Guide—The Countries of the World—British Cyprus (714); Our New Protectorate—The Hour Will Come (715); Quaker Cousins—In a Rash Moment (716).	

THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW

JANUARY, 1879.

FRUSTRATION.

I DREAMED near dawn a lofty and lovely dream
Whose vaporous grandeurs, wrought by sleep's dim hands,
In majesty of memory always gleam
Out from my past, like towers from lonely lands !

I dreamed that Science, after wanderings fleet,
Or difficult climbings with slow labored breath,
Had planted her divinely insolent feet
On the weird boundaries between life and death !

Throned among wild acclivities, brave and strong,
She loomed with maiden stature terribly bright.
Below her surged a marveling human throng ;
Beyond her was eternity's wall of night !

The great mass roared like some wide turbulent sea
And now from their vague midst a voice rang bold :
" Oh, speak ! our suppliant world beseeches thee !
Divulge what mysteries those deep eyes behold !"

Then with a smile no portraiture could reach,
Her luminous lips were parted and she spoke ;
But ere I had caught one fragment of her speech,
By some austere fatality I awoke.

Then eagerly did my baffled soul entreat :
" Oh, slumber, bathe me again in dense eclipse,
And make the unfinished dream shine forth complete,
With proud sublimity of apocalypse !"

But yonder, through dark draperies backward drawn,
I saw the faded stars remotelier burn,
And glimmering on the dumb cold lips of dawn,
Pale languors of inscrutable unconcern !

SUFFRAGE A BIRTHRIGHT.

EVERY man naturally surveys the field of politics from his own point of observation and reaches his conclusions by the help of his own methods of thought. In the light of this fact we estimate the value of his opinions. Indeed, we not only take into the account his mental horizon and the peculiarities of his intellectual machinery, but the "climate" of his mind. This largely results from temperament, and is frequently cooled by advancing years, failing health, or an untoward personal experience. Some degree of moral enthusiasm is absolutely necessary to soundness of political judgment. The mind must abide in the *latitude* of truth if it would grasp it. Respect for humanity is the condition precedent of all social progress, just as contempt for humanity is the mainspring of every form of inequality and oppression. The pioneers of Abolitionism no more doubted the ultimate triumph of their cause than they doubted the government of the world by a Providence ; while preachers and scholars, and men of culture and refinement, generally turned away from their enterprise with cold indifference if not positive contempt. It was the moral enthusiasm of Jefferson and his political associates which inspired their unfaltering faith in the capacity of man for self-government, and prevented a timid and unbelieving statesmanship from strangling the young republic before its birth.

These observations have been suggested by a remarkable article in a late issue of the *North American Review* on "The Failure of Universal Suffrage," written by an eminent American historian and scholar. Mr. Parkman tells us that the worst things about our democracy are the courtiers and plunderers who use it for base ends, but that if all these were exterminated the people would soon find others to take their place. Universal suffrage, he says, has brought upon the country "an ignorant proletariat and a half-taught plutocracy," and the better classes between these extremes "have little power over these barbarians of civilization. With an occasional fling at the doctrine of "inalienable rights," he com-

plains that we are not only trying to abolish the factitious inequality which exists among men, but the real inequality touching character, ability, and culture.

"The history of the progress of mankind," he says, "is the history of its leading minds. The masses, left to themselves, are hardly capable of progress, except material progress, and even that imperfectly. Through the long course of history, a few men, to be counted by scores or by tens, have planted in the world the germs of a growth whose beneficent vitality has extended itself to all succeeding ages; and any one of these men outweighs in value to mankind myriads of nobles, citizens, and peasants who have fought or toiled in their generation and then rotted into oblivion."

And he adds:

"The highest man may comprehend the lowest, but the lowest can no more comprehend the highest than if he belonged to another order of beings."

He speaks of American democracy as tending to "a barren average and a weary uniformity," instead of "recognizing the inherent differences between man and man," and giving "the preponderance of power to character and intelligence." He thinks

"the success of an experiment of indiscriminate suffrage hangs on the question whether the better part of the community is able to outweigh the worse;" and this, he declares, can only happen in rare cases and under peculiar social conditions, while the difficulty increases with the increase of numbers, wealth, and luxury. It is further "aggravated by the fact that intellectual development and high civilization are not favorable to fecundity, so that the unintelligent classes, except when in actual destitution, multiply faster than those above them," thus tending to increase the power of ignorance, "or rather the power of the knaves, who are always at hand to use it." He says, "A debased and irresponsible suffrage" is the source of our troubles, and asks, "Is the nation in the way of keeping its lofty promise, realizing its sublime possibilities, advancing the best interests of humanity, and helping to ennoble and not vulgarize the world? Who dares answer that it is?"

Mr. Parkman's picture is relieved by a few gleams of light, but his article, as a whole, very eloquently voices the gospel of political despair. It is the well-tuned key-note of a wide-spread and growing distrust of our democratic institutions. It is the echo of opinions and feelings which have become the fashion of the times. Nothing is now more current than the remark that we have too much liberty. Too many people, we are told, have the ballot, which has been made a fetich, and that our free institutions will certainly end in disaster if we continue to "fling the suffrage to the mob," instead of restricting it to the educated classes.

The issue thus presented is a very grave one, and no man is fit to confront it who is disposed to take counsel of his fears. The old leaders of Federalism failed through political despondency. As Dr. Channing once said, they were guided too much by the wisdom of experience and too little by the wisdom of hope. They lived too entirely in the past, and were too constantly chilled and deadened by its failures. They did not seem to remember that the world has been moved by men of faith, and that there are grand epochs and new departures in the progress of civilized communities which call for leaders willing to do and to dare for the race, and able to breathe into the people their spirit of courage and hope. In the struggle for independence our fathers based their justification upon the natural rights of man ; and they did so with the fervor of men whose political faith was their religion. After the conflict was ended, Congress, in a memorable address to the colonies which was drafted by Madison, declared that it had ever been the boast and pride of America that the rights for which she contended were the rights of human nature, and that by the blessing of the Author of these rights they had prevailed against all opposition, and become the basis of thirteen independent states. What does Mr. Parkman mean by sneering at those rights? More than a quarter of a century ago the truths of the Declaration of Independence were often contemptuously referred to by conservative politicians as "glittering generalities ;" but after the nation has given them a new birth in the throes of a great civil war and a second baptism of fire and blood, the kindred language of Mr. Parkman seems surprising. If he believes the principles of civil government are utterly wanting in any rational or scientific basis, we can understand him. If he thinks man is a mere machine and the plaything of arbitrary power, and that the whole theory of American democracy is a farce, he can at least claim the virtue of consistency. But if any thing has been settled by the progress of political ideas in modern times and the practice of self-government in the United States, it is that man is a responsible personality, whose will is to be consulted in the organization and exercise of political power. Of course we are not speaking of "the subjects of King John of Abyssinia or those of the Khan of Kelat," but the people of the United States, politically dominated by that Anglican stock which Mr. Gladstone so aptly refers to as "a kind of universal church in politics," and so justly glorifies for its genius in the work of government. It is doubtless true that a number of the

signers of the great Declaration were unbelievers in its self-evident truths ; but these truths none the less became the bed-rock of our democracy, and thenceforward made it logically inevitable that they were to be practically accepted in their complete length and breadth. It is likewise true that our fathers did not at once keep step to the logic of their avowed principles. Nothing could have been more inconsistent with their theory of natural rights than their practice of African slavery ; but the fact is historically certain that they contemplated its early extinction, and only intended to yield it a transient sufferance, with a view to its abolition by peaceable and prudent methods. They sincerely deplored the ugly anomaly, and their unmistakable purpose was the establishment of a "government of the people, by the people, and for the people," in strict conformity to the grand primal truths which they had proclaimed to the world, and to be carried on through the instrumentality of the ballot.

In a government thus launched who should be intrusted with political power ? In theory it was easy to answer ; but in practice it was necessary to deal with actual facts, and to wait a little upon the fuller development of the democratic idea. At the beginning of the government, if we are not mistaken, all the colonies imposed a property qualification for the suffrage. This gradually disappeared, and it is now a well-settled principle of American democracy that no such qualification should exist. It is generally agreed that it makes no difference whether the voter is worth one hundred dollars or one hundred thousand, since we have accepted Dr. Franklin's idea that "the poor man has an equal right, but greater need of the ballot, than the rich man." Nothing could have been wiser than the adoption of this principle ; for if we had allowed the rejected heresy to be engrafted upon our system of government, the right of property to rule would have been recognized, and the corruption of voters and bribery of officials would have been legitimated. In disowning this qualification humanity has been placed before property, thus repudiating the European principle that the chief end of government is the protection of what a man owns, and not of the man himself.

With equal wisdom the kindred principle has been settled that the right to vote shall not depend upon the nativity of the voter, the race to which he belongs, the color of his skin, or his religious faith. The foreigner, upon a brief probation, is allowed an equal right with the native to share in the government ; and to have

denied him this right would have been a mean and odious discrimination, since he is no more to be blamed for having been born abroad than the native is to be praised for his accidental birth among us. So all the races of the civilized world who have sought their welfare in our grand political asylum have been welcomed to the hospitality of equal rights. The color of the skin, likewise, is no longer a bar to the suffrage. For ourselves, we believe the work of Southern reconstruction was hasty and ill-considered, and that instead of suddenly endowing with the franchise the more ignorant and brutalized colored people of the South and her masses of "white trash," we should have given them a probationary training under some form of territorial government. But this was not done, and the immediate enfranchisement of the negro was the only remaining alternative which it was possible to adopt consistently with the rights of humanity and the obligations of the nation. At all events the work has been done, and no party proposes, or is likely to propose, the disfranchisement of the black millions who are now learning to play their part in American politics, and whose loyalty to our flag in the nation's great peril was never found wanting. In like manner, we have no religious qualification for the ballot, and for the obvious reason that we have no established church. The government of the United States *has* no religion. It is not *ir*-religious, but *non*-religious. Theists, Atheists, Jews, Christians, Mohammedans, and Pagans are equal before the Constitution and at the ballot-box. During the Black Friday of Know-Nothingism, twenty odd years ago, an attempt was made to institute a religious test of citizenship, but it failed so signally that it will scarcely be repeated.

Still another cardinal principle of democracy has been settled, namely, that no literary qualification for the ballot should be exacted. This may be regarded as the common law of our politics. Some years ago Massachusetts adopted a reading and writing qualification, and we believe she still nominally retains it ; but her example has not been contagious. According to the last census we have in the United States over one million six hundred thousand males over twenty-one years old, who can neither read the Constitution nor write their names. They freely share with the educated classes in the exercise of political power. We give them the ballot for a number of excellent reasons. In the first place, the theory is accepted that the ballot itself is a schoolmaster, and consequently that one of the means of fitting men to use it is to put it into their

hands. Americans very generally accept the familiar saying of Archbishop Whately, that "to wait before you bestow liberty or political rights till the recipients are fit to employ them aright, is to resolve not to go into the water till you can swim." They agree with Lord Macaulay, that "if men are to wait till they become wise and good in slavery, they may indeed wait forever." In the second place, they believe it is far less difficult to manage a great mass of unenlightened men by giving them a share in the government, a stake in its success, and an incentive to rise, than by imposing upon them its burdens while withholding their political rights, and thus tempting them to become domestic enemies by making them aliens in heart. Not by leveling the educated classes downward, but the ignorant masses upward, can the government be made strong. In the third place, they regard the denial of the ballot to our illiterate citizens as class legislation, and believe all class rule is vicious. It would intrust political power exclusively to those who are best able to take care of themselves without it, while the ignorant, who would especially need the means of self defense against a privileged class, would be helpless. Privilege always takes care of itself, and always stands in the path of the unprivileged. Finally, it is believed that universal suffrage is one of the surest plans of securing a higher level of intelligence for the whole people. One of the chief arguments in favor of the extension of the ballot is that it promotes the extension of education, as Richard Cobden declared, and as it has done in England, if not in our own country.

These are the decided convictions of the great body of the American people, and we believe nothing is more certain than that they will abide by them. They do not disparage education. Their interest in the subject is constantly and increasingly manifested. Even the policy of compulsory education seems to be rapidly growing into general favor. Their purpose is more and more evident to make universal enlightenment, as far as possible, go hand in hand with universal suffrage. They understand that the ultimate tendency of knowledge in any state or community is good, and that through its diffusion lies the way to freedom and a higher civilization; but they regard as both unwise and impracticable the policy of requiring any specific educational test of fitness for the suffrage in the United States.

In doing so we believe they have builded better than they knew. Time is vindicating them, and the best thought of the age

sustains them. Herbert Spencer asks such questions as these : What connection is there between the ability to read, or the knowledge that certain marks on paper stand for certain sounds, and a higher sense of duty ? How can a knowledge of penmanship increase the desire to do right ? How can a knowledge of the multiplication-table, or of quickness in adding or dividing, restrain the desire to trample on the rights of others ? How can accuracy in spelling or parsing make the sentiment of justice stronger ? He insists that the attempt to teach moral or social duties by the ordinary training of our schools is an absurdity as great as would be that of trying to teach geometry by the study of Latin, or drawing by the study of music ; for the simple reason that culture of the intellect, which is all that is attempted in our schools and colleges, is not operative upon conduct. He does not regard intellect as a power, but an instrument—not a thing which itself moves and works, but a thing which is moved and worked by forces behind it. Having no conscience, its training will neither teach a man his duty to his country or his neighbor.

If the soundness of these views is disputed it can readily be established by the statistics of crime, which, as a rule, is not checked by education. It is proved by facts of almost daily occurrence, as reported by the newspapers. Who are the most conspicuous rascals and accomplished villains of our time ? It can not be successfully denied that very many of them are educated men. We find them among fraudulent bankrupts, embezzlers of public money, bank cashiers, the concoctors of thieving corporations, the receivers and givers of bribes among the so-called higher classes, governors of States, members of Congress, cabinet ministers, and eminent clergymen ! The rebel leaders of the South were educated men and “ Christian statesmen,” who ransacked history for precedents for their nefarious crusade against the rights of man ; while nearly the entire literary class in England has been on the side of power against the people. In the progress of political and economic science in that country in modern times the men least fitted for the work of government and most obstinately opposed to all great reforms have been the graduates of universities. History tells us that Greece, in her decay, was crowded with rhetoricians and sophists, while the citizens were slaves ; and that Rome, in her transition from a nation to an empire, was characterized by a wide intellectual culture. It would be easy to multiply facts in the further confirmation of Mr. Spencer’s views,

and justifying his statement that whatever moral benefit can be effected by education must be effected by an education which is emotional, rather than perceptive—that is to say, an education of the heart. This will best guide men in the duties of citizenship, as well as in all other duties. “Talent,” says Emerson, “uniformly sinks with character.” “In work,” says one of our first political writers, “rather than in a certain literary or scientific acquisition, is the evidence of the capacity for political power; the life of the workman, the fulfillment of human relationships in the family and community, the endeavor of men in the realities of life, is a deeper education.” The man who loves his home and is true in the relations of family and neighborhood is entitled to the ballot, whether technically educated or not. “Whosoever,” in the language of Milton, “has but sucked in this principle, that he was not born for his prince, but for God and his country,” has as sacred a right to share in its government as the best educated man in it; and we would quite as willingly commit the public welfare to the keeping of such men as to those whose education is so graphically described by Carlyle as “working into the mental food of our children a yeast of frothy vocables, and littering the roots of their brains with etymological compost, words and not things, theoretical and not practical training.”

Indeed, Mr. Parkman himself does not rely upon any educational qualification for the ballot. He only insists upon “recognizing the inherent differences between man and man,” and giving “the preponderance of power to character and intelligence.” But this idea is equally preposterous. A government of the wisest and best is confessedly unattainable through any hereditary or autocratic methods; and it is equally so under a democracy, save as wisdom and virtue find expression in the endeavor of the whole people. By what rule should we distinguish the wise and good from the ignorant and vicious? Granting that “character and intelligence” should govern, we ask, What defined measure of these qualifications should be exacted, so that voters and non-voters might be intelligently classified? How could the sheep and the goats be distinguished? No human wisdom could possibly determine. Infants, idiots, lunatics, and those who have forfeited their rights by crime, are deprived of the ballot, because they are wanting in that power of choosing which is the very essence of popular government; but these well-defined exceptions are perfectly consistent with the rule which bases the right of

suffrage upon personality. The attempt to go beyond them, and arbitrarily to restrict the governing power to an aristocracy of "character and intelligence," would be as repugnant to the principles of democracy as it would be superlatively absurd and impracticable.

Such is our American system of government, as seen in the light of its creed and illustrated in its practice. It is founded on the equal natural rights of men, and its functions are performed by agents freely chosen by the people, who thus become their own rulers. This right of choice is not based upon property, or nativity, or race, or religion, or color, or a defined educational qualification, or any other mere accident of humanity, but upon humanity itself. With the starting-point of our fathers it was not to be expected that events would be ordered otherwise. That a government basing its authority on the doctrine of inalienable rights, and professing to derive its powers from the consent of the governed, would continue to impose a property qualification upon the voter, was a manifest political absurdity. That a people embarking in the first grand scheme of free representative government, and largely composed themselves of foreigners and fugitives from European despotisms, would refuse their hospitality to emigrants and exiles from other lands on account of their nativity or religion, was morally if not logically impossible. That such a government would long continue to deal with the negro as a chattel and a beast, and his race as an outcast from civilization and law, was not to be believed by any man who had the capacity to think. That the wisdom of refusing to prescribe any literary test of fitness for the suffrage has been vindicated by facts, we think we have abundantly shown. Only one great shame to our government remains to be swept away by the inevitable logic of democracy, namely, the denial of the ballot to one half the citizens of the republic on account of their sex. An aristocracy founded upon such a discrimination is quite as hateful and indefensible as an aristocracy founded upon property, or color, or race. "The position that taxation and representation are inseparable," said Samuel Adams, "is founded on the immutable laws of nature." An intelligent human being, yielding allegiance to the government, answerable to it in person and property for disobedience, and yet denied any voice in its administration, is a slave; and it can make no sort of difference whether such person is man or woman. Just as long as this wholesale disfranchisement shall

continue the republic will be "half slave and half free." It will be "a house divided against itself," and as such it can not stand. The complete and final evolution of the principle of democracy will place the ballot in the hands of every citizen of the United States, irrespective of sex, with the unavoidable exceptions already mentioned, by which the voter is incapacitated for exercising the right of choice. Our government will thus at last be in perfect accord with the Declaration of Independence, and we believe it will then be made evident that the moral element in our politics which is now so sadly wanting has been supplied by universal suffrage.

Mr. Parkman, however, is discussing the policy of universal *male* suffrage, and in criticising his opinions the way has now been opened for dealing more directly with the question whether the startling political corruption which now deforms our politics and darkens the future of our country is the result of that extension of the suffrage which has been the necessary product of American ideas. In the prosecution of our task let us refer to some of his statements. He speaks dolefully of

"the muddy tide of ignorance rolled in upon us" from beyond the sea a generation ago, with its baleful effects in cheapening the ballot, in the creation of crowded and misgoverned cities, in "bloated wealth and envious poverty," and in "a tinsel civilization above and a discontented proletariat beneath." "Two enemies, unknown before, have risen like spirits of darkness on our social and political horizon—an ignorant proletariat and a half-taught plutocracy. Between lie the classes, happily still numerous and strong, in whom rests our salvation ;" but he remarks of this middle class that "as they neither flatter, lie, nor bribe, they have little power over these barbarians of civilization that form the substratum of great industrial communities."

We do not deny the existence of the evils here painted, though we think the picture too highly colored ; but there is another view of the situation which Mr. Parkman states with less fullness and emphasis. The raw material of the continent needed development. The advance of our civilization and the extension of our free system of government itself called for muscle, as well as brains ; and while we have smarted under the evils so vividly portrayed we have certainly realized very great and substantial compensations. Our population has wonderfully increased, and brought with it a marvelous prosperity. The construction of our grand system of railways, with a rapidity almost miraculous, and incalculably ministering to our material well-being, has been another result.

The settlement of our Western States and Territories has been powerfully stimulated, while "factories and a thousand prolific industries which heads without hands could not have awakened or sustained," have been called into life. Such results were only possible through the rude forces by which they were wrought, and whose disagreeable friction we have been obliged to endure as the price of its attendant blessings. It should be remembered, too, that our national prosperity during the past generation presupposes some measure of wholesome administration. The conduct of the government in carrying on a great civil war, its reduction of our national debt since, and the successful management of our foreign affairs, are matters worthy of honorable mention, and are incompatible with that political melancholy which so often perverts the judgment of scholarly and conservative men. As to clothing with the ballot our foreign-born citizens, whose presence among us is so distressing to Mr. Parkman, it was done for the good and sufficient reasons we have already stated; while the evils he depicts are quite as justly chargeable to native demagogism as to the essential badness of the element against which he declaims. Respecting the mischiefs resulting from the policy of an elective judiciary, we have only to say that we believe they are fully matched by those arising from the mistaken or corrupt use of the appointing power.

Mr. Parkman seems to interpret the theory of natural rights as an attempt to abolish the differences which exist among men in talent, character, and culture.

"To level minds to one stature," he says, "would make them barren as well;" and he asks, "Shall we look for an ideal society in that which tends to a barren average and a weary uniformity, treats men like cattle, counts them by the head, and gives them a vote apiece, without asking whether or not they have the sense to use it?"

In these utterances he repeats the blunder of the slaveholders in dealing with the ideas of the abolitionists. Nobody that we are aware of ever contended for such a theory of democracy. No man whose opinions are entitled to any respect regards it as either possible or desirable to bring men to the dead level of such an equality as he deprecates. What our fathers contended for and affirmed as a self-evident truth was the equality of men in their natural rights, leaving each perfectly free in the exercise and development of his peculiar gifts. They never dreamed that "a barren average and a weary uniformity" would result from giving them "a vote apiece," or that in counting them "by the head"

they would be treated "like cattle." They believed, on the contrary, that the exercise of the right of self-government, instead of dragging them down, would lift them to a higher and higher level. Any permanent restriction of the right of suffrage, as we have shown, would have been a solecism in our politics, and a stumbling-block in the path of free representative government.

Mr. Parkman says

"the history of the progress of mankind is the history of its leading minds," and that "the masses, left to themselves, are hardly capable of progress, except material progress, and even that imperfectly."

But its "leading minds," as Mr. Spencer so justly remarks, are the products of the communities in which they are born. They are the fruit of their social and race antecedents. To whatever extent Mr. Parkman may magnify their importance, or their power over the society to which they belong, to that same extent should he magnify that society for bringing them forth. If, as Mr. Spencer observes, social changes are traceable to individuals of unusual power, they are remotely traceable to the social causes which produced these individuals. Why should we honor the aristocracy of rarely endowed men, and disparage the democracy from which they spring?

"Through the long course of history," says Mr. Parkman, "a few men, to be counted by scores or by tens, have planted in the world the germs of a growth whose beneficent vitality has extended itself through all succeeding ages; and any one of these men outweighs in value to mankind myriads of nobles, citizens, and peasants, who have fought or toiled in their generation and then rotted into oblivion." Is this true? How could a few gifted men have planted in the world the germs of a growth expanding into so beneficent a vitality, if there had been no soil in which it could take root? And why should these few men be regarded as outweighing in value the multitudes who "fought or toiled in their generation, and rotted into oblivion," but without whose kindred spirit and sympathetic co-operation nothing could have been achieved? "The highest man," Mr. Parkman says, "may comprehend the lowest, but the lowest can no more comprehend the highest than if he belonged to another order of being."

This seems to us a surprising statement. Did not the poor shepherds and fishermen of Galilee understand the words which fell from the lips of the Master? Would it have been possible to plant the seeds of reform in the world without kindred and receptive minds to welcome and nurture them? How could William the Silent have played the marvelous part among the rude people to which he belonged, which has made his name so illustrious in the annals of the race, if these people, through their kinship with their

great leader, had not been able to catch something of the spirit which he flashed forth? How could Washington and his compatriots have succeeded in the grand struggle for independence if their lofty spirit and purpose had been incommunicable to the people of the colonies?

"A single human mind," Mr. Parkman says, "may engender thoughts which the combined efforts of millions of lower intelligences can not conceive." If this is true, how does it happen that the world has canonized its greatest men? "A single human mind may originate" a thought "which the combined effort of millions of lower intelligences" would be powerless to do; but the thought, when originated, may certainly be conceived by these millions, and appropriated as their common property. Indeed, the man of genius simply incarnates the thought of his age and country. He so invests it with body and form that the world claims it as its own, and honors him as its prophet. Like Shakespeare and Burns, he becomes the medium and interpreter of humanity by giving voice to its spirit, and thus making himself understood by "millions of lower intelligences." We have no objection to any measure of glory with which Mr. Parkman may wish to crown the great leaders of the race; but we protest against his doing this at the expense of the multitude, whose just share in the work of human progress should be recognized.

Mr. Parkman says

"the success of an experiment of indiscriminate suffrage hangs on the question whether the better part of the community is able to outweigh the worse;"

and this, he says, can only happen under rare and peculiar conditions. The difficulty, he thinks, is aggravated by the growth of

"numbers, wealth, and luxury," and "by the fact, generally acknowledged by those most competent to judge of it, that intellectual development and high civilization are not favorable to fecundity; so that the unintelligent classes, except when in actual destitution, multiply faster than those above them," thus increasing the power of ignorance, "or rather, the power of the knaves, who are always at hand to use it."

Here, again, Mr. Parkman is beguiled by what seems to us the singular tendency of his mind to look at the dismal side of the question he discusses. He has told us that "the history of the progress of mankind is the history of its leading minds;" but the fact is as undeniable as it is universally understood, that the great minds of the world have generally sprung from the lower ranks in

life, where the work of "fecundity" is unchecked. Should "intellectual development and high civilization" continue to produce their alleged effects, we shall at least still be provided with leaders, whose power over their followers may as safely be assumed as disputed. Moreover, the assertion that "the power of ignorance" is increased by the declining "fecundity" of the higher classes begs the question. The unintelligent classes who are "not in a state of destitution" are quite as likely to breed a desirable progeny as the highly cultivated and civilized classes above them. Besides, the question in dispute relates to the United States, and the superior race which rules our civilization. Our government is not an Asiatic despotism like the Chinese, but quickened and invigorated by the living currents of modern progress. There is among us a natural tendency towards improved conditions, as there is in individual men; and we see no reason whatever for believing that the work of social evolution has spent its force, or that the race which now leads the world has fully accomplished its mission. The despondency of Mr. Parkman seems entirely inconsistent with the very idea of a philosophy of progress.

But let us put aside theories, and come to the test of actual facts. The question, be it remembered, is not whether a rude peasant or mechanic is capable of grasping great questions of national interest, and of manipulating the machinery of government, but whether the rank and file of our people are capable of responding to good leadership, and of generally choosing wisely between rival candidates for popular favor. "It is not necessary," says Mill, "that the many should in themselves be perfectly wise; it is sufficient if they be duly sensible of the value of superior wisdom." All that they can do, as Mr. Gladstone observes, is to choose their governors, and on select occasions bear directly on their action. Political judgments, he says, are not formed by intellectual qualifications alone, but in the moral sphere; and that "in judging of the great questions of policy which appeal to the primal truths and laws of our nature those classes may excel who, if they lack the opportunities, yet escape the subtle perils of the wealthy state." In England, he says, "the popular judgment, when appealed to by the right arguments, responds to them far more freely and cordially than the judgment of what is called the higher classes;" and this is proved by undeniable facts. On the questions of cheap postage, the Irish Church, the toleration of trades-unions, the American civil war, the corn laws, the anti-

slavery reform, the extension of the suffrage, and other issues which have stirred England during the last fifty years, it was the "propelling force" and steam-power" of the masses which compelled the government to take the right side, in opposition to the wealth and culture of the kingdom. What the voter chiefly needs is common-sense and an honest purpose. His fitness for the ballot, as we have shown, is neither scientific nor literary, and the safety of trusting the masses has been as fully demonstrated in the United States as in England. In our late civil war our deliverance did not come through the wisdom of our rulers, or our great statesmen, who so often blundered through the entire struggle, but through the unobtrusive, unheralded rank and file, "the common people," whose integrity of character, solid sense, and well-ordered homes have given the republic its name and place among the nations. "In each new threat of faction," says Emerson, "the ballot has been beyond expectation right and decisive. 'Tis ever an inspiration, God only knows whence; a sudden, undated perception of eternal right coming into and correcting things that were wrong; a perception that passes through thousands as readily as through one."

The fact is, the chief evils which now blacken our politics and dishearten sober and thinking men are far less the result of a debased suffrage than of a mercenary and corrupt leadership. Our army is in tolerable marching order, but too many of its captains have deserted their colors and accepted the position of sutlers and camp-followers, while we blame the rank and file for not keeping in line. One of the redeeming features of Mr. Parkman's article is the passage in which he says we must "teach the teacher." If our political leadership could be morally redeemed the whole face of our politics would be changed, and the wail of despair over the extension of the suffrage would be hushed. Every man who is at all acquainted with the history of politics knows the power of leaders to lift up and ennoble, or to drag down and degrade, communities and states. Mr. Parkman concedes this in saying that the history of the progress of mankind is the history of its leading minds. What the country now wants, above all things, is incorruptible and heroic men at the front; for in meeting the enemies of the republic one of these can chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight. If a single public rascal becomes the father of a multitude of private ones, a single brave and faithful public servant may redeem a state from misrule, and radically change the

current of its life. It is not the fault of universal suffrage that offices are now sought as the chosen means of amassing wealth, and that corporations and capitalists manipulate the machinery of our politics. The restriction of the ballot would not have prevented the Credit Mobilier developments, or the election of United States senators through bribery and corruption ; nor is a debased suffrage to be made responsible for the heart-sickening facts which have been dragged to light within the past year connected with the last presidential election. The thorough reform of our civil service would sweep away nearly the whole brood of evils which have so dishonored the government at home and abroad within the last generation ; and our party leaders, and not the masses, have made that service a disgusting system of political prostitution. The extension of the suffrage has had nothing to do with it. It was the pursuit of power for the sake of plunder that destroyed the French empire, and the same evil threatens our republic with the same fate. If our one hundred thousand Federal offices are to be wrestled for by our great parties as the prize of victory and distributed as the booty of the conqueror, the government is like a city alternately sacked and retaken, and an honest administration of its affairs becomes utterly impossible. The immediate and crying need of the hour, therefore, is the destruction, root and branch, of the whole system of spoils and plunder ; and to this work we respectfully summon those who are wasting their time in lamentations over the failure of universal suffrage.

We are from denying, however, the existence of a wide-spread demoralization which has its roots in a soil beneath our politics. We have admitted this, and set it forth in many of its startling details, in a recent article on "The Pending Ordeals of Democracy," which has appeared in the pages of this *Review*.¹ The cry of alarm which Mr. Parkman has sounded is most timely ; and if he had not traced the dangers which threaten us to a mistaken source, the task we have undertaken would have been unnecessary. What is the source of these dangers ? A partial and very brief answer to this question is all that our space will permit us to attempt.

And first, we mention the gradual and increasing relaxation of household training. We believe the great moralities of life are not inculcated and insisted on in the family as they were a generation

¹ November-December, 1878, vol. v., No. 6, p. 734.

ago. The family is the peculiar institution of our race, and nations are prosperous and strong in the degree in which it is cherished. All that is best in our civilization and most precious in the idea of country is embodied in the home. The lessons received in the formative period of our lives are by far the most important part of our education, and their influence is manifested in after years in every phase of society and life. Government itself would be substantially superseded by the perfection of the home. The family is the foundation of the state ; and just in proportion as its blessings are slighted and its sacred obligations disregarded must the superstructure itself be endangered. If we desire to make good citizens the virtues of veracity, integrity, and sincerity must be studiously cherished in the household. We believe our jails and penitentiaries are largely populated through the decay of that wise and beneficent guardianship which is constantly demanded in childhood, and that a large share of the political vices and profligacies which now overshadow the land with their poisonous luxuriance would have been impossible, if the fireside virtues had not been lamentably neglected.

In the second place, we believe the political evils of our time are due, in part, to defects in our system of education. In one of his lay sermons Professor Huxley says, in effect, that a liberal English education consists in teaching the scholar the knowledge which he least needs, and omitting to teach that which he needs most. He would have less time consumed in the study of ancient languages, and more devoted to branches of knowledge bearing directly upon the practical interests of life. Among these he mentions the science of government, the principles of political economy, and morality. Political education is certainly a matter of the first importance in a government in which the people are their own rulers ; and yet the course of study in our schools and colleges furnishes no more preparation for the duties of citizenship than would be proper under a despotism. Who does not see that the demagogism of which Mr. Parkman complains would have been very greatly discounted if the elements of political economy, and particularly of financial knowledge, had been taught in our common schools ? The ethics of politics, especially, should be taught ; and the principles of morality should be made a regular branch of study. That the duties of life should be handed over to the church and the home, instead of taking their rank among the indispensable studies in a sound course of education, seems to us a

very curious anomaly, and to furnish some explanation of the immoralities of our politics. As we have already shown, the mere training of the intellect has no connection whatever with the discipline of the conscience. To educate the mind of a child and leave his moral nature to shift for itself has been aptly likened to the wisdom of requiring him to practice the use of a knife, fork, and spoon without giving him a particle of meat. Can we hope to cure the vices of our politics without a radical reform in our educational methods?

Again, we venture to express the opinion that the church has been a pretty formidable factor in the work of bringing upon the country our political troubles. It seems to have sunk to the level of our politics, and to tolerate if it does not approve the general decline of political morality. As a moral power in society it is evidently in a state of decay. The house of worship is too often a place of social entertainment for respectable people, instead of a sanctuary for pious offerings and penitential experience. The boundary line between spiritual and temporal things, once so well-defined, is rapidly fading away. Church-membership is no longer a test of real Christian character, and is quite as likely to be regarded as a sign of worldly prudence. The creeds, which were once understood to express the awful verities of spiritual life and death, are now scarcely half believed, and the belief of them is not generally required as a condition of membership. The earnestness and fervor of orthodoxy in the days of its power have departed, and a dead formalism is threatening to take their place. There is not only a lack of profound religious sincerity, but of that moral earnestness which takes hold of the affairs of this world and steadily labors for their improvement. Too much of the popular religion is commonplace and cowardly, and as a remedy for our social and political disorders is a sad failure. We believe there is as great a lack of brave and heroic leadership in the spiritual as in the political world, and that if this were not so our politics would have been better and purer. The old Abolitionists used to annoy religious people by frequently quoting the saying of Albert Barnes, that there was no power outside of the church that could sustain slavery an hour if it were not sustained in it; and we believe, in like manner, that the political corruption which has held high carnival in our country for so many years would not have been possible, if the church had been faithful to its high mission as a moral instructor and guide. It has, to say the least, winked at the evils it should have sternly rebuked; and when great party leaders

and political magnates have insulted decency by vices and profligacies as shameless as they were well known, it has too often given them its friendly recognition instead of branding them with its displeasure.

Finally, we trace a considerable share of our current political evils to the recreancy of the better sort of men of all political parties, and inside and out of all the churches. They have contented themselves with looking on and deploring the disorders of the times, instead of bravely grappling with them. We are assured that in the election in New York a few years ago which resulted in the overthrow of the Tammany Ring, men marched up to the polls who had not voted for forty years. Instead of going into the primaries, and showing that interest in public affairs which the situation demanded of every good citizen, they wrapped themselves in the mantle of their own political righteousness, and quietly looked after the concerns of their private affairs till a desperate necessity finally compelled them to act. Instead of confronting the mob of hungry rogues and vulgar politicians who at last captured the city, they became themselves a mob, by disowning the plain and imperative duties which the government imposed upon them as the price of its protection. We refer to this fact as a single illustration. The blessings of good government, like all other good things, can only be had by paying their price. Political duties are quite as binding on the citizen of a free state as the duty of speaking the truth or paying his honest debts. If "the scholar in politics" and the declaimer against our fearful political debauchment will place their shoulders to the wheel, and bear witness to their interest in the work of reform by doing their share of the hard and disagreeable work which may be found necessary to accomplish it, they will earn a better right to moralize about the mischiefs of a brutalized suffrage, and feel less inclined to take refuge in doing it. If we would win the victory of political purification we must fight for it. We are absolutely shut up to this necessity. In theory ours is a government of the people; and if it is not so in fact, it is the people's fault. Notwithstanding the evils of which we complain, nobody proposes to call in a king and institute an order of nobility. No one would think it wise to jump out of the frying-pan of our democracy, bad as it is, into the fire of any form of despotic or aristocratic rule; and the duty of making the very best of our condition and opportunities is thus placed at the door of every man who would save our democratic inheritance or make sure of his own political birthright.

THE POLITICAL FUTURE OF FRANCE.¹

IF it be hard, even for a newly-settled country, to permanently embody in its institutions, laws, and manners the true principles of modern democracy, how much more difficult must it not be for an old country, where monarchy and aristocracy have for ages reigned supreme, to suddenly pass from a state of intellectual, moral, and industrial servitude to a state of political and social liberty and equality! Yet this is what the French, some ninety years ago, attempted, and in which they so far succeeded as to excite among the best men of all nations the most intense enthusiasm. It is difficult nowadays to realize the state of mind in which men were thrown at the unheard-of spectacle France at that time gave them. Far easier it is to understand the alarm and rage it soon caused among the priests, the nobles, and the kingly representatives of divine right. Could the French nation be allowed thus to upset the bases of feudalism and monarchy, and stand out as a permanent example and incentive to the other nations of the European continent to rise and shake the whole fabric of despotism—that fabric which those for whose happiness and luxury it was raised, and of whom Th. Carlyle has said that, “close viewed, their industry and function was that of dressing gracefully and eating sumptuously,”² found so glorious and magnificent? Young America had already done something of the kind; but young America was at that time far away: it was another world, a new world, and her example might not prove contagious. With France the case was quite different. France was near, and the troubles and perils of the royal family of France, the aristocracy of France, the priesthood of France, were the troubles and perils of all royal families, aristocracies, and priest-hoods. Vainly did the French revolutionists, and conspicuous among them Robespierre, wish for peace; there could be no

¹ This article is produced in the author's own English.—Ed.

² Th. Carlyle: “French Revolution,” vol. i., p. 12.

peace. So the wars of the republic broke out, to be followed by the wars of the empire. The black veil that was so reluctantly thrown over the radiant features of the statue of Liberty, to be raised again after the war, only served as a cloak under which that clever and unscrupulous conjurer, Napoleon Bonaparte, substituted his own statue for that of Liberty; and thus was the empire of Napoleon Bonaparte the outcome, not of France's spontaneous choice, but of that collective and heinous crime—the coalition of European monarchies against the French republic. Dazzled by military glory, the French imagined they had made an emperor, a demi-god; but it was Brunswick, it was Pitt and Cobourg who had made him: the emperor was merely the impersonation of the fratricide perpetrated by Europe against France; the monstrous idol was nothing but the reflected and aggrandized image of the foreigner. There were some among the staunchest republicans who from the beginning understood this, and a few of them, even among the military, had the courage to speak their mind to the rising Cæsar. When, in 1802, a solemn *Te Deum* was sung at Notre Dame, to celebrate the peace of Amiens and the *Concordat* with the Church of Rome, Napoleon Bonaparte having asked his late lieutenant-in-chief of the Army of Italy, General Delmas, how he liked it, the brave and true soldier boldly answered: "Oh! it was very fine indeed: nothing was missing but the million of men who went and got killed in order to destroy what you have just been reinstating." Delmas, of course, fell at once out of favor, and was exiled to Poruntruy, whence he only returned, in the days of misfortune, to die at Leipzig. Thus did Napoleon I. teach those who objected to seeing in the First Consul, soon to be made an emperor, the crowned representative of the revolution. Since that time, whatever the incidents and the appearances, the struggle, the real struggle, has been between false (that is to say, Cæsarean) and true (that is to say, republican) democracy. The result of that struggle has been a state of things that can hardly be called by another name than that of *French anarchy*; for not one of the many and diverse governments that have been set up in France, since the beginning of the century, was able to last more than a score of years at the most, and to such an extent has the public mind been impressed with that modern tendency of the French people to change their government every fifteenth or twentieth year, that many, even among educated men, who from their knowledge of history and political philosophy ought to know

better, yield to that nonsensical notion that such a state of anarchy is to last. The question is not whether such a chronic state of political and social upheavings is to last ; it can not last, indefinitely at any rate, and must bring about either the ruin of France and her end as a nation, or a new régime, a new era, a permanent and settled social and political establishment. Having, as a Frenchman and a republican, no liking for the contemplation of and speculation upon the ruin of France and her end as a nation, I shall beg your permission to supply your readers with such data as may lead them to hope that France will come safely out of her great ordeal—the revolution through which close upon a century she has been passing, and from which the experience of that century warrants us in concluding no monarchy or empire can extricate her.

A writer, a statesman, who certainly was not a revolutionist, and can not be suspected of any great longing for social changes, M. Charles de Rémusat, writing in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of April 1st, 1863, on the prospects of France, said :

“ Il faut bien se le tenir pour dit, ce qui grandit en ce moment, ce sont les classes ouvrières. *Sans qu'il soit aisé d'en assigner la cause, car les institutions ont peu fait pour cela*, un progrès intellectuel et moral se manifeste dans leur sein, et frappe les observateurs les plus clairvoyants et les moins suspects.

“ Il est à craindre que tout au moral ne soit stationnaire dans la société française, excepté l'esprit de cette foule inconnue *dont nous ne savons pas nous faire entendre*. Elle seule s'élève peut-être. Regrettons qu'elle soit seule à s'élever, mais remercions le ciel qu'elle s'élève avec la destinée qui l'attend.”

Thus, ten years before Gambetta spoke of the *avènement des nouvelles couches sociales*, so moderate a statesman as M. Charles de Rémusat, in a more cautiously-worded but not less clear language, acknowledged the all-important fact that the upper classes were at a standstill, if not on their decline, and the working-classes alone were intellectually and morally rising ; and M. de Rémusat's disquisition on the rise of the working-classes was the more remarkable as he confessed *it was not easy to assign a cause to it, the institutions of the country having done very little to help the working-classes on that road*, and the leaders of the governing classes being such strangers to the ideas and aims of the working-men as not to be able to make themselves understood by them. It is indeed to be noticed that in the passage quoted above M. de Rémusat did

not say *ils ne savent pas se faire entendre*, but *nous ne savons pas nous faire entendre*, which evidently lays the blame at the door of our *bourgeoisie* and its chiefs.

Now, where misunderstandings between whole classes of society end, not only ancient but modern history very clearly teaches us. We have seen it in France during the fearful days of June, 1848, and the still more fearful months of March, April, and May, 1871. The inhuman, hateful repression that in both cases followed those social uprisings is the more to be deplored and condemned in that the French statesmen who allowed full license to the insane and devilish fury of the victors knew very well that the civil war itself was the result of a sequence of historical events that had assumed such a character of fatality as that the Parisians could have no control over it. No one knew it better than M. Thiers. Let no reader suppose for an instant that this is a surmise of the writer. Here is the proof, the not enough remembered proof, of what I advance. The occasion on which the following words were pronounced by M. Thiers was a very critical and solemn one. It was in 1869, on the morrow of the last political elections that took place under the empire. M. Thiers, replying to the congratulations that were offered to him on his return by the Parisian electors, said in a sad and deeply impressed tone :

“L'Europe marche à la république; mais il ne faut pas que les jeunes hommes se fassent illusion. *Par la faute des gouvernements*, qui tantôt cèdent lorsqu'ils devraient tenir ferme, et tantôt résistent quand ils devraient diriger et contenir, notre siècle ne connaîtra que la période de transition, brusque, sanglante, terrible pour tous, et *que je remercie Dieu de ne pas être appelé à voir*.

“L'enchevêtrement des problèmes sociaux et politiques, intérieurs et internationaux, est tel aujourd'hui, que les peuples sont *fatalement* amenés à tout trancher, en supprimant tous. Mais suppression violente et solution sont deux; et, pour être déplacées, les questions n'en subsistent pas moins, toujours menaçantes: *ce n'est que lorsque le monde nouveau, qui déjà déchire les flancs de l'Europe, aura acquis assez de virilité et de sagesse pour vaincre et pour résoudre, que LA RÉPUBLIQUE ÉCONOMIQUE ramènera l'ordre et la paix au sein de la société*.

“Vous êtes jeunes, Messieurs, mais dussiez-vous atteindre l'extrême limite de la vie, vous n'aurez vu que *le prologue de la civilisation de l'avenir*.”

Now, if words have any meaning, these words, *la République économique*, used by M. Thiers to explain what he understood by *le monde nouveau*, clearly mean a state of society in which not only political but social equality shall reign. It is not possible to suppose that M. Thiers spoke without fully knowing the import of the

words he used. This is the less to be supposed, as M. Thiers, in that very speech, offered his thanks to God for not being called upon to see that brusque, bloody, and terrible transition, the fatality of which he plainly ascribed to *the faults of governments*. But events came on much faster than M. Thiers ever supposed. The rottenness of the empire was such that even its bitterest enemies were surprised at the way it crumbled to pieces ; and when the republican party, which, since the invasion of France, had necessarily been the war party, found itself defeated at the elections of 1871, M. Thiers, who two years before had thanked God that he should not be called upon to see that brusque, bloody, and terrible transition, not only found himself called upon to see it, but to repress it. Seldom, indeed, has the awfulness of fate presented to the human mind a more extraordinary spectacle than the history of M. Thiers' last years.

The French peasants, knowing that the republicans would fight to the last rather than part with Alsace and Lorraine, had elected to the *Assemblée Nationale* men with whom they had nothing in common but their longing for peace. Through these elections of men of another age, the two worlds, the old and the new, were suddenly brought face to face, and the royalists, persuaded their election was due, if not to their own merits, at any rate to France's repentance for her revolutionary ways and readiness to go back to the old forms of monarchy, madly jumped to the conclusion that they could chain down the revolution, drag it back to Versailles, and slay it on the very threshold of that palace whence it had taken its start some eighty years before. The dream was an insane one. But such it was, and the history of France, from the beginning of the year 1871 to the present time, might be summed up in these words : *The efforts of France to dispel the delusion into which the monarchists were thrown by the elections of the 8th of February, 1871.* Every one who has helped to dispel that delusion has got popularity in France ; every one who has helped to keep it up and has tried to act upon it has been an object of popular hatred and contempt. From the presidents of the republic to the *gardes champêtres* (rural watchmen), from the philosophers and prelates to the poor curates and schoolmasters, from the ministers to the mayors of the smallest of villages, it has been the same all over. Thiers, in spite of the war with the Commune—a war that might have been avoided by agreeing to municipal elections being made in Paris, and allowing the Parisians

to keep their arms, in spite of the most cruel repression that followed it, and in spite of his absurd policy of *a republic without republicans*, had only to stand by the republic and show he would not be a party to its destruction to become at once so popular that even in that Paris he had deluged with blood, he had the grandest obsequies that ever were performed in the honor of any man. The funerals of Edgar Quinet, Michelet, Raspail, were the expression of much deeper and truer feelings: there is in this respect no comparison to be made; but the funerals of Edgar Quinet, Michelet, Raspail, were the pure manifestation of popular love and gratitude to men who had always been the people's men. Those funerals were not intended to teach lessons to any body. No doubt they were capital answers to those who charge the working-classes with having lost every sense of respect towards their betters; but they were indirect and unpremeditated answers. Far different was it with M. Thiers' obsequies. Even men who hated M. Thiers and never meant to pardon him his cruelty to the Communalists, attended his funeral, because they meant the lesson France was reading to Duc de Broglie and all the men of the 16th of May should be as sharp and complete as possible. Had Marshal MacMahon followed in the steps of M. Thiers, he, in spite of his unpardonable march on Sedan, would have been pardoned. Had he been satisfied with the part of a constitutional president, had he understood that nobody wished him to interfere with the management of public affairs otherwise than by surrounding himself with ministers possessing the confidence of Parliament, and letting them avoid as best they could a conflict between a republican Chamber of Deputies and a reactionary Senate, he would have met with universal respect and obedience. Had he made, as he ought to have done, a further step towards the republic, accepted openly, and without reserve, the form of government of which he was the highest representative, and enforced on all hands, at home and abroad, the respect due to it and to himself as the head of it, he would have made for himself a most enviable, not to say glorious, position; and had he gone a step further—had he candidly, sincerely acted the part of a republican president, and sympathetically responded to the cries of *Vive la République!* and *Vive le Maréchal!* that everywhere would have hailed his presence—he would have enjoyed a great popularity, and might, thanks to probable competitions between Messieurs Grévy, Jules Simon, Gambetta, General Chanzy, and who knows else, have been, in 1880, ap-

pointed a second time president of the French Republic. But Marshal MacMahon, though he be a soldier and a president of a republic, is not a leader of men, and it is to be apprehended he does not see his way very clearly through a struggle the *péripéties* of which are so curious and intricate that the clever and shifty no less than the dull and stubborn are in turn seeing their pet schemes defeated by the one or the other of those two forces that represent, on one side, the array of all the powers of the past, and on the other the array of all the powers of the future. The cases of M. Thiers and Marshal MacMahon have been the reverse of one another, but are equally instructive. M. Thiers, the artful *petit bourgeois*, who, better than any one else, knew all the faults and weaknesses of the *anciens partis*, thought they could not dispense with him, and fancied he had only to threaten them with his resignation to see them marshal their forces again under his leadership. The way in which, on the 24th of May, 1873, he was undeceived had both a ludicrous and a tragic side. The day is one to be remembered. Never were the ungratefulness and stupidity of the French conservatives shown under more odious colors; never was M. Thiers' own childish conceit better exemplified. Let us now compare Marshal MacMahon's case with that of his predecessor.

While M. Thiers had indulged in the dream that he could rule at his will the powers of the Past represented by the reactionary majority of the *Assemblée Nationale*, MacMahon reveled in the, to him, glorious idea that he could with a military hand rule the powers of the Future represented by the republican majority of the Chamber of Deputies elected in 1876. The way in which he was undeceived was much more severe and inglorious than any thing M. Thiers had to experience at the hands of the monarchists. It is true Marshal MacMahon was not ejected from the presidential chair: but he had to submit to the most humiliating recantations of his former addresses to the French people; he was compelled to turn a recreant, to disown his *personal* policy, to forsake the friends he had sworn never to abandon, and be a butt to the jeers of the Cuneos and Cassagnacs, jeers compared to which the invectives of the reddest of the Reds must have sounded in his ears as the sweetest of music. A man must be tenacious of power indeed to have undergone all this for the sake of presiding over a government the mere name of which he can hardly be made to utter. His resignation has been of late repeatedly spoken of.

But why should he resign now, not having resigned on the 14th of December, 1877? Is it not more probable that the news of his possible resignation was thrown out as a feeler, to enable newspaper correspondents, like M. de Blowitz of the *Times*, to launch their *ballons d'essai* about a second septennate? But it is too late now. Marshal MacMahon ought to have thought of this before giving his countenance to the mad and criminal pranks of the 16th of May. It is true that, though he had asserted a personal power the law denied him, and had thus thrown away the constitutional shield that protected him against the risk of being implicated in any condemnation passed by the Houses of Parliament against his ministers, he has not been impeached. Nay, he has not even been turned out of power. But it is to be remembered that there was no other tribunal than the Senate before which to impeach him, and every one knows what the result of such a trial would have been. The Senate could not have condemned him without condemning themselves. The Chamber of Deputies, not being able to impeach MacMahon, could only enforce upon him the dilemma so tersely put by Gambetta : *Se soumettre ou se démettre* ; and if he chose to submit, there was no help, unless the Chamber had been resolute enough to press upon him such conditions that he must have resigned. The Chamber had, however, given too many proofs of its over-conciliating temper for any of the 16th of May plotters to be seriously frightened. The impeachment of the Ministry De Broglie will certainly be proposed when the report of the Parliamentary Commission on the elections of 1877 is presented to the Chamber ; but Gambetta has already allowed the correspondent of the *Daily News* to venture on the uncontradicted assertion that he, Gambetta, will never suffer them to be dragged into court. The Intransigents in that case would clearly be in a minority. It is, however, difficult to know to what extent the correspondent of the *Daily News* has been enlightened on Gambetta's real purposes. As to M. Dufaure's generosity in coming to MacMahon's rescue on the 14th of December, 1877, it should be borne in mind that the President's resignation must have led to the meeting of the two Houses in Congress, the revision of the constitution, and the election of another President of the Republic. Young or old they may be, but green assuredly they are, who could suppose that M. Dufaure wanted any thing of the kind. M. Dufaure and a radical solution will never pass through the same door, unless—unless they are compelled to. Stranger events have happened.

It was thus M. Dufaure who persuaded Marshal MacMahon to stay, and if Gambetta did not counsel or empower M. Dufaure to give that advice, it is evident he must have approved of it, when it was once given and acted upon, for the majority of the *Committee of Eighteen*—a sort of committee of vigilance made up of representatives of all the republican groups of the Chamber—were so satisfied with MacMahon's complete submission, that they were disposed to at once vote the whole budget for 1878, and it was only when they heard a great number of deputies emphatically declaring they would rather part with the Committee of Eighteen than give such a proof of confidence to Marshal MacMahon and M. Dufaure, that they reconsidered the question and made the ministers understand they had better not ask for the whole budget. So two twelfths only of the budget, implying, as they did, two twelfths only of confidence, were asked and readily voted by the Chamber.

All who want to speculate on the future contingencies of French politics should remember all these things as well as the anxieties which every one shared in, and which pressed so hard on the minds of the deputies. Merchants were threatened with bankruptcy, workmen with starvation, civil and military servants with a stoppage of their salaries—a thing French employés or soldiers are not used to at all; even servants and children were beginning to bewail the next *jour de l'an* as the most miserable ever heard of since the 1st of January, 1871, and all were indignant and furious at the idea that the International Exhibition of 1878 would not take place. So near were we at that time to a general free-fight and upsetting of every thing, it is a wonder we escaped from it. Yet we escaped; and though we have not attained and will not attain for some time all the results that are to issue from the victory of the republicans over the monarchists, it is not a reason why we should stand haggling about the praises that are due to the Chamber of Deputies, and above all the country, for the firmness and wisdom with which they knew how to defeat the schemes of their domestic enemies.

Thanks to them, France has recovered her internal peace, and has been able to devote herself to the works of industry, science, and art; the International Exhibition has taken place, and the prophets of evil, who for two years had never ceased to predict that it would be a failure—that the *Bazar of the F. R.*, as the *Pays* (Cassagnac's newspaper) elegantly says, would be a desert, in which grass would grow between the glass cases of the exhibitors, and

which would have no foreign visitors except some unknown queen of some unknown island of the Pacific Ocean, has been such a success, that even foreigners declare it was the best exhibition that ever took place. "Remercions Dieu," said Marshal MacMahon in the speech he delivered at the *Distribution des Recompenses* on the 21st of October, "qui, pour consoler notre pays, a permis que cette grande et pacifique gloire lui fut réservée." No doubt Marshal MacMahon has just cause to be thankful; but many will smile on reading his speech, and think that the best part of his thanks were deserved by the republicans who defeated his pet scheme of personal power, delivered him from his friends, and enabled him to enjoy the pure and pacific glory of presiding over that splendid ceremony. No such lofty sentiments, however, are to be expected from an old, narrow-minded soldier as he is: we had a very curious and characteristic proof of it on the 21st of October.

To any one having only a moderate sense of the fitness of things, it is evident that the national airs of all the peoples represented at that great international gathering ought to have been played in the honor of our guests; and you know, for having heard it, how the band of the *Garde Républicaine* can play them. But then the French national air, *La Marseillaise*, must have been played too, as it was played the day before at the Opera. This was too much for the new-fledged and very uncertain republicanism of the marshal and his *Maison*. So the national airs were eschewed; even a splendid triumphal march written by Berlioz in the honor of the heroes of July, 1830, was considered as too revolutionary; we had music that responded to none of the feelings that ought to have found a fitting expression on such a day, and the result was that the whole ceremony was cold as ice. Marshal de MacMahon consented, however, to pronounce the name of the republic in his speech, and was applauded for it. Who will say that the French people are not grateful for even small favors? Here is a man, a president of a republic, who condescends to name the government whose head he is, and the thing is looked upon as a great achievement, and is praised as something grand! How ridiculous it would be were it not for the state of rage in which it has thrown the reactionists! "*Ce discours*," wrote *l'Univers*, "ne justifie-t-il pas le bruit qui prête au maréchal une insouciance complète de tout depuis qu'il a capitulé." Thus are MacMahon's late and false friends heaping insults on his head. It is to be supposed he

partly deserves them, since he submits to them, instead of sending his card to the editors of such papers, with a band of music to play the *Marseillaise* under their windows. He by so doing would at once have the laughers on his side. But such fun does not seem to be *dans ses moyens*. To return to serious thoughts, we must acknowledge that if the predictions of the Bonapartists about the failure of the exhibition have been belied, the vaticinations of the Ultramontane papers about impending dangers and *coups d'état* have, to the present moment, proved equally groundless. Bishop Dupanloup's paper, *La Défense*, positively announced some weeks before the death of the prelate, *who was not to be a cardinal*, that ere the end of the exhibition a decisive match should be played in France; that we should witness portentous events, but that it was not possible to either foresee or foretell any thing. Gambetta, no doubt, thought it necessary to make the bishops and the public, and most likely public men higher placed still than the bishops, understand that it was both possible to foresee and foretell. Hence the speech he, on the 18th of September, delivered at Romans—a speech evidently devised to allay the fears that might have resulted from the disquieting rumors so mischievously spread by the Ultramontane papers. In this he almost overreached his aim; for the people at large were so satisfied, after the Romans speech, that there was no fear to be entertained about the possible vacancy or transmission of power, in case MacMahon should put into his head to resign, that, instead of discussing the schemes of their enemies and watching over their conduct, the republicans have since that time been sharply criticising or lauding to the skies that famous speech; and the reactionists, understanding at last that MacMahon is likely to turn a deaf ear to their suggestions, tried their ingenuity at persuading M. Dufaure that the assembling the municipal councils of a third of France by the end of October, in order that they should appoint the delegates who on the 5th of January, 1879, are to elect the senators, was illegal. The cabinet were neither convinced by the elaborate memoir of the Right's jurists nor frightened by the threat of interpellations, and MacMahon signed the decrees that were submitted to him by M. Dufaure. Then we had another speech from Gambetta at Grenoble—a speech in which the celebrated tribune predicted that the forthcoming elections would give the republican party a majority of twenty in the Senate. More than once has Gambetta been reproached with being fond of boasting of successes he is not

sure to obtain ; but the part of a leader is not to discourage his men : it is rather to fire them with the enthusiasm and almost certainty of victory ? Of all the reproaches Gambetta may deserve, this then seems by far the lightest. However it may be, the municipal councils of one third of France met on the 28th of October to elect their delegates, and now *l'affaire est dans le sac*. What will the outcome of it be ? A republican majority of twenty in the Senate, as Gambetta predicted at Grenoble, or a lesser one ? Whatever it be, nobody seems to entertain any serious doubts about its being a very moderately republican majority, but a majority after all ; and in that case good-by to all fears or hopes of new dissolutions of the Chamber, new *coups de vigueur*, new violent and illegal attempts at forcing upon a reluctant people a régime like the one M. Duc de Broglie had dreamt of. But are you to suppose for a single instant that the Ultramontanes, the Bonapartists, the monarchists of either the elder or the younger branch, will sincerely rally round the republic, and acknowledge, as MacMahon did in his last and best speech, that “ la solidité de notre crédit, l'abondance de nos ressources, la paix de nos cités, le calme de nos populations, l'instruction et la bonne tenue de notre armée, aujourd'hui reconstituée, témoignaient d'une organisation qui sera féconde et durable ” ? Are you to suppose that they will work at fostering amongst us the spirit of concord, the absolute respect for republican institutions and laws, and the ardent and disinterested love of the fatherland ? Not a bit of it. They will change their tactics, and, under a new republican-conservative or constitutional garb, be as deadly enemies of the republic as ever. It is not difficult to guess what those tactics are likely to be. They will consist, on one side, in a feigned submission to the national will, in order not to see their men dismissed from the important situations they fill ; and, on the other side, in persistent endeavors to kindle an internecine war between the two great factions of the republican party—the Opportunists and the Radicals or Intransigents. They can in this respect do an immeasurable deal of mischief ; but they can overreach the mark too, as they have lately done. The two following instances are quite in point.

It was a capital stroke, in order to save rancors and bickerings between the republican bourgeoisie and the working-classes, to bring the government of the republic to prohibit the holding of a Socialist International Working-men's Congress in Paris. Such an accomplishment at the end of a year when so many international

congresses of all kinds had been held might be looked upon as difficult ; but, with the help of the international police that entwines Europe in its œcumenical web, and M. Dufaure's readiness to have men prosecuted, not for any deeds of them, but for the mere propagation of what the French judiciary and their chief look upon as *mauvaises passions* and *doctrines subversives*, a prosecution of that kind is always possible. I do not mean to say that any actual and direct pressure was exerted on the French Government by M. de Bismarck. This might be, but I have no knowledge whatever about it, and I had rather believe our government is above such compliance to the dictates of a foreign government. But no direct pressure on the part of M. de Bismarck's agents was necessary. The interference of even inferior agents of the French and the foreign police agreeing to represent the holding of a Socialist International Working-men's Congress as dangerous was quite sufficient to produce the desired effect on Messrs. Dufaure's and De Marière's minds ; and of that interference actual proofs have been given, for it was only on the disclosure of such machinations that M. Hirsch, a correspondent of German papers opposed to Bismarck's policy, who had been arrested though he had nothing to do with the congress except as a reporter, was set at liberty.

The congress then was forbidden ; and this was the more provoking as, at the very same time Socialist workmen were prohibited holding a congress, the members of the *Cercles Catholiques Ouvriers* (most of whom are not workmen at all) were allowed full license to hold their congress in the grounds of the bishopric of Chartres, a palace belonging to the government ; to be presided over by the Bishop of Chartres, a public functionary ; to be harangued by M. de Mun, late officer of cuirassiers and now a deputy of the Extreme Right, in the name of the *contre-révolution* ; and finally to publicly parade the streets and cathedral of Chartres. Every thing thus was admirably combined to throw the Parisian workmen into unconquerable fits of passion. But the Parisian workmen are not nowadays to be thus made tools of by the international police. The promoters of the Socialist International Workmen's Congress simply declared that they would submit to the prohibition in so far that they would not try and hold a public congress, but would hold it as a private meeting. Even this they were not permitted to do. The sequel is well known. In spite of a legal consultation in their favor, signed by four eminent jurists, among whom M. Crémieux, who has been twice Minister of Justice ; in spite of a protest ad-

dressed by Louis Blanc to M. Dufaure, in the name of the republican deputies at that time present in Paris—the promoters of the congress have been prosecuted and condemned to various terms of imprisonment ranging from six months to a fortnight, and to fines amounting from 16 to 200 francs. It is to be remarked that, though a hundred francs be not a great sum of money, it is more than the generality of workmen can pay. The fines, however, shall be paid ; but Messrs. Dufaure and De Marière have injured themselves by this ill-advised prosecution much more than they have injured the men who henceforward will hold among their fellow-workmen the rank to which they have been raised by such absurd and unjust condemnations. It is perfectly true some of them are not workmen, but students, teachers, journalists. What of that? Is it necessary to be a negro to advocate the abolition of slavery, or to belong to the female sex to uphold the rights of women? Why should it be necessary to be a workman to advocate the social emancipation of the working-classes? By following that absurdly logical or logically absurd mode of reasoning, one might be brought to assert that it is necessary to be a murderer to advocate the abolition of capital punishment. Such absurdities do not stand even the lightest criticism. But precisely because it is so flagrantly absurd and unjust, and can be remedied after the senatorial elections are over, the deputies of the Extreme Left resolved not to play the game of their enemies and postpone to the January session the interpellation it would now be their duty to make, were they not aware that a ministerial crisis is the very thing the enemies of the republic long for.

At this resolve of the Extreme Left the leaders of the clerical and monarchists party were greatly disappointed, and they, without loss of time, tried to raise another storm. It is to be remembered that the breaking of the union between Opportunists and Radicals is the thing aimed at as the only chance for the men of *l'ordre moral* to regain the power they have lost.

If the Extreme Left could not be brought to interpellate Messrs. Dufaure and De Marière about the prohibition of the Working-men's International Congress, were it not possible to compel them to raise the question of a general amnesty and so bring about the disruption of the republican forces? The thing at any rate might be attempted, and so it was attempted. The reactionist leaders prevailed upon the *parquet militaire* (court-martial prosecuting officers), over whom they, through the Ministry

of War, exert an almost absolute sway, to search for all the judgments by default that for close upon seven years have been lying in the pigeon-holes of the courts-martial clerk's office, and order the arrest of the defaulters, most of whom are ignorant of any verdict having ever been passed against them. The orders were given and some were carried out ; but the mark had been overcaught : the public indignation was so great that one of the arrested had to be released at once, and both M. de Marière and the Prefect of Police issued circulars to advise the prefects and commissaires de police not to arrest any body on account of participation in the events of 1871 without having referred the matter to the Prefect of Police and the Minister of the Interior. It is quite certain the government will be asked to put a stop to those cruel persecutions, but no disruption of the republican party will result from it ; the discontinuance of such prosecutions will the more easily be obtained, as Marshal MacMahon had given the Minister of War instructions to this effect in a letter dated as far back as the 29th of June, 1876, and this, it is to be hoped, will lead to a large if not general measure of amnesty being carried out in the course of next year.

Thus have clerical and monarchical intrigues been defeated, and the war between Opportunists and Radicals been indefinitely postponed. The *Times* says (October 26th) that the Radicals have been sobered down by the events of the last eighteen months ; that the *Irreconcilables* (a word that had a meaning under the empire, but has no meaning at all when applied to republicans living under a republican form of government) now acknowledge that the transformation of society is not a thing to be effected in a day, or to be devised by a single brain ; that social reforms can be gradually evolved from the present order of society without any shocks ; and that, should all the Intransigents share those sentiments, there need be no fear of a rupture between the Extreme Left and the other republicans, or of that triumph of the former which the Bonapartists confess is their only chance of regaining power.

Let us first eliminate one of the two hypotheses commented upon by the London *Times*. We must suppose that the writer in the *Times* has known men who thought that the transformation of society was a thing to be effected in a day or to be devised by a single brain. I must say a long and varied experience has not enabled me to make the acquaintance of any such man. Even among those who put their faith in a violent upsetting of the pres-

ent state of society, or believe in nothing but the panacea they have drawn from the inner recesses of their own consciousness, I never met with one who thought the transformation of society was a thing to be effected in a day. Such men at any rate are not to be found among the present members of the Extreme Left, and therefore all speculations upon their possible triumph are out of question. If the Bonapartists have no other chance of retrieving their fortunes, their lot is indeed as hard as it is deserved.

Is it, however, to be understood from this that no rupture between the Opportunists and the Intransigents is to be feared? Far from it. But should a rupture occur, what kind of rupture is it likely to be?

Do you think the Intransigents, after the many proofs of wisdom and devotedness they have given, will allow themselves to go the length of a rupture that might endanger the safety of the republic? And do you think the Opportunists will make—for whose interests?—a stand against public opinion, should the mass of the people go over to the Intransigents, who are now in a minority? Remember that Gambetta himself, when he brought his men, in the autumn of 1876, to vote the *Budget des Cultes*, the suppression of which was advocated by the Intransigents, said to a colleague of his in the Chamber, M. Boysset: “Il faut voter le budget des cultes *aussi longtemps que cela sera politique*.” This is, if I may use that phrase, a Cavourian rather than a Mazzinian or a Garibaldian policy; but Gambetta takes much after Cavour, and not at all after Mazzini or Garibaldi, and the more Cavourian a policy the more Gambettian it is. In fact, the words *aussi longtemps que cela sera politique* are the very formula of Gambetta’s policy, and leave him all sorts of doors open on all sorts of sides. This is both *le fort et le faible* of Opportunism.

At the very moment I write, a prospectus is brought to me, the aim of which is to organize a new *société pour le progrès des sciences sociales*. The first name on the list of the promoters is Allain-Targé, a deputy of Paris, and one of Gambetta’s lieutenants. What is the meaning of this?—that Gambetta is, through his most intimate friends, recanting the unlucky word, *Il n’y a pas de question sociale*, that more than once he had cause to regret having pronounced. You must guess from this that when it is a piece of political shrewdness to apply one’s self to the solution of social questions Gambetta will conform his conduct to the exigencies of the time. But whether Gambetta aims at being President of the

Republic—in which case the Intransigents could not well support him, as a man of so great parts would both reign and govern, and could hardly be a constitutional president, with nothing more to do than to accept the cabinet the Houses of Parliament would choose to give him ; or whether he confines his ambition to be the head of a truly constitutional cabinet, in which case the Intransigents would do their best to open to him the doors of office—the great political fact in France at the present moment is that, with the exception of the organized forces of the church and the government, Gambetta's party is the only organized one. The working-classes, though their advent is acknowledged to be the great social fact of the age, have in France no organization worth mentioning, and can not even agree on so simple and elementary a question as that of knowing whether it is good or bad for them that a bill like the English *Trades-Unions Bill* should be passed, to give a legal status to their *Chambres Syndicales*. This is a fact much to be deplored, but so it is.

The Intransigents have a splendid programme, and there is no doubt that when the senatorial elections are over, that programme—which on the 22d of September last was recast in a magnificent form by Louis Blanc, in a speech he delivered to correct in a measure Gambetta's speech at Romans—will rally a great number of those who for the last two years have made up their minds to patiently wait for the change the Senate is now to undergo. But though they have a good programme the Intransigents are badly organized. They must remedy this fault, and they most likely will be brought to understand the necessity of it when the disappointment that will follow on the senatorial elections produces its effect and brings new accessions to their forces. I do not mean to say that the result of the senatorial elections will not be to give the republicans a majority in the Senate ; what I mean to say is, that the new majority, whether it be of twelve or twenty, will be so timid, so exceedingly moderate, that, unless the Chamber of Deputies compels them, which is not likely, the expected reforms, if any are carried out, will be let slip in almost infinitesimal doses, and many who now side with the Opportunists will experience such a deception that they will go over to the Radicals, were it only to make the Opportunists understand that serious reforms are wanted and must not be postponed any longer. This will be a crucial time for the Opportunists, who, however, are in a most admirable situation to rightly estimate the strength of both the forces of the past and the forces of the future, and can, if they wisely resolve to advance with

a firm and decided step in the way of progress, make their own time, the present, a most glorious one for France and the republic. The French people, whatever may have been said to the contrary, are the most governable of nations ; but governments are generally so bad that almost all nations are growing ungovernable, and the French laws on or rather against the liberty of speech, of meeting, of association, etc., etc., are such as to turn the most peaceable of men into demagogues and *émeutiers*. But should the French people be made sure that their leaders are sincere adepts of that *république économique* whose advent, in a moment of clear-sightedness, was predicted even by so stanch a conservative as M. Thiers ; that those leaders understand that democracy and socialism are to be promoted and not to be conquered ; that true statesmanship consists in bridging the gulf between the old and the new moral, social, and political world ; and that stemming the tide of democracy is henceforward to be given up—there never was a nation more ready to follow the counsels of wisdom, and to show her gratitude to the statesmen who should have helped her to pass from the day of gloom, ignorance, poverty, and thralldom to the day of intellectual brightness, political liberty, and social equality. The French republican statesmen have, then, a most glorious and relatively easy task before them. The day of their trial is coming, and it will soon be seen whether or not the Opportunists are worthy of their hire. I can't help laboring under some doubts and misgivings on this point, and am of opinion that the Opportunists will require, in their own and France's interests, some rather strong pushing from the Intransigents.

THE AMERICAN EXPORT TRADE.

THE most interesting and encouraging event that has occurred in our commercial history for many years is the rapid increase of our exports during the last few years, and their unprecedented excess over our imports since 1875 ; reversing the balance which our foreign trade has recorded against us for more than fourscore years. Year after year, and decade after decade, with nearly the regularity of the seasons or the rise and fall of the tides, the excess of imports over exports has kept steadily on for eighty-five years, drawing out a long and formidable balance of our international account against us ; until at the close of 1875 this adverse balance of mercantile debt had run up to the surprising amount of \$1,726,637,547. This has been a century of remarkable progress, of great changes, political and material. Yet the course of this immense trade has kept persistently on its uniform way through peace and war, the ups and downs of commerce and revolutions in trade.

But at last the current has turned, and for the last three years has run up a balance in our favor of \$488,582,539. Is so great a change too sudden and too vast in its results to last ? Was it brought about by purely natural causes in the regular course of trade ? Or were its usual channels disturbed, and trade drawn from its even course by unusual causes ? Undoubtedly during the last three or four years there have been disturbing causes, both here and in Europe, that have materially reduced our imports and increased our exports.

To keep our international financial account balanced, and to turn it in our favor, the question of how to diversify and enlarge our exports, to increase our international carrying trade, and to cheapen transportation from the interior to the seaboard, have become questions of serious national importance, and which demand the careful and earnest attention of our business men and legislators, both National and State. But have we really entered on a new era in our export trade, as the increased exports of the last three years seem to indicate, and can we advance beyond the amount exported during the year 1878 ? A cursory view of some

of the foreign markets open to American products may afford some light on the subject.

In the first place, of what do our exports mainly consist, and to what countries do they go? The total amount of domestic merchandise exported during the year ending June 30th, 1878, was \$580,683,798. The amount of foreign merchandise exported for the same time was \$14,154,698. Total exports, foreign and domestic, \$594,838,896. This is an increase of \$488,582,539 since 1875—certainly a very large increase in three years. About 80 per cent of these domestic exports was made up of raw materials and agricultural products, including a very small amount from the forest, and about 20 per cent (\$136,000,000 worth) were manufactures.

To show how these exports were distributed we are obliged to use the official reports of the Treasury Department for 1876, for the reason that later reports are not within our reach. Though the bulk of the exports of 1876 was less by about \$130,000,000 than the exports of 1878, the increase went in nearly the same direction, so that the distribution to different countries was in about the same proportion in 1878 as in 1876.

The total value of merchandise, domestic and foreign, exported in 1876 was \$540,384,671; of this amount over \$368,000,000 worth were sent to the United Kingdom of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and about \$60,000,000 to her possessions or dependencies, showing the interesting fact that over *three fourths* of all our exports of merchandise of every description for 1876 were taken by Great Britain and her dependencies. The commodities sent to Great Britain consist chiefly of raw material and food in great variety. The principal articles and their value, sent in 1876, were :

Cotton in the bale, about.....	\$124,000,000
Wheat and flour, "	61,000,000
Indian corn or maize, "	29,000,000
Bacon and hams, "	34,000,000
Cheese, "	12,219,927
Lard, "	6,000,000
Pork, "	1,318,000
Leather of all kinds.....	6,000,000
Oil-cake.....	5,534,000
Lumber in various conditions.....	4,000,000
Tobacco, about.....	5,000,000
Beef.....	2,000,000
Tallow, over.....	4,000,000
Cotton-cloth.....	2,253,000

\$300,324,927

Besides large quantities of canned meats, fruits, fish, and many other articles, which raised the gross amount exported to Great Britain and Ireland in 1876 to over \$368,000,000, and the amount to Great Britain and her dependencies to \$428,000,000; and the exports of 1878 to the same countries run largely above these figures. •

Upon how many of these and other articles not above enumerated can the export be increased—not only to England, but to other countries? On raw cotton we can no doubt hold our own, and increase the export to several European countries. England is the great emporium of the world for raw cotton. She receives much the largest part of the European supply, and distributes a portion of it to other countries, but manufactures about *three fifths* of all the European supply of the raw material.

In March last, the estimated amount required by all the cotton factories in Europe for the year 1878 was 5,612,000 bales of 400 lbs. each: 2,245,000,000 lbs. The production to be available for Europe for the same time was estimated, by English experts, at 5,330,000 bales, nearly 300,000 bales short of the amount required. For the European supply they estimate that 3,300,000 bales, of 436 lbs. each—in all 1,438,000,000 lbs.—will be sent from the United States. Thus we see that about *two thirds* of the raw cotton consumed in Europe goes from this country. Next to the United States, India, Egypt, and Brazil, in the order named, supply the largest amount; and the supply from all these countries has fallen off since 1873. From India the decline is about one third. The amount supplied by other countries is comparatively small; only about 40,000 bales of 400 lbs. each went from all of them to England in 1877, and in no country where the product has been sufficient to in any degree affect the market and prices, has there been an increase except in the United States; on the contrary, in very nearly every one there has been a decline. In the mean time, as population and civilization advance, the field for its use is widening and a larger supply demanded.

Cotton goods are and always will be in universal use among civilized and semi-civilized people, and the raw material, therefore, is a valuable staple of prime necessity, the use of which must inevitably increase with time. As the production seems to be stationary in other countries, and for three or four years past has been on the decline in most of them, especially in those from which the largest amount has been sent to market, it seems highly

important that a full supply of this valuable export be kept up and made to hold as great a control over European markets as possible. If intelligent and conscientious care be taken to produce the best qualities, and have it honestly and carefully prepared for market, American cotton will substantially control the markets of the world for a long time, and be one of the most permanent and steadily paying industries in which capital and labor can be invested. England has spent a large sum of money in extending railroads to the cotton-fields of India to aid in getting the product to market, and, next to the United States, India is the largest producer; and yet the export from that country to England gradually declined from 3,678,795 cwt. in 1874 to 1,730,846 cwt. in 1877, and for the first eight months of 1878 the decline has been quite as great in proportion. We are fully aware of the present depressed condition of the cotton-goods trade in Europe, and the very low prices which all such goods have reached. The markets are overstocked, and in England some mills are closed, others running on short and half time, and reduced wages. It is, like nearly all other branches of trade, passing through one of those severe reverses to which the industries of civilized nations are periodically subject. As heretofore, it will run its length and pass away, though as manufactures are becoming more widely dispersed among nations the English cotton interest will not probably return to that controlling condition, that supreme reign, it has so long held. On a survey of the whole ground, then, the future looks prosperous for the cotton-growing interests of this country, and there seem good reasons for believing that a gradually increased export from year to year, for an indefinite time, of this necessary staple will find a ready market at remunerative prices.

Next to cotton, wheat is our most valuable export. Large quantities of wheat and flour are now sent to Europe, and nearly all of it to England. Three fourths of all the wheat and two thirds of all the flour exported in 1876 went to England. The amount sent to that country during the first eight months of 1878 was about 20 per cent greater than the amount sent for the first eight months of 1876; and the amount to go there for the remainder of the year will considerably increase this percentage. We see, then, that England is by far our greatest and best market for wheat and wheat flour, as well as for cotton. In 1876, when the export was lighter than for several years, our export of wheat and wheat flour to England was about 47,000,000 bushels, but for

the year 1878 the quantity sent there will probably run up to 60,000,000 bushels. She draws more than one half of her foreign supply from our wheat-fields. The retention of the English market, therefore, is of great consequence to our farmers and to the whole nation, as a large item in its international financial account.

What is the prospect of maintaining and strengthening our position in that market for the sale of this indispensable product? England does not raise wheat enough to feed her own people by from 80,000,000 to 100,000,000 bushels per year, and depends on foreign countries to make good the deficiency. While her population and the means of her people have been increasing, her acreage in wheat, and of course the wheat crops, have been diminishing. Within the last nine years her acreage in wheat has fallen off *one twelfth*, and that in grazing, hay, and root crops has increased as that in grain has diminished. A supply of wheat can be so easily obtained from other countries, inviting competition and lowering prices, that farmers have been and are giving more attention to other crops and the raising of cattle, and thus opening wider and wider the English wheat market to foreign competition.

We must remember that, besides the diminished tillage, during the three years prior to 1878 the wheat crops were short and a large importation was required, and that the foreign want is limited to a maximum of 100,000,000 bushels of wheat in bad harvests, and with an average home product the foreign requirement is now much less. But with a continued diminishing cultivation and increasing population the foreign want will be greater.

England is the only country in Europe which offers a steady market, up to a limited point, for the sale of any considerable quantity of wheat, and in that market there is a strong probability, if not a certainty, that there will hereafter be a stronger foreign competition than ever before. Russia, Austria, Hungary, Egypt, a portion of dismembered Turkey, and part of India, when they have fair average crops, have a surplus of wheat, and occasionally France also; and they all crowd the most of such surplus as they can get to market into English ports. South-eastern Europe is an extensive grain and pastoral country, and when that lately oppressed and impoverished people become, in their new political relations, blessed with peace and security, and they have the use of the market facilities which are being provided in that country, the export of breadstuff, cattle, and provisions will be greatly increased.

In the summer of 1878 a new line of steamers was put in operation on the Danube by English capitalists, for the purpose of transporting produce, especially from Hungary, to markets, at cheaper rates of freight than have heretofore been paid. A despatch from Pesth, published in the London papers, says : " Several large steamers are already at work, and the undertaking promises to become a very large one ;" and at this date, October, 1878, it is reported from Vienna that " enormous quantities of corn are being exported from Hungary." The reader will remember that all kinds of grain are called corn in England, and our Indian corn is called maize. Americans are, under contract, erecting grain elevators in Russian shipping ports, and railroad facilities are advancing in Russia and in Central and South-eastern Europe. There will be no want of English capital, where the investment will pay a moderate dividend, to convey all the surplus food of those countries to the most profitable markets, the chief of which and the greatest of all is England herself, and the want there, as we have seen, is limited to the amount required above her own production.

All must see and realize that in the near future powerful competitors for that market will be in the field, better prepared than ever before to contest, in every way practicable, for so great a prize ; and we must commence in time and be ready for a contest the advent of which is certain to be upon us. If we wish to maintain our ascendancy in that extensive and only reliable European market, we must take early and efficient means to permanently cheapen the transport of Western produce to delivery on shipboard by river, canal, and rail. The high cost of transportation by rail to the seaboard, and the too costly port charges, now add very materially to the costs of the products in Europe, and if kept up when competition becomes sharper, and prices probably lower, it will be discouraging to our farmers, and we may be deprived of that valuable market.

This cost of transport to the seaboard should be made as uniform throughout the year as it is practicable to make it, and not be subject to the capricious, local and selfish management of a few railroad officials, who, even on so important a national question, can hardly be expected to act in any other way than such as they, for the time being, judge will be of the most immediate benefit to the companies they represent ; and sometimes, it is feared, to the benefit of favored rings, who in some mysterious manner find their way into railroad treasuries. We had better, viewed in a

broad national sense, use all the available means at our command to retain a trade of so much value to the whole country, at the smallest percentage of profit to all directly concerned in it, than let it go out of the country into other hands. Let our farmers and shippers have the advantage of the lowest transportation and port charges, from the wheat-fields to delivery on shipboard, that a fair profit on an *actual outlay* of capital will admit of, and with a rich soil so well adapted to wheat crops, and intelligent, well-directed labor, and the most effective labor-saving machinery, we can successfully compete with any other people in the English and many other markets.

Must the exportation of Western produce, one of the chief means of meeting the nation's foreign debts, be jeopardized, and consumers in the seaboard States be compelled to go on paying double freight and fares to make dividends on "*diluted stock*," that cost the original proprietors nothing? Or are the people sufficiently alive to the importance of seeking to rectify the wrong by reconstruction and reformation or other remedial measures. The committee of the United States Senate, in their very full and elaborate report on "Transportation to the Seaboard," recommend placing all our inter-State railroads, to a certain extent, under the control of the United States Government, by authority of the provisions in the Constitution conferring upon Congress the power to "regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes."

But we can not here enter upon this question further than to say it is one of such great importance to both the internal, coast-wise, and foreign commerce of the country, that the time can not be far distant when it will be demanded by the whole country, and one uniform system will be applied to such roads in place of the uncertain and often antagonistic laws of the different States through which they pass. For full information on this very serious question, and our whole system of internal transportation, by river and canal, as well as by rail, the reader is referred to the Senate report above named, and to an interesting and exhaustive report from the Bureau of Statistics, by Joseph Nimmo. The question of cheap internal transport bears so directly and so materially on the full success of our export trade, as well as upon the pockets of home consumers, that it should receive early attention, and be no longer left to the penurious and selfish control of railroad rings and combinations.

It will be noticed that the value of Indian corn sent to England from this country in 1876 amounted to nearly \$29,000,000—twice the value sent to her in 1875. But during the first eight months of 1878 several millions more in value were sent to her than during the same eight months of 1876, and a large increase over the first eight months of 1877. It is used in breweries, distilleries, and as food for cattle, horses, swine, and poultry, and is mixed with flour for bread. When its preparation for cooking is better understood it will probably be used without the addition of flour. It is so useful for all these purposes, it seems quite certain that as its value becomes more generally established as food for animals, its use will be further extended, and a still larger amount find ready sale in English and other European markets. About two thirds of the corn consumed in England goes from the United States. Although corn is now raised to some extent in France and Germany, neither of those countries understand its value as food for man, nor do they appear to fully appreciate it as food for beasts, etc., etc.

It may surprise many readers to learn that the value of bacon and hams exported to England during the year 1876 amounted to the large sum of \$33,884,639, the value of lard to \$6,673,077, and of pork to \$1,515,058, making the pork product sent to one country, in one year, amount to \$42,078,774. For the first eight months of 1878 there was a large relative increase over this heavy export. The effect of this immense export has been to discourage the breeding of swine in England and Ireland. In both countries there has been a falling off in the number raised—in England small, in Ireland about 13 per cent. But it is of sufficient consequence to arrest the attention of the Board of Trade, and to have notice of it taken by that department of government in a report on agriculture. If this discouragement and falling off in numbers go on, the market for the American product will be extended and the export increased, for in that country it is almost universally used, and the consumption is very large. During the same year, \$9,842,422 worth of lard and \$2,612,114 worth of bacon and hams were sent to France, Germany, and Belgium, swelling the export of our pork product to these four countries to the large sum of \$54,427,310—within about \$7,000,000 of the value of the wheat exported to Europe for the same year. It will be noticed that the export of bacon and hams to Germany, France, and Belgium was very small in comparison with the amount sent to England, but

with proper attention the export to those countries can no doubt be gradually increased.

England is also a good market for dairy products. In 1877 France sent to that country butter valued at about \$18,000,000, but no cheese. During the same year the United States sent there rising \$4,000,000 worth of butter, and \$15,148,000 worth of cheese. Milk in England goes 'chiefly to supply the people of her towns and cities, which leaves a large opening for foreign butter and cheese, and there appears to be room for increasing to a considerable extent the export of both these articles, especially of butter, if sent *pure* and in good condition. A large portion of the butter sent from the Continent to the English market is manufactured, principally from tallow and lard, and contains a part only of butter from cream. A pure article, well made, and sent forward in prime condition, is sought for. The whole importation of butter into England in the year 1877 was in value \$46,108,120, and the value of the cheese imported for the same year was \$23,091,640.

England depends on foreign countries for no inconsiderable portion of her supply of beef and mutton, as well as for bread and food in a great variety of forms. The number of beef cattle imported into England for the five years ending December 31st, 1877, averaged 182,348 per year. The average number of calves imported per year for the same time was 38,155. Of sheep and lambs the average per year was 902,512, and of swine over 70,000 per year. This importation of live animals, with the exception of the very few that went from this country in 1876 and 1877, were entirely from Continental Europe, and with Europe at peace this number can be kept up and increased if called for. It shows about the present extent of the English market for foreign beef and mutton, unless it can be so cheapened as to increase the consumption among the poorer classes. It also shows the competition the export from this country has to meet. Sending live cattle and fresh meat across the Atlantic into European markets is a new feature in our export trade, and was tried experimentally in 1875 and 1876. The success which attended it has led to an organized business of no little magnitude, and the shipments of animals and dressed meat to England are now among our regular weekly exports, many large steamers being fitted expressly for the purpose. Improved methods for the preservation of fresh meat, and for the safety and comfort of live-stock on the ocean passage, are from time to time made and successfully applied, and we may reasonably

look for a near time when this new trade will be further developed and continued with greater safety and success.

During one week in September, 1878, there were landed in Liverpool, from America, 1780 beef cattle, 2610 sheep, 620 hogs, and 3280 quarters of beef. Live animals and fresh beef and mutton are also sent to London and Glasgow, but not in large quantities. This is above the average weekly export, but there is sent out every week a large number of animals, and a quantity of fresh, dressed meat. Though the amount of beef and mutton received from America has not lowered the price of these articles in the English market, the effect has been to keep prices from going higher. The almost boundless and unequaled grazing fields of Texas, Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, Dakota, and other parts of the (for stock-raising) unapproachable West, give us advantages for the production of a good quality of beef and mutton *at low cost* such as are possessed by no other country on the globe. With cheaper transportation to shipping ports, the export of animals and dressed fresh meat may be permanently increased up to a limited point, beyond which we can not go far without causing a fall in price.

This point of limitation we can very nearly ascertain. The import of beef cattle into England for the last five years has averaged 3500 head per week ; of sheep, 17,500 per week. This is the extent of the present foreign demand, and it will be noticed that in the week's shipment to Liverpool, above named, the live cattle and dressed beef sent from America was equal to 2530 beef cattle—more than two thirds the average weekly foreign requirement. We must remember that Spain, Russia, and other European countries have heretofore supplied the English market, and may not be easily driven out of it, unless by a rival who can supply a better quality, or an equally good quality at a cheaper rate. A very large amount of canned food is consumed in England, such as meats in great variety, fish, fruits, and vegetables. A large portion of these articles go from America and are generally of excellent quality. Such preserved articles of food are always available for immediate use, are moderate in price, and will come into more general use in other European countries besides England as they become better known.

There has been quite a regular increase of the importation of foreign food into England for some years ; and the value of the substantial articles of bread, meat, fish, fruit, dairy products, vegetables, and eggs imported into that country in 1877 amounted to

\$480,383,200, being an increase of \$43,000,000 over the importation of the previous year. The percentage of increase in the quantity and value of the articles of all kinds used as food and drink, imported into England for the last twenty years, is estimated to have been *ten times* greater than the increase of the population of the island. Whether this branch of trade be of healthy growth, destined to stand firm through the revolutions in domestic trade that is now moving onward in that great and rich empire, time alone will reveal.

As the chief nations of Europe are manufacturing countries, with capital and a surplus of labor, we can not to any great extent look to them for markets for our manufactures, except perhaps for such goods as are specialties with us, or when we are able to produce an equally good article at less cost or of more desirable style and quality. As a general rule, then, our exports to the leading nations of Europe must necessarily be chiefly limited to raw material, and to food in its diversified forms. Our consuls in those countries ought to be able to contribute something to our knowledge of the openings for further exports to the countries to which they are accredited.

While we ought to use all proper means at our command to retain and increase our present trade with European countries, we must not overlook the fact that there is always more or less change going on in the channels of trade and commerce, both domestic and foreign. An increase in population and an extension in the area of civilization is constantly progressing. The wilderness recedes, new colonies and independent nationalities are occasionally coming into view, and the old nations of the East that are crowned with the venerable age of unknown centuries, and were enjoying forms of civilization when all Europe was in a state of barbarism, are slowly adapting themselves to the improvements and business ways of modern civilization; and all are increasing in wealth and widening the field for trade and commerce in which America should be an active participant.

The most promising field now open for the extension of our manufactures is in comparatively new countries like the West Indies, Central and South America, Australia and other islands of the Pacific, and in old countries not yet become to any great extent manufacturing by the use of modern methods, such as China, India, and countries in Asia, Eastern Europe, and portions of Africa. All these countries will for a long time be consumers

of imported goods of some kind, and while, as a general rule, they supply themselves with food, they have native products to exchange for such articles of foreign manufacture as they require. The manufacturing nations are now anxiously seeking markets for the sale of their surplus goods at but little more than cost price, and many kinds of goods they are glad to work off at less than cost. In the contest for foreign markets, England, with unlimited capital, immense productive power, labor seeking employment, with lines of capacious steamers on every sea and in every harbor where trade is to be gained, and, if need be, loaning money to aid in its development, and with her business-like officials scattered all over the world, leads the way and starts with a clear advantage over all competitors in this great international race for wealth and power.

England now produces not far from one half of the whole cotton manufactures of all Europe and America united. The value of her exports of cotton goods for the year 1876 was about \$330,000,000, and this was a falling off of several millions from like exports of the preceding year; while from America, where cotton of the best quality grows in profusion, and where England gets the largest and most valuable part of her supply, we exported for the same year cotton goods to the value of only \$6,770,000—but little over *two per cent* of the English export of cotton fabrics. In connection with this article of our exports, there is one rather remarkable fact that should arrest the attention of our cotton-manufacturers and merchants in foreign trade. This fact is that during the same year, 1876, \$2,253,000 worth, about one third of our whole export of cotton goods, went to England, where nearly one half of the world's supply of cotton goods is obtained.

The goods sent were said to have been superior in quality and cheaper than the corresponding class of goods made there. It was certainly an unusual and perhaps an exceptional turn in trade. Can it be that so large a quantity of the ordinary grade of cotton goods was suddenly sold for consumption there, or were they in part taken for re-shipment to other countries as English goods, to re-establish a shaken confidence caused by sending out inferior goods saturated with some earthy substance to increase their weight and give them the appearance of firmness and durability? In either case, it is conceding the superiority of American goods over British of like grade and texture—a fact which should here be noted and taken advantage of to increase our export of this class

of goods. If we can send so large a quantity of cotton goods to England, where they sell on account of cheapness and better quality, either to be consumed there or re-shipped for sale in other countries, why can not we, with this less price and better quality in our favor, successfully compete with English manufacturers and merchants in countries where large quantities of such goods are called for and sold, especially as the American goods are not glazed and weighted with earthy matter, and are more pleasant and easy to work.

The export of manufactures of all kinds for the last fiscal year run up to about \$136,000,000, and were of more value than the wheat exported, and nearly equal in value to the raw cotton sent to England. These manufactures go out of the country in such a variety of articles of smaller value they do not attract so much attention, and are not generally regarded as of so much importance in our international trade as the more bulky articles of raw material, farm produce, etc. But as we have seen, the gross amount of the manufactured goods now exported constitute twenty per cent of our whole exports, and with proper attention there is reasonable ground to believe that they can, in a few years, be made to reach double the amount they have yet attained.

To realize so desirable a result the whole field of operations should be more carefully surveyed by cool business men, with such aid as government through its foreign officials may be able to render ; and after ascertaining the wants of the several countries, and the kind of goods most suitable for their markets, energetic action should be taken by our merchants and manufacturers to promptly supply them. No hazardous or merely speculative ventures should be entered upon where a reasonably fair promise of business is not held out, but the work should be laid out and followed in a systematic and business-like manner, with all the light that inquiry and intelligent investigation can throw upon it.

To the south of the United States the republics of Central and South America and the empire of Brazil extend through the tropics to Cape Horn. Nature has been bountiful in scattering her riches through all this vast region, upon which young states are growing with political institutions modeled, substantially, on the plan of our own ; and all are more or less thriving and destined to receive a portion of the surplus population of over-peopled Europe, and in time become populous states, but not for a long time manufacturing states. Their prolific soil and rich forests of

spices, gums, fancy woods, etc., and mines teeming with the precious and baser metals, will for a great many years occupy the attention of their people and be given in exchange for manufactures.

The vast valley of the Amazon, with its 2,500,000 square miles of wonderfully rich soil, will soon be opened to the commerce of the world through its wide expanse, and the day is not far distant when long pent-up riches from that immense basin, with its 50,000 miles of navigable waters, will be floating on the now solitary Amazon and its far-reaching tributaries. Taking all of the nations extending south of the United States to Cape Horn, we do not export to them more than about *one eighth* part of their imports of foreign goods. They are supplied from Europe, and both England and Germany are *now* making an extra effort to retain and extend their trade to those countries, foreseeing in them growing markets and an increasing trade. What is to be America's position on this broad theater of international trade? Are our merchants, manufacturers, and government to remain quiescent and take no active and honorable part in these great contests, and let others reap the rewards?

But an important step in the work of extending our export trade in those young, growing nations, and such of the old Eastern nations as are named above, is to make ourselves better known by often showing our flag from steamships in foreign ports, and affording suitable facilities for carrying on trade with regularity. Trade on a more extended scale will be sure to follow the introduction of such facilities, and the establishment of new lines of steamers, calling regularly at ports now neglected where there is good ground for encouragement that trade can be extended, or a new trade opened, and the lines with or without some government aid made to pay moderate profits, seems to be a wise measure, and one that the necessities of the trade and commerce of the country at this time urgently need. With an eye to the future of our home industries, our international trade and maritime commerce, our special foreign policy should be to cultivate the closest and most friendly relations with the new countries which have, in recent years, entered the family of nations, and with such old countries as have not yet become a manufacturing people by the use of modern machinery. In such countries and with such facilities we may reasonably look for an annual increase in the sale of American merchandise. But our merchants and producers must

not wait for government to take the initiative. They must of themselves assume the burden of inaugurating and pursuing a systematic method of enlarging the fields of foreign trade, and of searching for new openings to which trade may be extended, at the same time soliciting, through the government, such aid from our foreign officials as they can render and it may be proper for them to give. Though such officers can render their country no more valuable service than by thoroughly investigating the question of reciprocal trade between the United States and the countries to which they are accredited, it will not be safe to leave so important a work in charge of officials who receive their appointments as rewards for their fealty to party or their political patrons ; whose tenure of office is so precarious that, however competent and faithful they may be, they are liable to be recalled at any time to make room for rivals ; and who, on a change of administration, are sure to be removed. It would be a happy thing for the country if the patronage of the government could be completely divorced from partisan politics.

MORALITY IN FRANCE.

PARIS, 29TH NOVEMBER.—In this article, avoiding generalities, I shall give a rapid sketch of the literary and moral condition of France at the present time. To enlarge upon the extraordinary success of the Exposition would be only to repeat what is proclaimed on every housetop. But I can not forbear remarking that for France the Exposition has been the chief event of the year, giving a satisfactory demonstration of the recuperative gift of the national spirit, its power of rallying from the stroke of a scarcely less terrible blow than any that has been inflicted in the whole course of modern history. It is clear that this proof of national vitality has strengthened the root-growth of the new republic in our soil—a soil, alas ! which too often reminded one of that in the parable of the sower, which “ had no deepness of earth,” and in which the seeds “ forthwith sprang up” and perished as quickly, *quia non habebant radicem*. This much, however, is now evident : the country accepts the existing institutions. It is but the other day that we heard Marshal MacMahon declaring, at the ceremonial distribution of the Exposition prizes, that the credit of this great enterprise and great success was due to the republic, and that the first duty of the government was to maintain the institutions under the shelter of which such a sound growth of national prosperity had been attained. Observe the significance of words like those, when spoken by the man who had occasioned the attempt of the 16th May, 1877.¹

But it is now clear enough that the marshal-president has perceived his error, and in good faith admitted it. Not indeed, without deep irritation against the advisers who, promising him a political triumph, had led him into tortuous by-ways which it was not in his honest and loyal nature to follow. His speech was a fortunate prelude to certain recent nominations. I mean those made by the municipal councils of delegates charged with the election of the third part of the senatorial body, then about to be

¹ See INTERNATIONAL for last September, p. 611. (Note by the translator.)

renewed, in which many principal persons of the retrogressive, Bonapartist, and clerical parties figured. This election has now taken place, and with this result : it has given a clear republican majority in that senate where the party of the monarchy had placed all their hope. The consequence will be that after January next harmony will be established again between the administrative powers ; the government will be able to act with unity, and therefore with energy.

And I am not, I think, mistakenly confident, that the government's policy will remain, as heretofore, a moderate one. The republican party has learned discipline and self-government during the arduous days that it has recently seen ; it is wiser than it was. One need not go very far for the proof of this ; read, for instance, the two volumes which M. Jules Simon has just given us, under the title, " Le Gouvernement de M. Thiers." ¹ M. Simon was, as you will remember, a leader of the Opposition under the empire ; during the late war he took part in the government of national defense, and after it he was one of M. Thiers' ministers until his loss of the presidency in May, 1873. Among the important events which he describes he was both witness and actor, and in his book we may follow the reconstitution, almost from day to day, of a ruined country, and of a society that was sundered and shattered by a civil war superadded to the calamity of an invading army. This reconstruction was directed by the intelligence and the patriotism of M. Thiers. But M. Simon does not declaim ; he lets the facts speak, and he presents them with the utmost clearness. Life-like, distinct, devoid of showy ornament, the figure of the great citizen stands forth. We are shown its piquant originality, that intense southern life and vivacity which made his conversation so charming, that incessant counterchange of quick and biting wit with kindness and spiritual charm which characterized him in the rapture of conversation, and which made his *salon* the center of the highest intellectual and political life of Paris, and therefore—may a Parisian say it?—one of the most brilliant *foci* of European civilization. Many of my readers will have seen, at the Exposition, the noble portrait of Thiers by Bonnat ; it was the Thiers of great days, the days of tears and blood, of the time when he became the savior of his country. Our immeasurable misfortune was scarcely greater than the task which it imposed upon him ; but it impressed

¹ Paris, 1878, chez Calman Levy, 2 vols. in 8°.

upon him the true stamp of greatness. Those who care to, may read in M. Simon's book with what energy and with what adroitness M. Thiers guided the half-foundering ship of state ; and how, after having crushed the communists, he employed the skill of a consummate financier to hasten the payment of the military ransom and to strike the hour of his country's deliverance. He knew, as having been himself a monarchist, and one of the founders, in 1830, of constitutional government, that only the republic had the power to save France, by rescuing her from the hands of the three dynastic parties who would have quarreled over the shreds of her garments.

M. Simon's book is instructive, too, in respect to the intrigues of these dynastic parties. These intrigues had an ultramontane rehearsal, a circumstance which, as you say, "brought them to grief ;" for it aroused in France that anti-clerical sentiment which has been one of her passions since 1789. Monseigneur Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, who died very recently, was one of the most zealous leaders of the clerical party, and one of the most original characters of our time. He began his career in the advanced ranks of liberal catholicism—the catholicism of Lacordaire and Montalembert, and in council he was a chief opponent of the new dogma. But upon its proclamation in July, 1870, he accepted it ; and he became from that time onward one of the most devoted leaders of the reaction, and one of the bitterest enemies of M. Thiers, whose friend and ally he had formerly been. It was he who inspired the *coup*, happily unsuccessful, of the 16th May. By the irritating character of his speeches in the National Assembly, and by his episcopal mandates, which were political pamphlets rather, he did much injury to his church. He was an inexhaustible writer ; he published many articles upon education, and a multitude of controversial pamphlets. His last polemic campaign was on the occasion of the Voltaire centenary, last spring. He then quite overstepped the bounds of moderation. He was not content to protest, according to the right and the duty of his position, against the great satirist's mockery ; he covered the memory of the man with insults. He refused to recognize what Voltaire had done for toleration ; he overlooked the attenuating circumstance by which any impartial man must judge of him, namely, that in France the church, in the eighteenth century, was still persecuting, and yet without any longer believing in its own dogmas. We must not forget that Voltaire saw Christianity only under this frightful mask. This

explains, at least, though it does not justify, his hatred of Christianity ; and this was what the Bishop of Orleans did not perceive. Monseigneur Dupanloup received royal obsequies, and yet there was a mocker near his funeral car, as in the triumphal processions of ancient Rome. The mocker was not one of the free-thinkers with whom he had fought so often ; on the contrary, it was the arch-priest of ultramontanism itself, the famous editor of *L'Univers*, M. Louis Veuillot. M. Veuillot is of the kind who do not, even, on repentance, pardon the sinner, if once he have committed the mortal sin of resisting the usurpations of the Roman Church. All of Bishop Dupanloup's later zeal was in vain. In vain had he, a member of the French Academy, shaken the dust from his feet as he turned away from its doors. Had not those doors been opened to the positivist Littré ? In vain, during the second half of a long life, had he fought against those liberties which he had defended during the first. Never, to the last, did the old man receive full and free absolution from the ultramontane party. The cardinal's hat, which has ornamented some very dull heads in our day, was refused Monseigneur Dupanloup to the last ; and the *Univers* began to insult his memory before his body was fairly cold.

And yet, in spite of his changed opinions and his changing attitudes, the Bishop of Orleans never deserved the reproach of duplicity. It was not the man but the situation that was false. Monseigneur Dupanloup was the victim of the system of authority that he defended ; when that authority changed its character, he, too, had to change. A hard thing it is to find one's self the satellite of an errant comet, after having mistaken it for a central sun ! The Bishop of Orleans was all passion, emotion, feeling ; one could see his sanguine temperament in his very complexion. During the late war he showed high courage, and he left an unsullied personal reputation behind him. He was a true exponent of modern liberal catholicism ; he represented its variations, its contradictions even, during his long career.

What divisions exist beneath the imposed unity of this great church I may indicate by describing a discussion that followed the Bishop of Orleans's death ; a controversy rather which broke out between two of its most eminent lay members. The Comte de Mun, the organizer of the Catholic Working-men's Association in France, at an important meeting held at the palace of the Bishop of Chartres, saw fit to explain the programme of the ultramontanes ; and he did no less than to propose a

counter-revolution. "We must organize," he said, "a general crusade against modern society as the revolution of 1789 has left it to us." His opponent was the Comte de Falloux, a former associate of Lacordaire and Montalembert, who, as Minister of Public Instruction for nearly thirty years, had given the most valuable services to his church by carrying through the law which gives to her the main direction of the primary and secondary instruction in the schools. In two remarkable letters De Falloux combated the gloomy advice of De Mun, showing that the surest way for Catholicism to injure itself was to declare war against the society in which it must exist. His prudence is called apostasy by the ultramontane journals. The controversy is not yet closed. And thus we find ourselves, long after the dispersal of the council which was to unify every thing in the church, still in the presence of the diverse tendencies which were in active conflict before its convocation.

These conflicts offer the opportunity for publishing the excellent lectures of Père Hyacinthe, delivered in Paris last June to great audiences under the title "*La Réforme Catholique*."¹ The book is a remarkable one, even if judged as a work of talent, of merely intellectual ability. There are not in all France two preachers who can employ in their discourses such breadth and power of diction, such a range of imagination, reviving the great scenes of Scripture, such a noble sincerity, putting aside concealment like a garment, and revealing to the deepest the orator's nature; it is the wind blowing down from Carmel or Mount Lebanon, the echo and the breath of antique prophecy. Not yet, indeed, can the thoughts of the Père Hyacinthe break entirely with the past, with the church in which he was nurtured. But these lectures mark a long step in his conception of Christianity. In them he breaks finally with the papal authority; and he makes his position broad enough to meet that of the Greek, the Anglican, and the non-Roman episcopal churches. The breadth of this platform gives great interest to the systematic effort which he is about commencing for the propagation of his views—a new Christian propaganda. He will not only bear good witness to the faith; he will, I am confident, rally around him a considerable number of Catholics who wish to escape a condition of spiritual slavery.

¹ "*La Réforme Catholique*." Par Hyacinthe Loyson, prêtre. Paris, 1878. Grassart.

I may notice, without quitting the province of religious literature, a new Review, "*La Critique religieuse*." It is established by a scholar who is well known for his labors in metaphysics, M. Renouvier; a man whose influence is sure to aid that gradual movement toward Protestantism which may be seen among some of the Old Catholics. The new review has been thus far the chief organ of this tendency. It is open to free discussion, especially by those who seek religious forms that may be accordant with liberal instincts. It has contained several important papers by M. Renouvier, and it may be noted as a significant sign of the times.

The new discourses of M. Ernest Naville may be mentioned before I pass to the province of pure literature. They are seven in number, and published under the title of "*Le Christ*;" they are a worthy *pendant* to M. Naville's excellent lectures on Eternal Life and The Father; they are full of broad and elevated feeling. Then there comes from the government press a very handsome volume on "*Clement Marot and the Huguenot Psalter*," by M. O. Douen. It is a historic study, and a very fruitful one; it contains the original melodies of the sacred hymns that were sung by the fathers of the reformation in France.

Of works of learned research, especially in the departments of language and the history of religion, the present year has given us many. In poetry we are enriched by two remarkable books; the first is by Victor Hugo, the tireless author, the glorious veteran of our letters; it is called "*Le Pape*" (The Pope's Dream). The self-styled vicar of Christ, sleeping in the palace of the Vatican, has an extraordinary dream. He is actually fulfilling his ordained mission; he *is* the helper of the poor, the consoler of the afflicted, the formidable adversary of all the Pharisees; through the whole world he goes up and down, speaking tender words of charity, clear words of truth, which fall like bolts of lightning upon the crimes of society and upon "those that sold and bought in the temple." Hugo treats this conception with wonderful power. One wishes, indeed, that he would restrain a little the splendor of his imagination, that he would carry his pruning-hook with him a little oftener, and clip, from time to time, the luxuriant growth of his fancies; they are wilder and more profuse than the trailers of an Indian forest.

The second poem to which I have made reference is called "*Justice*;" it is by M. Sully Prudhomme, a young writer who had belonged heretofore to the skeptics. In his earlier verses—and

they were beautiful ones—he had described those gigantic conflicts of nature and natural force which seem almost to justify the law of “might makes right.” To see him in the present book recognize the ground of conscience as firm, to accept the absolute morality as a basis for philosophy and religion, is indeed a cause for lively satisfaction.

Materialism and fatalism, on the other hand, form, unhappily, the inspiration of one of the most important books of the year—the second volume of M. Taine’s great work, “*Les Origines de la Société moderne*.” It is wholly devoted to the first period of the French revolution—the period which begins with the meeting of the states-general in May, 1789. M. Taine is one of our most brilliant and one of our most justly celebrated writers ; and of his many works the most important, before the present one, was his “*History of English Literature*,” a work of abundant knowledge, and written in his own nervous and glowing style. He there develops his favorite theories respecting the dominating influence of the environment or *milieu* of temperament and of nutrition even in the development of the human mind ; and at the end of that book he writes the famous phrase : “Don’t let loose the human beast,” *Ne lâchez pas la bête humaine*. Well, the strictest rule of force would indeed be necessary to restrain that dangerous animal we call man, if he were nothing more than the strongest of animals, if he had no God and no conscience. But we must keep M. Taine’s view in mind if we would understand his implacable criticism of the French revolution, even before it reached the terrible crisis of 1793. Benjamin Constant said, and very truly, that between materialism and despotism there is a clear and a secret understanding. This deep saying might well be the motto of M. Taine’s new volume. For him the French revolution did only this thing : it unchained the human beast. In vain did M. Taine, in his first volume describe the iniquities of the old *régime*, the system which loaded the people with crushing burdens. In the present volume the revolution seems almost an effect without a cause, the mere outbreaking of barbarism. According to him, it is definable, in brief, as a double madness ; first, an intellectual frenzy on the part of the great leaders of 1789, for whom M. Taine has only bitter censure ; and second, a frenzy of the blood on the part of the populace. He pictures the privileged classes as saints misunderstood, and passes by without record their opposition to each and every reform, their intrigues, and their compacts with foreigners. He

draws up a most detailed indictment against the populace, forgetting no disturbance, riot, or burned *château*; but he says nothing about the stratagems plotted by the court, the invitation extended to Europe for the invasion of France. For Lafayette, for Mirabeau, he has no praise; the revolution was for him a *sabbat*, a sort of devil's dance. I must therefore think that M. Taine's book, in spite of his great talent, essentially falsifies the characters of the epoch it describes. It is this bias which has made its success with the clerical party. That party has forgiven him his materialism in gratitude for his censure of the revolution, and in the French Academy, the same party, during the past summer, sought to elect him as the successor to the chair of M. Thiers. Happily the effort failed; the veteran M. Henri Martin was elected instead.¹ The choice was a fair expression of public opinion; he is a truly national historian. He is just bringing out the first volumes of the continuation of his "History of France," which bring him to the epoch so unjustly treated by M. Taine.

Almost simultaneously with the appearance of M. Taine's volume comes one from M. Renan, a book of similar tendency; it is a sort of a politico-philosophic drama, inspired by the same dislike of democracy. All of my readers know the character of that delicate and subtle intelligence. M. Renan has but one *cultus*—the worship of the beautiful; in his mind the moral, the religious, and the æsthetic blend with each other. Intellectual distinction is his ideal—that distinction which belongs to a refined and pensive skepticism rather than to a mocking one. By this intellectual temper he is an aristocrat to his fingers' ends, and dislikes the pushing crowd; the butterfly wings of culture would soon lose their bloom in the horny-handed grasp of democracy. Well, he has taken Shakespeare's Caliban, that half-hewn block, that partially emancipated brute who seeks to injure Prospero, the type of the chosen spirits who reveal the wonders of science and of beauty to men, and he uses them both for his own symbolism. He says that democracy destroys intellectual distinction precisely in the ratio by which it elevates the intelligence of the masses. The masses, he says, are properly, and should be content to remain, the fat and fertilized soil from which the delicate plant of high intellectual culture should spring. And what if cultivation should fill

¹ M. Taine has since been elected (14th November, 1878) to the Academy, replacing the late M. L. de Loménie. (Note by the translator.)

the fields with common flowers? What would become of the precious plant?

This agreement, in their antipathy to democracy, between materialism and skepticism is sufficiently remarkable; and the skepticism of M. Renan reminds me of the famous critic who had preceded him on the same road, M. Sainte-Beuve (1804-1869). Two volumes of his correspondence have just been published; and they show that he was not from the first the skeptic, or, rather, the determined materialist which he became during his later years. The interest of this correspondence is, that it shows us the spiritual history of this rare intelligence, among the most eminent, both by the range and accuracy of his knowledge, his gift of insight, and his power of explaining the author by the character of the man, of all our literary critics. In the letters of his youth we find a true religious fervor; this dies out during the active controversies, political and literary, that belonged to the closing years of the restoration. Then he takes an active part in the succeeding poetic movement upon the side of romanticism; then, after the revolution of 1830, he seems to return, not indeed to the religious feelings of his early youth, but at least to religious sympathies. It was then that he conceived the plan of his excellent "Histoire de Port Royal;" in it he pays a magnificent tribute to the austere school of Pascal and of St. Cyran. This history was first produced in the form of lectures, which he was called to deliver at Lausanne; and while there he established an acquaintance with Vinet, the eminent Christian apologist. The letters which Sainte-Beuve addressed to him are here published; they show his fullest respect not only for the man, but for his particular form of religious faith, which was broad and fervent. That was the decisive moment in the history of the great critic's belief; but he did not act courageously. The subsequent letters show him caught up by the tempests of life in the capital, and becoming less and less capable of accepting a religion to which the ties of personal admiration will not long hold us. But it was not only his respect for the religion of the recluses of Port Royal or of Vinet that he lost; he gave up, also, his early liberal views. He supported the *régime* of Napoleon III., after the *coup d'état* of December, 1851, and the new Cæsar rewarded him with a senatorship. His "Causeries du Lundi" show that his genius was never more active and admirable than at that time. His letters prove his zeal in labors, his scholar's conscience, and a genuine goodness of heart which expressed itself in generous charities.

And yet he soon displayed a positive hostility to Christianity. He went so far as to say, for instance, that the symbol of the cross should be replaced by that of the magnetic compass ; that the emblems of devotion were destined to disappear in an era of positive science. Nothing is sadder than the last part of this correspondence to the time of his death. It is, however, one of the most interesting of documents, because it is absolutely sincere, and comes from one of the most eminent men of our time. Publications of this sort abound more and more of later years. Lamartine's correspondence appeared some years ago, and one of his friends has just published a collection of his political discourses, which shows that the poet had sometimes actually prophetic foresights in regard to our history. Particularly noticeable are the discourses which treat of controversies turning on religion. Lamartine anticipated the most of his contemporaries in perceiving their true solution—the abrogation of the *concordats* and the separation of church and state.

Two books which take us back to an earlier time than Lamartine have just appeared. One is the biography of a friend of Joseph de Maistre, Comte Costa de Beauregard. He was a man who was concerned at the time of the revolution in the wars of the coalition against it ; he was a true gentleman of the old school, true both to his faith in politics and in religion, but with a presentiment of the new time. The other is a book on the Comte de Tersen, the celebrated friend of Marie Antoinette ; it is published by one of his grand-nephews. It calls up before us the image of a chivalrous spirit given over to an unavailing struggle with the inevitable. The Comte de Tersen did not attack wind-mills ; he dashed himself against that terrible monster, the revolution, in the day of its triumph, and he was crushed. His efforts to save the unhappy queen were heroic. The letters of Marie Antoinette here given, are, however, a new proof of the understanding between the court and the armies of the coalition, by which France was to be given over to foreign power. These memoirs give valuable data for the history of that stormy epoch.

I shall endeavor in my next article to depict the imaginative literature of the time.

E. DE PRESSENSÉ.

RECOLLECTIONS OF MAZZINI'S VIEWS ON RUSSIA AND THE EAST.

I.

IN trying to give a picture of the "thoughts and actions" of the great Italian patriot in regard to Russia and the questions of the East, I think I can not do better than to repeat, in the beginning, a few lines from a short memoir written in 1872, immediately after his death.

"At the fresh grave of a dear friend," I then said, "whose face seems yet present with us, it is difficult to take up the pen for critical judgment on an active political life extending over more than forty years. Here lies before me Mazzini's '*Roma del Popolo*,' in which he had just run a tilt against Renan. Here is his last letter, in which he urgently asks for an opinion about the march of affairs in Germany. Here is a note from his trusty friend. Repeating, in his name, the pressing request, she adds touching greetings of his own, which suddenly bring up his whole image. . . . It is not easy, with such surroundings, to overcome grief and to help in a survey of his wide and varied labors."

Then, speaking of the earliest days of our acquaintance, which ripened into a fourteen years' friendship, during which we were often in close intercourse on matters of vital concern to the popular cause both in Europe and in America, the memoir thus went on :

"When, many years ago, I first met the Italian leader in London after the political shipwreck which had cast so many exiles on the shores of England, it was in presence of Saffi, his co-triumvir at Rome. Mazzini was then still in the prime of manhood, but in look much aged. As soon, however, as he opened his lips the fire of his eloquence shed a ray of youth over his wan and worn features. He made a startling communication to me, referring to a war scheme of Louis Napoleon, of equal import to the Italians and the Germans. The interview took place at a friend's house, in a small, dark, corridor-like room. As he proceeded in his exposition he threw in remarks of a more pathetic nature, designating the Man of December as '*Evil Incarnate*.' He spoke—as I afterwards found to be his habit—with much passion, albeit not with violence; and in doing so his glance actually seemed to shine through the dusk. Many of the ideas which were emitted during that conversation he some years later embodied in a powerful '*Open Letter*,' addressed to the writer of this article—'*On Italy's Position to-*

wards Germany'—and which to me constitutes a very precious early token of friendship. In that first interview he showed himself informed of a scheme which it seemed impossible for any one to know except its imperial originator himself. I still possess the record of that first communication, the only one of the kind I have ever drawn up, so extraordinary did it appear to me at the time; and when I re-read it by the light of events, I found it verified in its minutest details. On several decisive occasions he proved to have valuable sources at his command in the most carefully-guarded quarters. The whole plan of the Franco-Italian war of 1859 he detailed to me in December, 1858. He was equally well acquainted with the *pourparlers* that preceded the attack of Prussia upon the German Confederation. I will not speak of other matters, such as the last rising in Russian Poland."

An impression, I fear, has been created of late as though Mazzini, owing to the interest he took in the so-called Slavonian movement, might have been favorable in some way to the present policy of Russia—a policy which, in my opinion, can not but give rise to the gravest dangers for the security, the independence, the freedom, and the culture of Europe. I believe such an interpretation of Mazzini's thoughts to be the greatest mistake that could possibly be made. In the Memoir above mentioned I myself incidentally stated that "in the nationality movements of the East his influence was occasionally felt," and that "there he entertained views which the majority of Hungarians, Poles, and Germans, even of those who pursued democratic aims similar to his own, could scarcely approve of." Yet, to try making him out a possible friend of Northern autocracy would be the very height of misrepresentation. I rather think he would, in the situation of these days, have delivered himself in the spirit of Algernon Charles Swinburne's nobly indignant "Note of an English Republican on the Muscovite Crusade." Russian immixtion in Eastern affairs the great Italian leader looked upon as utterly fatal to freedom, as full of perils for Europe. To keep Russia out from the Danubian countries—not to promote her schemes upon Bulgaria, Constantinople, and the Dardanelles—was his steadfast aim. This I will prove now from documentary evidence, as well as from the fullest personal recollections.

II.

As early as 1832 Mazzini wrote the following in an essay "On Hungary :"

¹ "Dell' Ungheria." See "Scritti Editi e Inediti di Giuseppe Mazzini," vol. I.

"Hungary seems called upon to play a weighty part among the forces of the future. If, to-day, there is a danger of invasions and of conquests which might destroy the European equilibrium, it is in the North. Russia is the only foe which *the South of Europe has to fear*. From Catherine II. down to our times Russia has pursued restlessly, and with success, an idea of aggrandizement hostile to Europe. Like a sea that tears and saps the shore, Russia has, step by step, hollowed out, to the right, to the left, and in front, the territory that surrounds her; and now she glances with greedy eyes upon the south. Dismembered Poland, always true to her own mission, has sought to place a sheltering wall between Russia and Europe. But the barbarians who sit in the cabinets have let her perish in her heroic attempt, without understanding that at Warsaw the whole European question was once more at issue, and that the future of a world was perhaps the battle-stake (*che l'avvenire d'un mondo era forse prezzo della battaglia*). The Ottoman Empire formed another powerful barrier hindering Russia from an advance. Hence the war between the two was always a lively one, open or covert. Russia felt that her chief enemy was at Constantinople. She therefore worked for a diminution of his forces with a persistency perhaps unique in the annals of European policy. Making use of religious ties, profiting from germs of insurrection which lay hidden in Greece, *raising tumults and divisions within Turkey*, and availing herself of the ambition or the fears of the Pashas, Russia has not allowed a single moment of rest to the Sultan. . . . Freed from trammels which barred her path; with a power indirectly stretching over Moldavia, Wallachia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, and Servia, *the Russian Empire aims at the Adriatic through Herzegovina, and at the Mediterranean by means of Greece*; . . . aspiring to Hungary, to Transylvania, to Dalmatia and Croatia, and threatening to raise, by a general appeal, the Slav race which is seething in Bohemia, in Galicia, in the Illyrian provinces, almost over the whole area of the Austrian dominions. And as if to hold out a warning to Europe, the population of Russia increases rapidly, in an extraordinary proportion. Forty years will give to Russia a hundred millions of inhabitants."

These words of political insight and wise warning were written full forty-five years ago. They still apply at this moment. Like all Continental liberals, radicals and republicans, Mazzini knew where the enemy was whose barbarian lust of power hung like a storm-cloud over Eastern and Southern Europe. The idea of allowing Russia to encroach upon the Danube, the Balkan, and the Dardanelles did not enter his mind. He knew the hollow hypocrisy of her humanitarian professions; the transparent fraud of tumults got up by her paid emissaries for the sake of furthering her territorial aggression against Turkey; the insatiable greed of her ambition, which involves the disintegration of Hungary, aye, the pushing of her foreposts into the very center of Europe; the colossal danger to freedom and civilization contained in Russia's ceaseless schemes of aggrandizement; and last, but not least, the perils darkly lowering upon Italian nationality from the

attempted advance of the semi-Mongol Czardom towards the Adriatic and the Mediterranean side.

He understood that the first necessity for Europe was to shield herself against such an inroad of the successors of the Golden Horde. Hence we find him throughout life a steadfast champion of the reconstitution of Poland. In an address to the Poles written in 1832, in the name of a propagandistic league called "Young Italy," Mazzini thus addressed the people at whose capital the Czar's arms had just "restored order" in the well-known Muscovite style: "Once more we must resume our journey in the direction which Nature points out to each of us: you, with united Germany and a reconstituted Hungary, for the deliverance of the north, for the civilization of the Slav race; we, with France and Spain, for the deliverance of the south."

In Mazzini's view it was Russia, the "representative of despotism and ferocity,"¹ that stood in need of being freed and civilized. He did not acknowledge her as a deliverer or a bringer of culture. To restrict Russia's boundaries by once more setting up the Polish commonwealth—not to let the Czar have additional territory or influence in Bulgaria or at the Bosphorus—was in his opinion the rightful thing to do. Hence the first paragraph of the constitution of an enlarged propagandistic league established by his agency in 1834 ran thus: "Young Germany, Young Poland, and Young Italy, republican associations aiming at the same humanitarian object, and imbued with the same faith of liberty, equality, and progress, form a pact of brotherhood, now and forever, for all that which concerns their general object." This desire of seeing the area of Russian power curtailed has repeatedly induced Mazzini to throw the weight of his word into the scale whenever the question came up in practical shape. Like the mass of Continental democrats, he personally looked forward to a radical reorganization of the East. In this sense he often spoke, now and then even standing widely apart in his views from those of his friends of various nationalities. But as soon as the Russian danger appeared he uniformly sympathized and worked with those who wished to see it fought arms in hand.

III.

A curious programme may here be noticed, which one of the brothers Bandiera (whose death at an Austrian gallows was

¹ See Letter to Leopardi, the member of the Neapolitan Committee, 1834.

brought about by the shameful spy-system of Sir James Graham) drew up in 1844. Mazzini has embodied it in his collected works.¹ Amidst various fanciful suggestions, such as the extension of France all along the Rhine and over Belgium, and the enlargement of Germany by Holland and the Danish continent, Emilio Bandlera proposed that Finland should once more be handed over to Sweden, and Poland be reconstituted as an independent nation. He even hinted at the desirability of dividing Russia proper into two states—in accordance, no doubt, with the differences of race and of general aspirations existing between the great Russians of the north on the one hand, and the Little Russians, Ruthenes, Cossacks, and Tatars of the south, on the other. Mazzini adds that “not all the ideas on European reconstruction embodied in that fragment are perhaps true,” but that a spirit of just appreciation of the tendencies of the future can be traced in it. The severance of Finland from the Muscovite empire, with which it has no affinity, either of speech or history, and the reconstitution of Poland, are certainly not among the ideas which Mazzini rejected.

Hungary, as seen by the extracts given above, occupied from early days a large place in his thoughts. To her struggles, which were the struggles of the Magyar, not of the Slav race, he referred over and over again in his public appeals. The heroic Magyar rising of 1848-49 could not but deeply impress one who during all his life preached devoted action. The Russian intervention in Hungary—an intervention of a so-called Slavonian power against the nearest kinsmen of the Turks—Mazzini loathed as a crime and as a danger. When the French troops in 1849 marched to the assault of Rome he reminded them that “the Russians, the men of 1815, were at the same time attacking Hungary, with an ulterior aim against France.”² In the protest handed by him, as a triumvir of the Roman Republic, to the Assembly, against the proposal of a capitulation, he pointed to the ancient and the modern records of Hungary as a means of rousing the sinking hopes of the defenders of Rome. In a “Letter to the French Ministry,” written in September, 1849, he complained that France had lowered herself to the part of an executioner, by helping to carry out despotic designs which struck Italian nationality in the front, whilst stabbing Hungary in the back for the pleasure of Austria and the Czar. In a “Letter to the President of the

¹ Vol. v., p. 338.

² “Appeal to the Soldiers of the French Republic,” May 10th, 1849.

French Republic," dated December, 1850, he again denounced the indifference which had allowed the Russian invasion of Hungary to be perpetrated with impunity.

Now, be it well kept in mind that the Hungarian movements against Habsburg tyranny were always movements of the Magyar nationality, which is at once the central race and the political backbone of the Hungarian commonwealth. During these movements the Magyars generally had to struggle against government despotism on the one hand and against Vendean counter-insurrections of the Slav or Wallach tribes on the other—counter-insurrections fostered by Habsburg guile, or by the joint intrigues of Austrian and Russian emissaries. For Magyar patriotism, as against the Habsburgs, the Romanoffs, and their Slav and Wallachian tools, Mazzini consequently expressed hearty interest and good-will. He did not countenance the attack of the Czar upon the Hungarian commonwealth, though there were writers already then, who endeavored to poison public opinion by representing Russia as the champion of Slavdom against "Asiatic nomads encamped in Europe"—namely, the Magyars!

IV.

In one of the most memorable historical crises, in 1853, when the question of the armed co-operation of England with Turkey hung in the balance, Mazzini energetically declared for war against Russia. He did not believe the Czar's flimsy pretext of bettering the lot of the poor Christians in the East. He was not deluded by the reports of Turkish atrocities into a wish of saddling Europe with the supreme atrocity of a Russian attempt at universal dominion. He did not counsel the "coercion" of the Turk either by united Europe or by an alliance between this country and Russia. No; he was for war against Russia. Those were the unreformed days of the Porte. No political equality of races and creeds had then been decreed. No Softa risings had occurred at Constantinople, leading to the successive overthrow of Sultans. No Ottoman Parliament had yet met, in which Mohammedans, Christians of various denominations, and Jews sat side by side, amending government bills in the unexpected spirit of a liberal opposition. Yet "war—war—war against Russia!" was Mazzini's programme. Before all, he wished to keep out the prowling wolves that came from the dark forest of ambitious despotism and the dreary steppes of level slavery.

An endeavor has of late been made, by some who try to represent the Czar as the chosen vessel of the emancipation of the East, to represent the war of the Western Powers in 1854-56 as the mere outcome of a designing statecraft. Nothing could be further from the truth. The English Government had positively to be driven into that war. It certainly did not design it. When Nicholas sent his peremptory order to Constantinople he reckoned upon Austria being neutralized through the obligation the House of Habsburg owed him for the overthrow of Hungarian freedom. Germany at large he assumed would be kept in a state of benevolent neutrality towards him through the fear of her princes, then just saved from revolution, as well as through the special family ties which linked together the Romanoffs and the Hohenzollern. As to England, he thought he had fully secured her by "*cecher Aberdeen.*" Whatever misgivings still haunted his mind were allayed by a soft message of absolute non-intervention from a peace society and from some spokesmen of the Manchester school, whose influence in his reckless eagerness he absurdly overrated. He had not taken into account the political intellect and indignant feelings of the patriotic mass of English Liberals, and so he rushed headlong upon his well-merited fate.

So strong were these feelings that the heart of the most advanced English and Continental democracy beat with the greatest ardor for war against the wanton aggressor. Not a mere cabinet war, certainly, was their desire ; but a war which would so cripple the power of the Czar as to enable downtrodden nationalities in the great political prison-house over which he held sway to raise themselves once more to independence and self-government. Even the fact of French military power being then under the command of Louis Napoleon, whose foul December deed every righteous man had branded as the most loathsome crime for ages past, was unable to turn away the popular parties from the pursuance of what was looked upon by them as a necessary act of European defence. A dangerous irruption had to be met. All hands were wanted.

English, French, German, Italian, Hungarian, Polish democrats were agreed on that point. This concord came out strikingly during the anniversary celebration of the Polish Revolution, held at Hanover Square Rooms before a vast and enthusiastic audience, on November 29th, 1853. Mazzini's voice, though he lay suffering, did not fail to make itself heard on that occasion by a letter written in terms the energy of which it would have been difficult to equal.

No maudlin sympathy was expressed then for the Czar-Pope—that “Dalai-Lama in uniform and jack-boots,” who aimed at the conquest of Constantinople under the mask of a champion of oppressed Christians in Turkey. All freedom-loving nations spurned his false tournament. The Hungarian remembered too well how his own national right and liberty had been speared in 1849 by the Cossack lance. The Pole thought of the gibbets and the rivers of blood which had served to martyrize the scarcely recovered independence of his commonwealth under Czar Nicholas in 1831. The Italian felt that Russia at the Dardanelles would be a huge, glowering incubus on the Mediterranean nations. The Frenchman instinctively shrunk from Russia as from the presiding evil genius of the Holy Alliance. The Englishman saw in the White Czar both the enemy of representative government and a wily, steadily advancing foe of British rule in India. German liberals and democrats, after having fought against tyranny on the barricades of Berlin, in the streets of Vienna, in the capital of Saxony, and on the blood-soaked battle-fields of Baden-Baden, turned away in disgust from the idea of seeing a blighting autocracy which enveloped every court of their prince-ridden country, in icy embrace extended over the East and along the Danube, that great artery of the south of their Fatherland. In short, Czardom was looked upon as *hostis humani generis*. The prayer of the world was, not that this lupine mummery of a crusade should enter the Church of Hagia Sophia, but that the new Scourge of God should find his Catalaunian fields.

V.

Under such auspices the Polish anniversary celebration took place, where Mazzini's words were to be read. Having arrived in London towards the end of the previous year, I had begun my first literary labors in the English tongue with a publication entitled “The Universal Empire of the Cossacks,” which gave a historical survey of Russian aggression from the earliest times, and which called upon Europe to unite in defence.

So thoroughly at one were the views and sentiments in the ranks of democracy, that in a meeting composed as the one at Hanover Square Rooms was, even Alexander Herzen had to fall in with them, though, under apparently revolutionary colors, he at heart

favoured the extension of Russian power to Constantinople.¹ With reference to the Czar, he could not help saying : " At last, thank God ! his head is turned, and for once he thinks that he is really the arbiter of Europe and of Asia ; so he descends into the arena. Well, what has he done after all his noise and ultimatum, and Menchikoff and Gortchakoff, and manifestoes from the Bible and texts from the Treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji ? All he has managed to do for the orthodox church has been to get himself well beaten by Omar Pasha and to pick the pocket of a poor Wallachian Hospodar. Events may change, but the honors remain with Abdul Medjid."

Mr. W. J. Linton, the editor of *The English Republic* and a friend of Mazzini, exclaimed at the same meeting :

" War, war against the Czar ! War against despotism ! War against wrong ! What other can be the duty of England, the duty of every nation ? . . . There was a time when England was so organized ; when Vane sate at her council-board ; when Milton spoke her will, and Blake and Cromwell did it. In the day when England had an honest government and men for rulers, a far less wrong than this invasion of Turkey had kindled such a beacon on her white-faced cliffs as should have lit the remotest lands along their path of vengeance. . . . We are not a people of dastards. There is a heart, I believe, even under the sleekest broadcloth ; I know there is under the worst coat of the working-man. I am here to-night to say that *the true-hearted, honest working-men of England have but one wish in this matter ; that their word is mine ; that their voice is unanimous for war.* War against the Czar ! War for European freedom ! I believe that every patriot soul in England is eager for this righteous war. I believe that if our government dared ask the people's will, that word ' War ' would be so thundered back, the very reverberation would shake them from their seats."

German, Polish, Hungarian, Italian, French speakers, some of whom had filled parliamentary or governmental positions, followed in a similar strain. Dr. Ronay, a Hungarian clergyman, said :

" The Padishah, the only European prince who does not profess Christianity, and yet the only one who faithfully and fearlessly fulfills the injunctions of Christianity, has drawn his victorious sword. What will be the result ? The Sultan can stand against his enemies, but he can not stand against his friends. The greatest difficulty in the arrangement of Eastern affairs is, that the Sultan has only one Constantinople, instead of five. Had he five, each of his faithful friends, and each of the spotless defenders of the Christian faith, would take one, and drive him back, no matter where—perhaps into the barren wilds of Siberia." (Turning to the Poles, and speaking in Latin, Dr. Ronay went on :) " What should I say to you, brethren, on this solemn day ? Whilst with one hand we perform the funeral rites for those who fell gloriously for their country, with the other let us

¹ See his " *Vou manderen Ufer*," and his writings in *L'Homme*.

uplift the arms and ensigns of Freedom, so that, inspired with the heroic spirit of the Turks, we may lay down our lives and give our blood for our country !”

Ledru-Rollin, the fellow-worker of Mazzini, speaking of the Czar, said :

“ Who is this man ? The highest expression of savage despotism, whom for twenty years the tyrants have been accustomed to look upon as their regulator and their Nestor. Do I say : this ‘ man ’ ? I should say, this God ; for in his boundless pride he has declared himself to be God. I quote from the catechism used throughout his vast empire. There we read : ‘ The Czar is the vicegerent and administrator of God, who executes the Divine command. Therefore, disobedience to the Czar is the same as disobedience to God himself, who will reward us in the world to come for the worship and obedience we render to the Czar, and punish us severely with punishments everlasting into eternity, should we disobey and neglect to worship him. God ordains us to love and obey the Czar, not from worldly considerations, but from fear of the final judgment, (Long and loud laughter.) You have reason to laugh. This is the very height of madness. It is Heliogabalus proclaiming himself the heir of the sun. It is Alexander ordering himself to be adored at Babylon ; Alexander, less the genius and the greatness ; Alexander simply gone mad.”

This utterance strangely brings to mind the figure of another Alexander—the “ Divine figure from the North,” of which we heard so much at the beginning of the recent war.

In these days of polite compliments to an unrelenting autocrat, who like his gloomy predecessor has deeply imbrued his hands in Polish blood, committing unspeakable atrocities ; who only emancipated the serf when he could thereby traverse a movement for representative government ; and whose generals give orders against a people defending its independence to this effect : “ *Kill them all ! Spare neither age nor sex !*” I have by far not chosen the strongest passages from the speeches of Mazzini’s associates, lest the sudden shock should be too much for tender nerves. As to the “ apostle of the great idea ” (a name given in fond reverence to Mazzini by his most enthusiastic disciples), he expressed himself in 1853 in his usual firm tone. In an address to the Polish Democratic Committee read at the Hanover Square Rooms, he said :

“ Stand up resolutely on the high ground which befits our cause and the frank, straightforward men whom you want to become its supporters. Do not narrow the question to the proportion of an interest. Speak to them of duty ! You are sure of having your appeal responded to. There is still lurking within the soul of every honest British citizen a spark of the old fire which burned in the hearts of Milton and Cromwell. Stir it up boldly, and never fear. The people for whom Nelson had no other speech than the concise one, ‘ England expects to-day every man to do his duty,’ has not been, can not be, corrupted by the crooked,

weak, immoral policy of diplomacy. Speak to them of duty! *Tell them that their actual duty is war.* War, for the purpose of ascertaining whether Europe is to be given up defenceless to the successive encroachments of despotism, or to be the free, orderly, peacefully-progressing God's Europe. War, for the purpose of solving, once for all, the problem of ages—whether man is to be a passive slave, trampled upon by brutal, organized force, or a free agent, responsible for his own actions before his Maker and his fellow-brothers. *War, because it is a sin and a shame that interference should be always allowed to despots for evil-doing,* never applied by the good and free to the improvement or protection of the nations. *War, because it is unworthy of England to stand impassive by a murderous conflict,* and to repeat the words of the accursed: 'Am I my brother's keeper?' War, because it is never too late for expiating; and an expiation is wanted for the sinful, unprincipled, un-English policy which immovably saw—nay, lent directly or indirectly an arm to—the fall of Poland, the fall of Hungary, the fall of Venice, the fall of Rome. War, for the noble aim of seeing truth and right restored, *tyranny stopped in its reckless career.* . . . War is, to all probability, unavoidable. . . . Let it be the war of England, not of Lord Clarendon and Lord Aberdeen!"

Thus, in highly-wrought language of religious fervor—somewhat different in wording from that of European democracy, in which the free-thinking views had the upper hand, but still fully at one with the political wishes of the popular parties of all Europe—did Joseph Mazzini preach, in a twelve times repeated war-cry, the European duty of opposing Russia's attack upon Turkey by force of arms. Such was his notion of a crusade for humanity.

VI.

Mazzini's letter had been conveyed to those assembled at Hanover Square Rooms under the address of Stanislaus Worczel, the aged Polish ex-Senator, who took the chair at the meeting. In another letter, also read on that occasion, the Italian leader brought to mind that, so far back as 1831, "an oath of brotherhood had been pronounced between Italy and Poland;" and he expressed a desire that Poles and Hungarians should use this opportunity of Russia's attack upon Turkey for a rising of their own, so as to achieve their independence.

Mazzini being in co-operation in those days with Kossuth, it is easy to understand in what sense Hungarian independence must have been understood between the two exiled leaders. When Kossuth still was at Kutayah, in the honorable captivity or custody of the Turks, Mazzini sent an emissary, Adriano Lemmi, to him, for the object of "initiating a pact of action between Hungary and

Italy.”¹ That pact was to hold good for the mutual purpose of future national risings. It is well known with what bitter energy Kossuth attacked, in his speeches in England and in the United States, both Russia and the Slavonian intriguers against the integrity of his own nation. At the London Guildhall Kossuth had said in 1851: “What is the principle of all evil in Europe? *The encroaching spirit of Russia!* And by what power has Russia become so mighty? By its arms? No. The arms of Russia are below those of many powers. It has become almost omnipotent—at least very dangerous to liberty—by diplomatic intrigues.” Of the extreme nationality doctrine which aimed at the dissolution or the Slavonization of Hungary he said, in a speech at the banquet of the press at New York: “And do you know, gentlemen, whence this absurd theory sprang up on the European continent? It was the idea of Pan-Slavism—that is, the idea that the mighty stock of Slavonic races is called to rule the world as once the Roman did. It was a Russian plot—and it was a dark design to make out of national feelings a tool to Russian preponderance over the world.”²

Even as Kossuth, so also did Mazzini, during the war of 1853–56, follow with interest the Turkish successes. Both, however, wished for a more resolute assault upon Russia, on the part of the Allies, by way of Poland. Against Austria, Mazzini brought the charge that she was preventing the more effectual overthrow of the Czar’s armies by her double-dealing policy.³ This advice was that the attempt in the Crimea should be abandoned, and Russia be attacked in her more vulnerable parts near the Pruth and the Baltic.⁴ He gave similar counsel in a reply to the Newcastle Committee in June, 1855. In a long letter to the *Daily News* in July, 1855, he entered largely into an exposition as to the best way of striking an effective blow against Russia in Podolia and Lithuania.

When the war was over he turned back, in some measure, to his more theoretical views as to a future constitution of the East. At that time (1857) he wrote some of those “Slavonian Letters,” short extracts from which have been published lately in the *Fortnightly Review*. They originally appeared in the *Italia del Popolo*,

¹ See “Cenni Biografici e Storici,” by Aurelio Saffi, in Mazzini’s works, vol. v.

² See “Speeches of Kossuth,” edited by Francis W. Newman.

³ Letter to Mr. P. A. Taylor, Chairman of the Society of the Friends of Italy, March, 1855.

⁴ See Letter to the Polish Committee in London, December, 1854.

under the signature "Y." In the Italian reprint made of them in the present year at Rome it is stated in a foot-note that they were "dictated by G. Mazzini." I will come to their tenor at the end of this essay. For the present it is enough to aver that they, too, contain the most energetic condemnation of Russian policy; of "the absurd designs of a Pan-Slavism, the center of which would be the Czar;" as well as of that peace-at-any-price school whose untimely and reprehensible utterances encouraged, in Mazzini's opinion, the Emperor Nicholas to the war. These and other passages are not in the translation published in the *Fortnightly Review*.

VII.

When, in 1858, the Russian question once more threatened to take a practical shape Mazzini reoccupied the old ground of his opposition to Muscovite intervention in the East.

It was in December of that year—before Louis Napoleon's famous New Year's harangue to the Austrian ambassador, Baron Hübner—that I had a long conversation with Mazzini on the European situation and the means of organizing the democratic party on a larger scale. A great number of questions were discussed, so as to bring about a closer co-operation between the Italian and German democratic propaganda. At that time I had been empowered by a number of the foremost men of the German revolution to act in their name for the furtherance of the national and republican cause. Prints destined to revive the popular spirit of 1848-49 had been largely circulated in our country by trusty agents, in a manner apt to elude the Argus-eyed vigilance of a jealous system of reaction. It is difficult for the present generation to imagine the cruelly terroristic character of the governments of those days. All the more was it desirable that men who yet felt it their duty to work for the cause of freedom should draw more closely together.

To Napoleon III., then in the heyday of his tyrannic violence, a terrible warning had been given by Felice Orsini. Few if any could have suspected then, under the quiet, dignified bearing of a man hailing from a historical family, the wild resolution of a would-be slayer of the French Cæsar. When on a dreary winter morning, amidst the silent dropping of snowflakes, the knife of the guillotine fell on the neck of that Roman exile, Napoleon's power seemed still more firmly rooted. Yet he, all the while, shifted uneasily on

his throne. From that day he brooded over a scheme which, while shielding him against the recurrence of similar attempts, was to give a fresh lease to his personal influence over the destinies of Europe.

"Next spring," Mazzini said to me then, in the most positive terms, "we have to expect a commotion and a war in Italy. The plan is to tear away Lombardy from the Austrian Empire by a joint attack upon the latter upon the part of France and Russia. Napoleon and Alexander mean to combine. This war will, of course, not be a war for Italian freedom. It is a horrible chaos, a dishonoring war—dishonoring even for ourselves (*un affreux gâchis, une guerre déshonorante, déshonorante même pour nous*). What can be done among you in the face of this situation?"

I replied that the elements for a new popular rising were not ripe yet in Germany, after the sanguinary overthrow of a revolution which had led to the exile of a vastly larger number of men among us than had ever been driven forth from France or Poland in consequence of the most fearful reactions. "The only part of Germany," I said, "where an independent rising might possibly be brought about is Schleswig-Holstein, whose people live under a foreign yoke, even as the Venetians and the Lombards."

Mazzini, making a passing reference to a Danish statement about the nationality of Schleswig, whilst he acknowledged the thorough German character of Holstein, I answered that the large majority of the Schleswigers also were German; that their capital was German; that their parliament was patriotically German; that in 1848 they had risen against Denmark and joined themselves to Germany; that their representatives had sat in our National Parliament; and that during three years the Schleswig-Holstein people had kept up war against Denmark, and were only handed back to foreign dominion by Prussia and Austria. I had expressed myself in the same sense before, having replied, in Mazzini's *Pensiero ed Azione*, to Harro Harring, who supported the Danish view. Mazzini thereupon observed that he meant to close the controversy in the sense indicated by me. I was glad, so far, that a foundation was thus laid for an understanding between German and Italian democracy on a question which had the same importance as that of Lombardy and Venice.

To the further remark that, under present circumstances, Paris seemed to me to be the city where the first revolutionary move would

have to be made, so as to insure a general success, Mazzini replied that it appeared strange to him that even Germans should be imbued with this feeling—"considering that it was but natural there should rather be distrust than any thing else between Germany and France." He clearly gave me to understand that he was averse, under all circumstances, to looking upon France as the chief center of democratic aspirations.

On the question of the forthcoming war,¹ he mentioned that Cavour had asked Garibaldi to come and see him, with a view of inducing the whilom defender of the Roman Republic to "enroll the revolutionary elements under the Sardinian banner." The selection of officers was to be left to Garibaldi, up to a certain rank. "The Working-Man's Association at Genoa," Mazzini continued, "has addressed itself to me, asking whether, in case of any Sardinian movement, it was advisable to join it. I at once replied, 'No,' and that I would state the reasons later on."

In this conversation Mazzini laid much stress on the danger threatening the cause of nationality and general progress through the apprehended immixtion of Russia in the affairs of the East, whilst France would endeavor to raise her own influence on Italian soil. It may be useful to note here that in November, 1858, a change of dynasty had been brought about by a rising in Servia. Prince Alexander Kara Georgiewitch, accused of being on too intimate terms with Austria, was replaced by Milosch Obrenovitch. On my expressing a surmise to Mazzini that this dynastic revolution was probably in connection with what he had stated about the "Russo-French intrigue," he replied :

"You know well that in my opinion Turkey is lost—and rightly so. The Slavonian and the Greek populations must become free. The English always maintain that Russia is served thereby. But it is a fault to let every Slav or Greek movement be beaten down, and yet to do nothing for those populations in the interval of reaction. Attempts must be made to democratize those national

¹ Already in 1832 Mazzini wrote : "All minds are turned toward France ; all look upon France as the country from which the destinies of every European nation depend. Such a concentration is highly dangerous ; it is a sign of slavery rooted still in the public mind by force of custom. France, by the favor of circumstances, by her compact unity, by a social spirit more diffused there than anywhere else, and by an intelligent insight which has risen to a high degree, has no doubt constituted herself the most powerful center of activity and of European civilization ; but it is not the exclusive, not the only center. The Europe of freemen does not acknowledge an absolute dictatorship either of princes or of nations. The lever which is to bring down the antiquated political structure has its fulcrum wherever there is a people ready to rise. . . . It is time we should emancipate ourselves. . . ."

aspirations. I, for my part, if I were in power, would do every thing to raise conspiracies among the Greeks. They wish to have Byzantium—the best proof that they are not pro-Russian ; for Russia wants Byzantium for herself.”

After this utterance, as regards the general principle, Mazzini spoke of the danger contained in the threatened attempt of Russia to make use of a European complication, during a Napoleonic war, for the furtherance of her own designs. These designs he wished to be firmly opposed.

Joining in this view, I observed that to my mind, a further danger of the pan-Slavistic movement consisted in the orthodox superstition and the want of culture, intellectual and political, among the Slavonian populations ; in the absence of an intelligent middle-class in the East ; and in the leadership of certain writers who talked democracy to us as a mere mask and pretext—knowing well, as they did, that all this high-flown language of theirs would not entail any consequences for them at home among vast masses of their own countrymen, who were even unable to read. I added that it was no wonder, in so crude a state of public opinion among the Southern and Western Slavonians, that a writer like Schafarik should have made bold to claim even Venice for the Slavs, on the ground of the Venetians of old having been Wends !

Mazzini readily assented to this estimate of the pernicious action of pan-Slavistic “ *littérateurs*.” During the further conversation on nationality questions, when I remarked that Hungary, though composed of a medley of races, ought to be held together lest the worst political chaos should ensue and Russian aggrandizement be furthered, he replied that “ Hungary was, no doubt, a difficult problem. His Magyar friends became excited in the highest degree when the separation of Transylvania from their country was mooted. On the other hand, he had Wallachian friends who held to him most threatening language against the Magyars.” This whole question the Italian leader treated in a somewhat ironical tone. But when he spoke of the political necessities of the moment, and of the practical question of keeping out Russia, our views—otherwise differing on Hungarian affairs—became at once agreed. He wanted Russia to be foiled wherever she showed her hand—by resolute threats, so long as war was not declared ; by force of arms, if she rushed into a new venture, even if it were one that might indirectly aid the severance of Lombardy from the Austrian Empire.

VIII.

A strong anti-Russian vein runs through the writings of Mazzini during the time just previous to the outbreak of the war of 1859. That war, as officered by Louis Napoleon, found no favor among Italian democrats. Mazzini expressed himself against it with an extraordinary energy of language. He actually desired an armed coalition of European Powers, with Germany and England at its head, so as to stop Napoleon III. from resuming the policy of a gradual enslavement of the neighbors of France, and, if necessary, to fight him. It would be easy to give a hundred proofs of this desire of Mazzini from his numerous writings of those days.

He, indeed, knew only too well what the French emperor really aimed at. Besides, he had good reason to fear a joint move of the two most ambitious despots of the West and the East. Over and over again he therefore repeatedly said, in the early part of 1859, that nobody could wonder if whole Germany, together with England, grimly fought the Italians as "the allies of French despotism and of the Muscovite Czar, as the deserters of freedom." In his opinion, Count Cavour had done that which had seemed impossible; so he had "created for the rotten Austrian Empire the part of a leader of European opposition." So uncompromising were Mazzini's views when he saw the combined danger of a French and Russian move.

At that time he maintained that there was a plan of allowing to Alexander II. the protectorate over European Turkey in exchange for the Mediterranean being made a "French lake." He then went on: "Every idea of right and popular freedom will be drowned in this scheme. Russian princes would govern the states that are to rise on the ruins of the Turkish Empire and of Austria; princes of the Bonapartean dynasty are to govern the new Italian states; others, perhaps, would fill some places according to circumstances. *Constantine of Russia is already proposed to the Hungarian malcontents; Napoleon Bonaparte to the monarchical agitators of the Legations and of Tuscany.* Even as Charles V., and Clemens VII., albeit mortal enemies at heart, banded together for dividing among themselves the free cities of Italy, so the two Czars, foes at heart, form a league in order to stifle the aspirations to liberty—to imperialize Europe."¹

¹ *Pensiero ed Azione*, 2-16 May, 1859.

It is easy to make light of these apprehensions now. But the Russian danger was in 1859, for a while, a real one. Moreover, none could foresee then that it would be possible, a year and a half later, to forestall Louis Napoleon's Muratist intrigue in Naples, to which Cavour had yielded assent by the glorious deeds of Garibaldi—a heroic enterprise, the first plan of which Mazzini himself drew up, as I can testify from early communication.

On February 28th, 1859, the most prominent Italian exiles, under Mazzini's guidance, issued a declaration against the forthcoming war. The document bore the signatures of Aurelio Saffi, Campanella, Maurizio Quadrio, Francesca Crispi (lately speaker of the Italian House of Deputies), Alberto Mario, Rosolino Pilo (who afterwards headed the Sicilian insurrection in which he fell, before Garibaldi came to Marsala with his Thousand), Filippo de Boni, Visale de Tivoli, C. Venturi, and a great many others. A letter of Mazzini adds: "Europe knows the intrigues into which suddenly, after the fall of Sebastopol and the rapid conclusion of peace, the French emperor entered with the Czar, as well as the dream of a repartition of Europe, by means of dominion or of overwhelming influence, between the two despots." He further spoke of a great "European *coup d'état* designed between St. Petersburg and Paris, and destined to substitute everywhere the question of territory to the question of progress and freedom." He assumed that French intervention in Italy would be the signal of a coalition of European governments against the Empire. "And such a coalition"—these were his words—"formerly impossible on account of popular discontent, would to-day have the assent and the aid of nations. The nations do not love their present rulers; but they do not wish to overthrow them by means of foreign conquerors; *and they are right.*" Deliverance initiated by a Napoleon, and in which Alexander of Russia was to play a part, Mazzini considered a sham and a snare.

In one of his letters, in which he places on the same level "the ambition of the Czar of Russia and of the Czar of France," he says that "the Crimean war could have been avoided by a threatening language held out against Russia in proper time" (*con un linguaggio minaccioso, tenuto in tempo debito alla Russia*). This is a remark which it might have been well to keep in mind before the recent war.

In the *Pensiero ed Azione* of March 15th, 1859, there is a letter by Mazzini which states that "from some unknown cause a sudden

coldness has sprung up in Russia, whose aid Louis Napoleon seeks to obtain. In spite of the promise given by him that, in case the war became a European one, he would do nothing to resuscitate a Polish rising ; in spite of his other promise to cancel the results of the Paris Conference in regard to the restrictions put upon Russia in the Black Sea, and in the East at large, Russia nevertheless avoids now to bind herself to a compact with the French emperor."

There is reason to believe that this sudden coldness arose from the discovery unexpectedly made by the Russian Government that Louis Napoleon, whilst planning a war of apparently great magnitude, which was to give Russia time for maturing her own schemes, had from the beginning contemplated the rapid conclusion, at the first opportunity, of peace with Austria. Napoleon's aim was to humble in succession the different members of the coalition against the first Napoleonic empire. Russia had been humbled. His next step was now to do the same, with the help of Russia against Austria. Yet he wished so to manage things as to make use afterwards of Austria as against Prussia, for a war he meditated against the latter power, already at the time immediately following upon the state-stroke of December, 1851. (The proof of this is contained in a curious paragraph of official origin published in the early part of 1852.)

Mazzini himself, months before the outbreak of the Italian war, stated to me as a well-ascertained fact, that Napoleon's programme was to give battle to Austria, and, if victorious, to offer peace at once on the Mincio, when Lombardy—ceded to him—was to be re-ceded to Piedmont ; after which he would claim his indemnification, by means of Savoy and Nice. So it came exactly to pass. From the experience of many years, I know that Mazzini never made statements of this kind lightly, and that his early knowledge of such matters was almost always confirmed afterwards ; at least in its main import.

IX.

Even as Mazzini, so also had other distinguished leaders of Italian democracy no wish in 1852 to play into the hands of Russia or of Pan-Slavism. Aurelio Saffi, whilst declaring against a war begun by Louis Napoleon, said that " a truly national movement, accomplished by Italian forces only, would not disturb the general equilibrium of European Powers. On the contrary, a solidly constituted Italy, free from foreign immixtion, would form a strong

counterpoise to the ambition of France and Russia in the Mediterranean. *It would add weight to the German and Hungarian resistance against Pan-Slavism*, and become the natural ally of the enterprising, industrial, and sea-faring community of the Anglo-Saxon race."

These utterances were certainly very much opposed to the idea of letting the despotic heir of the Tatar Khanate, and his semi-barbarous allies among various Slavonic tribes of the East, get the joint mastery over the Danubian countries and over the approaches to the Mediterranean.

Pan-Slavism was described by Mazzini's organ in 1859 as "a dream of ambition on the one hand and of servitude on the other ; a dream that arose with the rulers at St. Petersburg, and with courtiers and writers ready to bend the truth (*sogno d'ambizione da un lato, e di servitù dall' altro,—sogno che uscì dai dominatori di Pietroburgo, da cortigiani e da letterati raggiratori*)."

Kossuth's speeches against Pan-Slavism were amply quoted in Mazzini's journal. It also published a manifesto, issued in the name of German friends, under my signature, of which the following are the chief passages :

"We, too, even as our Italian brethren, believe that the various Slavonian nationalities have a right to self-government. But we do not accept as the representatives of Slav democratic tendencies men who in reality work for the designs of Russian despotism. If there are Pan-Slavists, calling themselves revolutionary, who think that Poland has merited her misfortunes on account of her alleged 'estrangement from the Slavonian cause,' and that she ought to remain joined to Russia, we believe that writers of that kind are the pioneers of an impure cause. In the same way, if there were migratory Pan-Slavists who a few years ago asserted that the Hungarian Revolution was an anti-liberal movement, and that the Slovak rebels, who fought the revolution to the profit, if not with the pay, of the Austrian and Russian governments, 'were the true representatives of the revolutionary principle,' we, on our part, maintain that such men act as the affiliated of Muscovite Pan-Slavism, whatever may be the doctrines they outwardly profess. Again, if there are Pan-Slavist *doctrinaires* so utterly ridiculous as to claim Venice as a 'Slav colony,' we shall believe that *servants* of this stamp merit the compassion of every sane person. Furthermore, if there are Pan-Slavists who ask themselves 'whether Vienna or Constantinople should become the capital of the United Slavs,'¹ we believe that the authors of such an enormi-

¹ Alexander Herzen, in one of his writings, had raised the question of the future capital of Russia, under the guise of letting the Russian peasant (*mujik*)—to whom such problems of political geography were certainly most foreign—indulge in a monologue as to whether St. Petersburg, Kieff, Warsaw, Vienna, or Constantinople should be chosen as the seat of government. The decision was given in favor of "Constantinople, the capital of the United Greco-Slavs."

ty give us cause for doubting their reason or their democratic sincerity. To be sure, enlightened men of all nations are agreed on that point."

On the Slav question itself that German manifesto had the following :

" With the exception of designs attributable only to a disordered imagination, we willingly acknowledge the self-government of Slav nations, and heartily sympathize with their endeavors to establish freedom. Hence we warmly wish that the Russian nation may succeed in founding a state worthy of human right and of civil liberty, and that the races subjugated by the Czars may win back their independence. We wish with all our heart that Poland should become once more a distinct nation. We believe even that it will be the duty of the German people, when it has regained its own freedom, to help in the accomplishment of this work of reparation with its arms and with its treasure. We believe that independent Hungary will only do an act of wisdom and of justice by granting the rights of language and of political and civic equality to the various Slavonian, Wallachian, and other populations that are linked to the Magyar nation. This principle, however, has already been nobly proclaimed and established by the Hungarian revolution under the leadership of Kossuth. We further believe that the Slavs of Servia, of Herzegovina, of Montenegro, may one day form a confederacy among themselves, if they do not prefer remaining leagued to the other populations, such as the Albanese and the Bulgars, of Turkey. But here again it must be kept in mind that nobody can regard as 'movements for independence' the insurrections paid with Russian gold, led by Russian agents, and destined to serve the ambition of Russian autocrats."

No Russian writer—and there were several living then in England in contact with Mazzini—replied to this German utterance in the *Pensiero ed Azione*.

(*To be concluded.*)

CONFLICT BETWEEN SCIENCE AND MATERIALISM.

MR. SPENCER'S hypothesis of evolution, which has been outlined by Mr. Fiske, for the benefit of American thinkers, as a cosmic philosophy, undertakes to account for the entire universe of thought not less than of material things from the one datum—the persistence of force; a point upon which Mr. Fiske remarks :

“ Instead of the innumerable particular assumptions which were once admitted into cosmic philosophy, we are now reduced to the one universal assumption which has been variously described as the principle of continuity, the uniformity of nature, the persistence of force, or the law of causation, and which has been variously explained as a necessary datum of scientific thinking, or as the net result of all induction.”¹

And Mr. Spencer himself, in recognition of the same principle, says :

“ Any hesitation to admit that between the physical forces and the sensations there exists a correlation like that between the physical forces themselves, must disappear on remembering that the one correlation, like the other, is not qualitative only, but quantitative.”²

And again :

“ The materialist seeing it to be a necessary deduction from the law of correlation, that what exists in consciousness, under the form of feeling, is transformable into equivalents of mechanical motion, and by consequence into equivalents of all the other forces which matter exhibits, may consider it, therefore, demonstrated that the phenomena of consciousness are material phenomena.”³

But it seems incumbent on both of these philosophers now to tell us how a system thus explained manages to survive the confession by its accredited expounder, that—

“ when the thought and the molecular movement thus occur simultaneously, in no scientific sense is the thought the product of the molecular movement. . . . At no point in the whole circuit does a unit of motion disappear as motion to reappear as a unit of consciousness. To be sure, thought is always there when

¹ “ The Unseen World,” p. 5.

² “ First Principles,” p. 212.

³ *Id.*, 559.

summoned, but it stands outside the dynamic circuit as something utterly alien from, and incomparable with, the events which summon it."¹

For if it is not true in a scientific sense that thought is the product of molecular motion, how can it be a *necessary* deduction from the law of correlation, that the phenomena of consciousness are transformable into equivalents of mechanical motion? or how can our hesitation to admit the truth of the audacious assumption "disappear" on remembering that a correlation, which Mr. Fiske assures us has no existence, is not only qualitative, but quantitative? Or, if none of these things are true, how can a *cosmic* philosophy be deduced from the persistence of force?

The difficulty will be seen in a more definite light when it is observed that the law of correlation, which forms the groundwork of Mr. Spencer's *sole datum*, is also the law, a better understanding of which brings this damaging concession from Mr. Fiske, his disciple. When it is further observed that the authorized sponsor of Mr. Spencer's system, stands committed to the necessity laid upon it and to the absolute impossibility of responding thereto, we shall have a somewhat clearer conception of the kind of advantage which science is in reality gaining in its contest with religion.

And the same disposition to carry the day by strength of assertion, where sound arguments fail to present themselves, is discoverable in other directions. The incomprehensible thing appears when the advocates of evolution clearly and justly recognize that if evolution is indeed opposed to spiritual beliefs it is on account of what is involved in the law of correlation; and when they go on, as would seem unconsciously but none the less with fatal effect, to show, that all the implications of correlation lie in the opposite direction, forbidding instead of authorizing their conclusions. Their opponents find themselves neither in possession of any knowledge of their own upon which they might have anticipated the subversive showing, nor even with the ability to understand and give due weight to knowledge when furnished ready to their hands. The consequence is that we have, every little while, some learned and elaborate, but sadly misdirected, arraignment of evolution and materialism, or some defence of religion against the assumed encroachments of science—misdirected, because neglecting the vital fact that the arraigned system has no legiti-

¹ "The Unseen World," p. 41.

mate standing in the debate, on account of its sheer incapacity to take a single step towards the establishment of its thesis except by going directly in the face of its own fundamental principles. And the truth is further illustrated in the volume now before us.¹

It is already a matter of history how Professor Tyndall, in his Belfast address, thought to espouse the nebular theory and the resulting hypothesis of evolution² by the singular expedient of repudiating what he had previously shown to be its central principle,³ and how, as soon as he had finished speaking, all the opposing philosophers fell to demolishing his position by showing that it involved the grossly atheistic notion of the mechanical derivation of life, unconscious that they were little more than reiterating the condemnation of the address itself ;⁴ its author mean-

¹ "Fragments of Science." A series of detached Essays, Addresses, and Reviews. By John Tyndall, F.R.S. Fifth edition. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1877.

² "Let us calmly reason the point out. I hold the nebular theory as it was held by Kant, Laplace, and William Herschel, and as it is held by the best scientific intellects of to-day" (p. 547).

³ "But the anthropomorphism which it seemed his (Mr. Darwin's) object to set aside is as firmly associated with the creation of a few forms as with the creation of a multitude. We need clearness and thoroughness here. Two courses, and two only, are possible: Either let us open our doors freely to the conception of creative acts, or abandoning them let us radically change our notions of matter. If we look at matter as pictured by Democritus, or as defined for generations in our scientific text-books, the absolute impossibility of any form of life coming out of it would be sufficient to render any other hypothesis preferable. But the definitions of matter given in our text-books were intended to cover its purely physical and mechanical properties; and taught as we have been to regard these definitions as complete, we naturally and rightly reject the monstrous notion that out of such matter any form of life could possibly arise."—*Belfast Address as delivered: passage preceding the avowal of Materialism.*

⁴ "Modern scientific thought is called upon to decide between this hypothesis and another, and public thought generally will afterwards be called upon to do the same. But however the convictions of individuals here and there may be influenced, the process must be slow and secular which commends the rival hypothesis of natural evolution to the public mind? For what are the core and essence of this hypothesis, Strip it naked and you stand face to face with the notion, that not alone the more ignoble forms of animalcular and animal life, not alone the nobler forms of the horse and lion, not alone the exquisite and wonderful mechanism of the human body, but that the human mind itself, emotion, intellect, will, and all their phenomena, were once latent in a fiery cloud. . . . But the hypothesis would probably go even farther than this. Many who hold it would probably assent to the position that at the present moment all our philosophy, all our poetry, all our science, and all our art, Plato, Shakespeare, Newton, and Raphael—are potential in the fires of the sun. . . . I do not think that any holder of the evolution hypothesis would say that I overstate it or overstrain it in any way. I merely strip it of all vagueness, and bring before you unclothed and unvarnished, the notions by which it must stand or fall."—P. 453, *Scientific Use of the Imagination.*

while defending himself against their assaults, as if he had triumphantly achieved the wonderful exploit he was charged with, by laying fast hold of the nebular theory with one hand, and letting go the atomic philosophy with the other ;¹ the one being, as he thinks, the accepted view of the best scientific thinkers regarding the formation of the material universe,² and the other a fundamental conception, wanting which a theory of the material universe would be incapable of scientific statement.³

How to account for such confusion of ideas upon the part of a philosopher so justly distinguished for clear thinking as Professor Tyndall is, is a question too high for us, and we make no attempt to answer it ; but if we are astonished at the spectacle of a philosopher thoughtlessly knocking away the foundations of his cherished system, under the fantastic impression that he was renewing his fealty to it, what shall be said of his opponents, who, having every thing to gain by the prompt exposure of the suicidal proceeding, look on and plainly see, without becoming aware of, what he was doing ? Yet we are indebted for the appearance of this new edition of "Fragments of Science" to such a failure of the critics to see, while exhausting themselves in the effort to refute the Belfast address, that the new definition of matter which it demands as a foundation of evolution (a definition recognizing other properties in matter than such as are purely physical and mechanical) is at open war with correlation and the new philosophy, the first principle of which is that all the phenomena of matter may be reduced to mechanical laws ;⁴ and that it is thus fatally at variance with principles from which it is impossible for Professor Tyndall to escape ; which, being seen and pressed upon his attention, could have had but one result, namely, to drive him in ignominious confusion from the field. Failing to be seen,

¹ "I hold the nebular theory," etc., etc. (p. 547).

"The first five propositions (in which Democritus sets forth his notions of matter) are a fair general statement of the atomic philosophy as now held" (p. 475).

"If we look at matter as pictured by Democritus, . . . the absolute impossibility of any form of life coming out of it, . . . we naturally and rightly reject the monstrous notion," etc., etc.—*Belfast Address*.

² "The nebular theory . . . as it is held by the *best scientific intellects of to-day*" (p. 547).

³ "In fact it may be doubted whether, wanting this fundamental conception, a theory of the material universe is capable of scientific statement" (p. 497).

⁴ "For no matter how subtle a natural phenomenon may be, whether we observe it in the region of sense or follow it into that of the imagination, it is in the long-run reducible to mechanical laws" (p. 410).

it was possible, as it surely could not otherwise have been possible, for him to show us in such a volume as this the remarkable kind of disquisitions which may sometimes be made to do duty as philosophical discussions in this critical age.

Thinking himself harshly dealt with by his critics in what seem to him their acrimonious and unreasonable strictures, he brings together here, along with the Belfast Address and the papers written from time to time in its defence, such other papers as he had previously contributed to the discussion of certain religious doctrines from what seemed to him the scientific point of view, and makes of them Part II. of the new edition, Part I. being composed of more purely scientific discussions. He offers the collection, so made up, as his last word in defence of the position assumed at Belfast, and makes his earnest appeal to thoughtful, candid men to say whether the views maintained in it are not those of a philosopher and a man versed in all the mysteries of science, and such as he may reasonably offer for the satisfaction of minds seeking to know the very truth of things.¹

Freely commending the study of Part I. as an excellent exposition of the doctrines of the new philosophy, a better knowledge of which seems to afford the only hope of any clear understanding of current discussions, we pass to the consideration of the more striking merits of Part II. as the author's final apology for the materialism of the Belfast Address. Such being the terms of the appeal, we find the points to be met such as the following :

I. Whether the Belfast Address (pp. 472-534) which violently rejects the mechanical theory of life as something too monstrous for belief,² and which sees in the argument put into the mouth of Bishop Butler the inevitable overthrow of any form of Materialism which could be founded upon it³—whether such an address is not tolerably well explained by the paper on Scientific

¹ "In consequence of their special character, the Fragments of Part II. have been separated from the more purely scientific ones of Part I., and placed together in the order of their publication. Thus presented they will, I think, make it plain that within the last two years I have added no material iniquity to the list previously recorded against me. I have gone carefully over them all this year in Switzerland, bestowing special attention upon the one which has given most offense. To the judgment of thoughtful men I now commit them: the unthoughtful and the unfair will not read them, though they will continue to abuse them." (p. 325).—*Introduction to Part II.*

² See 2, *supra*.

³ "The argument placed in the mouth of Bishop Butler suffices, in my opinion, to crush all such materialism as this" (p. 523).

Materialism (pp. 409-422), with the perusal of which the author recommends us to supplement that of the address?¹ The sole purpose of the paper is to show that life, being a product of molecular force in precisely the same sense as astronomical motions are the work of gravitation, is, in the view of the well-informed man of science, a purely mechanical problem, subject to the same laws and to be solved by an appeal to the same principles as other problems of mechanics?² II. Whether the same aspersion of the mechanical theory, considered as a step preliminary to the espousal of evolution, is not further well explained by the paper on Vitality (pp. 459-465), which seems to the author to contain all of the materialism of the Belfast Address,³ and which sees no reason to doubt that the mechanical theory of heat, applied to the circumstances of a cooling planet, might be expected to explain the evolution of life; or that the mechanical collocation of its physical and mechanical constituents might be expected to yield a sentient, thinking being like ourselves?⁴ III. Whether a further good explanation of the same address is not afforded by the paper on The Scientific Use of the Imagination, which maintains that evolution must stand or fall by its ability to explain the phenomena of the human mind, such as poetry, philosophy, science, and art, as well as of every form of life from lowest to highest, by the application of the same mechanical theory

¹ "The reader who honors the Belfast Address with his attention may fitly supplement its perusal by that of the foregoing 'Fragment'" (p. 422).

² "You see I am not mincing matters, but avowing nakedly what many scientific thinkers more or less distinctly believe. The formation of a crystal, a plant, or an animal is in their eyes a purely mechanical problem, which differs from the problems of ordinary mechanics in the smallness of the masses and the complexity of the processes involved" (p. 418).

"A necessity rules here similar to that which rules the planets in their circuits round the sun" (p. 417).

³ "All the materialism of the Belfast Address seems to me to be concentrated in this somewhat ancient Fragment" (p. 465).—*Author's note to "Vitality."*

⁴ "Supposing, then, the molecules of the human body, instead of replacing others and thus renewing a pre-existing form, to be gathered first hand from nature and put together in the same relative positions as those which they occupy in the body. Supposing them to have the self-same forces and distribution of forces, the self-same motions and distribution of motions—would this organized concourse of molecules stand before us a sentient thinking being? There seems no valid reason to believe that it would not. Or supposing a planet carved from the sun and set spinning round an axis and revolving round the sun at a distance from him equal to that of our earth, would one of the consequences of its refrigeration be the development of organic forms? I lean to the affirmative" (p. 464).

of heat to the case of a nebulous mist, or to the fires of the sun?¹

IV. Whether, having visited with reprobation, what he thus agrees with Mr. Spencer in regarding as, the central principle of the hypothesis of evolution, he is not justified in joining one of his friendly critics, in the persuasion that he has thereby given the weight of his own authority to Mr. Spencer's philosophy, and another of them, in saying that in such a condemnation of Mr. Spencer's principles he was only re-enunciating views to which modern science most unmistakably points? V. If we remember that a part of the task of evolution is to give us a philosophy of the mind, whether this latter view is not supported with emphasis by Mr. Fiske when he says that "in no scientific sense is thought the product of molecular movement," and that "the progress of modern discovery (correlation), so far from bridging over the chasm between mind and matter, tends rather to exhibit the distinction between them as absolute?"²

VI. Whether, in short, this collection of papers as a whole, made up as it is in great part of these and other such like fitfully alternating affirmations and denials of the principles of the nebular theory, as Professor Tyndall understands them, is not, after all, about as good a vindication as we ought to expect of the nebular theory, as the best scientific intellects have adopted it? Or whether such clear and definite views of things as we discover here³ do not afford him a suitable standing place from which to proclaim to the believers in a Divine Creator and Governor of the world, and in a revelation of His will to men, his pity of their fruitless gropings after a Cause, while he discourses to them about the verities of science⁴ which contradict each other, offering them as substitutes for the *ignorant hypotheses*⁵ and the *very inadequate and foolish notions* of religious teachers?⁶

¹ See 3, supra.

² "Unseen World," p. 41.

³ "Profoundly interesting, and indeed pathetic, to me are these attempts of the opening mind of man to appease its hunger for a Cause" (p. 528).—*Apology for Belfast Address*.

⁴ "It did not appear to me extravagant to claim the public tolerance for an hour and a half for the statement of more reasonable views—views more in accordance with the verities which science has brought to light, and which many weary souls would, I thought, welcome with gratification and relief" (p. 546).

⁵ "Doubt those spiritual guides who in Scotland have lately propounded the monstrous theory, that the depreciation of railway scrip is a consequence of railway traveling on a Sunday. Let them not, as far as you are concerned, label and libel the system of Nature with their ignorant hypotheses."—*Essay on "Matter and Force," in original edition of "Fragments of Science."* D. Appleton & Co. (P. 93.)

⁶ "And looking at what I must regard as the extravagances of the religious world,

Such and such like are the questions submitted for our thoughtful consideration in this remarkable though strangely neglected volume. They are not the ones, evidently, which Professor Tyndall thought he was inditing ; they even have the appearance of being a travesty rather than a fair statement of the positions of a philosopher. Nevertheless, whenever we succeed in attaching any clear meaning to his words *they* are the ones which we shall find ourselves called upon to answer.

If the contradictions pointed out can be reconciled, by all means let it be done, and Professor Tyndall shall be heartily welcome to such vindication as the explanation may afford him. If it shall prove impossible to reconcile them, as we venture to believe, at least two things ought to be recognized : Professor Tyndall undertook to point out some important inroads of science upon our theological beliefs,¹ and has succeeded in making a clean sweep of the foundations of materialism, enabling us from this time, and upon authority so very high as his own, to say, first, that material evolution is the only alternative to the belief in the creation ;² and, second, that to believe in material evolution as is it involved in the nebular theory, and explained in the writings of Mr. Spencer and himself, is a monstrous notion, which we naturally and rightly reject, and to which any other hypothesis whatever would be preferable. If religion is indeed being crowded back by the progress of modern science, as is ominously asserted by some who ought to know, its defenders ought to blush that they have not long since put their assailants to rout, convincing them out of their own mouths that, whether or not science is opposed to religion, it is certainly opposed to materialism and mechanical evolution.

at the very inadequate and foolish notions concerning this universe which are entertained by the majority of our authorized religious teachers," etc., etc. (p. 545).

¹ "The impregnable position of science may be stated in a few words. We claim, and we shall wrest from theology, the entire domain of cosmological theory."

² "Modern scientific thought is called upon to decide between this hypothesis and another," etc., etc. (3, *supra*).

THE LITERARY MOVEMENT IN AMERICA.

Is there, or is there not, an active literary movement in America? The answer to this question will be determined by the point of view from which existing phenomena are regarded.

From the publisher's point of view, the movement is, for a time of general business depression, brisk enough. Many books are printed, and many sold. Besides works of fiction, of verse, of "humor," of etiquette, of cookery; besides books that popularize science, history, politics, or religion; besides cyclopædias of knowledge, and family libraries of poetry, the press teems with "series" after "series" of little volumes bearing names intended to catch the popular eye—"Bric-a-brac," "Sans Souci," "Half Hour," "Handy Volume," "Seaside," "Vest-Pocket," "Star," "No Name," "Epochs of History," "Primers," "Artist Biographies," etc., etc.—every publisher putting forth at least one set of his own. Some of these "series" are composed of books that belong together; others of those that have nothing in common except their small size and their cheapness. Almost every publisher, moreover, keeps a periodical, to which the writers of whom he is the business centre contribute, and in which he advertises his other merchandise. Our book-stores present temptations to short purses as well as to long ones; our newspapers give a generous amount of space to notices of new publications; on every hand are numerous signs that we are a reading people.

What, however, do we read? With what wares is the market filled? Does the activity in the production and the sale of books represent a corresponding activity in the intellectual life of the nation? Is our reading a stimulus to mental effort, or a substitute for it?

These questions answer themselves. The autumn is the favorite season for publication, yet we find in our list of new books by American authors not a single original volume of poetry, of philosophy, of essays, or of political history. In literary history, we have the first installment of Professor Tyler's work; in fiction, two stories by Mr. Henry James, jr. Other books there are which indicate national tendencies; but most of the recent noteworthy contributions to literature are by English authors.

The books with which our publishers have been busy are either popular editions of familiar essays, or condensations from larger volumes, or old material rearranged. The one thing needful to the success of any "series"

is that the books in it should be short, systematic (in appearance at least), and entertaining. Poe's rule for poems, that they should never be too long to be easily read at a sitting, is applied to the literature of knowledge as well as to that of power. Idle readers, not having the courage to read literary masterpieces as written, are provided with reduced copies made by machinery. Little original material offering, publishers must, perforce, work over the old, and work it into shapes that suit their customers ; but we should beware of confounding a commercial with a literary movement.

In Professor Tyler, of the University of Michigan, *American Literature*¹ has at last found a historian worthy of the name—a historian who aims not to make a complete dictionary of authors or of books, but to trace the intellectual development of the nation as expressed in its literary productions. The volumes already published bring the history through the colonial period. The first extends from 1607 to 1676, and deals with books written while the colonies were still struggling for existence ; the second ends in 1765, the year in which “ the scattered voices of the thirteen colonies were for the first time brought together and blended in one great and resolute utterance.” To bring the work down to the present time, as is the author's intention, two additional volumes will probably be required.

Within the limited space at our command, it would be idle to undertake to make a critical estimate of this important work, which represents years of conscientious and intelligent labor. The author claims to have examined “ the entire mass of American writings, during the colonial time, so far as they now exist in the public and private libraries of this country”—a task in which he has been aided, as he gracefully acknowledges, by those whose assistance is most valuable. He has endeavored to give to every author who deserves mention, either for his literary merit or for the part he played in the development of the national mind, an appropriate amount of space ; and he has woven into his text characteristic passages from each author that passes under consideration. Professor Tyler's decisions as to the place a given author fills in history, or as to the passages best fitted to exemplify his qualities, will not in every case, we presume, satisfy every student of colonial literature ; but the book bears marks throughout of a conscientious endeavor to exercise judicial functions in a judicial spirit ; and the selections from our early writers impart to the reader a knowledge of their personal and literary traits which no amount of talk about them, however well expressed, could give. We are entirely of Professor Tyler's opinion, that a historian of literature who makes judicious citations from

¹ “ *History of American Literature.*” By Moses Coit Tyler, Professor of English Literature in the University of Michigan. New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1878.

his authors, far from saving himself labor, makes a serious addition to the difficulty of his task, but also adds greatly to the value of his book.

The style of the "History" is for the most part worthy of the substance. Now and then—as in the characterization of Captain John Smith—the vigorous conciseness of each of several successive clauses is impaired by the fact that they repeat essentially the same idea ; now and then appears a word of doubtful credit—*inken*, *muchness*, for example ; once certainly we find a slang phrase, and once a sentence in *Carlylese*, which says over again what has already been said plainly : but these specks count for nothing in a style almost uniformly clear, forcible, and dignified, and never dull.

"The Europeans,"¹ and "Daisy Miller,"² though the first is modestly entitled "a sketch," and the second "a study," are better worth reading than many far more pretentious works of fiction. Both give evidence of the growing powers of Mr. Henry James, Jr.; both have advanced his well-deserved reputation ; and both manifest his increasing confidence in his ability to achieve effective results by simple means.

Nothing could be more slight than the story in each of these books. "The Europeans" takes its name from a Baroness and her brother Felix, who came to Boston thirty years ago, to make the acquaintance of their American cousins, and to improve whatever opportunities might present themselves. In the first chapter, which is among the best in the book, we learn their history, their leading characteristics, and their plans for the future, as they talk together while looking out upon a busy street scene familiar to all Bostonians, but treated with such art by Mr. James as to have the charm of novelty, and to make the reader forget for the moment that thirty years ago horse-cars were not. The rest of the story passes in the suburban home of the American cousins with whom Felix and the Baroness are domesticated. In such a place a generation ago, and among such people as New Englanders then were, life was, of course, monotonous, and Mr. James has not attempted to give it variety or relief by startling incidents of any kind. There are, of course, passages of love and of flirtation, and there are several happy marriages ; but a reader takes less interest in the plot than in the *dramatis personæ*. The dialogue is brilliant, the personages are real, and we are entertained as by a modern play at the *Comédie Française*. Perhaps the most attractive person is the gay Felix, the Bohemian, with his "slip of a character ;" but his sister, though less original, is perhaps equally well drawn. The Americans are all—except perhaps Mr. Brand, who is a little faint compared with the rest—well-dis-

¹ "The Europeans. A Sketch." By Henry James, Jr. Boston : Houghton, Osgood & Co. 1878.

² "Daisy Miller. A Study." By Henry James, Jr. New York : Harper & Brothers. 1879.

criminated, and yet they have in common a certain crudeness and a certain reserve, in some of them suggestive of wealth of nature, in some of poverty. Had the book been one-third shorter, it would have been more successful. There is too much talk for the action.

Good as "The Europeans" is, we are inclined to set a still higher value upon "Daisy Miller," the best short story we have read for many a day. Daisy herself is a creation. We have heard girls who belong to her class pronounce her a caricature; but everybody who has seen much of the American world knows one or more charming creatures who, like Daisy, have—thanks, for the most part, to their bringing up—just a touch of the common, as well as an almost complete ignorance of the conventions of society. The sad ending of Daisy's career is regretted by many; but, artistically speaking, it was inevitable. The triumph of the book is in the character of Daisy; but all the women, from Mrs. Miller to Mrs. Costello, the boy Randolph, the cautious Winterbourne, and the devoted but heartless Giovannelli are life-like. No one who has begun "Daisy Miller" will lay it down unfinished.

If Mr. James is content to follow the bent of his genius, great things may be expected of him.

Mr. Robert Lowell's three stories of life in Westervliet, fifty years ago,¹ are preceded by a dedication which speaks of friends "honored long years ago," and by a "foreword [in verse] at the reader's house-door." Thus we are prepared for a certain affectation which we find to be characteristic of the volume. Sometimes it appears in words like *stoep*, *longsomeness*, *inseeings*, *inthrusts*, *sunswarthed*, *multitudinous instance*; sometimes in references which show the author's familiarity with well-known mythology or history; sometimes in a roundabout and self-conscious method of narration; and throughout in an artificial style. Some of the sentences—such as that which begins the book—an ordinary reader finds difficulty in understanding; and some are carelessly written, as:

"Mr. Baredt, it was known, *had* one day gone suddenly out of his office on a summons from his friend, within the first day or two of his getting home, and *to have* come back, not long after, silent and agitated."

The author speaks, too, of a *seldom picnic* and of a *considerable stoppage* of the cars; and he says that "the grandmotherly neighbors . . . will yet [meaning *still*] talk of the pretty English orphan."

The first story turns on the influence on the mind of a Dutchman of his likeness to a figure in an old picture; the second, on the effect of the sudden loss of his wife upon the character and conduct of a prominent lawyer; the third, which is full of old Dutch expressions, upon the im-

¹ "A Story or Two from an Old Dutch Town." By Robert Lowell. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1878.

prisonment of a pedagogue in his own school-house and its influence on his fortunes in love.

There is more truth to nature in the incidents than in the ground plan of the stories ; and there is a certain freshness as well as novelty in the local coloring of the old Dutch town and its people. Perhaps the best pages, both in substance and in manner, are those which deal with natural objects or with children.

Mr. Whittier's last volume¹ will be welcomed by the poet's numerous admirers. Many of the poems have already been published—some of them in magazines, and some in the records of the celebrations to which they were contributed. They are all instinct with the high moral tone, the liberality of mind, the sympathy with suffering, the noble aspiration, the love of nature—with all the fine personal qualities which have given Mr. Whittier's works so wide an influence for good. In "The Witch of Wenham," a story of the early days of New England is told in the simple, touching way of which the Quaker poet has the secret. "Red Riding-Hood" is a pretty picture, but we should like it better if the reader had been left to draw his own moral.

In "Prince Deukalion,"² Mr. Bayard Taylor undertook, in the words of the introduction, to "picture forth the struggle of Man (which term always and inevitably includeth Woman) to reach the highest, justest, happiest, hence most perfect condition of Human Life on this planet." Act I. opens in A.D. 300, Act II. in 1300, Act III. in 18—, Act IV. in an unnamed year of the Future. The numerous "persons of the Drama" comprise Eos, Prometheus, Medusa, Buddha, Spirits of Dawn, of the Wind, etc., a Chorus of Ghosts, Echoes, a Shepherd, a Shepherdess. Only a philosophical poet of extraordinary powers could, in times like ours, achieve even moderate success in the execution of so vast a plan ; and Mr. Taylor, whatever his gifts, was neither a philosopher nor a great poet.

It is possible to join Joaquin Miller's English admirers in praising his poems without stint ; and it is easy, with most of his American critics, to point out his faults : but it is difficult to characterize him with entire fairness. His last volume³ is more free from mere faults of grammar than its predecessors ; but he calls monks gents, and he makes the peasants of Titian's land "*fall* the tall forest." He still repeats himself in words, figures, fancies, and ideas. In this volume *lonesome* and *sensuous* are favorite epithets ; rain as well as snow is *highborn* ; in two poems, at least, the

¹ "The Vision of Echard, and other Poems." By John Greenleaf Whittier. Boston : Houghton, Osgood & Co. 1878.

² "Prince Deukalion. A Lyrical Drama. By Bayard Taylor. Boston : Houghton, Osgood & Co. 1878.

³ "Songs of Italy." By Joaquin Miller. Boston : Roberts Brothers. 1878

gondolier uses his paddle as a "lifted spear," the stars "fresco" the heavens, and the water-rat is heard building. All that was worth saying in the half dozen or more addresses to the Lion of St. Mark's might better have been put into a single poem. Some figures, some expressions, some lines of thought are crude, and some in bad taste. Some of the calls for sympathy are unintelligible, if not unmanly; and the attempt at humor (in "Il Capucin") is not very successful. On the other hand, Mr. Miller has the rare gift of passion. Even where he offends the taste, he fires the fancy; and some of his lines haunt the reader's memory. If he would have the courage to submit himself to severe intellectual discipline, and to publish nothing but his best, he might more than fulfill the promise he has given; but perhaps it is too late.

Even a great poet might well hesitate to make the history of the Conquest of Mexico the subject of a play,¹ for the most powerful imagination could hardly represent the tragic fate of Guatemozin as more terrible than the reality. To bring about that fate by a jealous intrigue, in which there is neither passion nor incident, neither character nor local coloring, is to undertake to put a grand historical picture within the covers of a lady's album. Our wonder that the "drama" before us should have been written at all is only equaled by our wonder that it should have been written in verse. The author not only takes the usual poetical license frequently with 't'is, 't'was, 'gainst, 'neath, but stretches it to *m'* for "my," *to've* for "to have," 't'has for "it has," "they come *in* shot," for "within shot." Of his figures three samples must suffice:

" No, no, love feeds on warm
And breath-moist lips, and sets his fire in th' eyes,
Not in the sockets of a skull. I will be food."

" My Lord of Yacuba, we will inspect
Our forces, and determine with what blows
These hammers of our throne shall fall to crash
The nutty heads [Cortes and his army] whose cracking will be sweet."

" Old Time is losing all his hair :
That gray forelock of his that's grasped so often
Grows thin of late—hairs drop like seconds. Ha !"

From "The Sketch-Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent." to "England from a Back-Window, by the Danbury-News Man"² is a long step. Which book resembles most closely the American traveller of to-day? Which most truly represents American humor?

Whatever Mr. Bailey may or may not tell us about Great Britain, he

¹ "Guatemozin, a Drama, by Malcolm Macdonald." J. B. Lippincott. Philadelphia. 1878.

² "England from a Back-Window, with Views of Scotland and Ireland, by J. M. Bailey, the Danbury-News Man." Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1878.

tells us a good deal about himself. He mixes stoves, pies, fresh bread, "the American bill of fare, with its wonderful variety of dishes," "the American bar." He talks more than once of "pants," "vest," "the weed," "a human shave;" and he speaks of home as home wherever "located." A fire-place is "wide enough and high enough for an American hotel clerk to warm himself by." The lanes of London are "more intricate than a monthly statement of the United States Treasury." The English women's red cheeks "are not store cheeks." The space on an American flag (without any stars on it) "intended for that portion of cotton astronomy" is "as blue and blank as the face of a defeated candidate." Those who like "The Danbury News," or who are interested in seeing England as it looks from the Danbury point of view, will find much to entertain them in this book, which is evidently the transcript of the writer's genuine impressions recorded in the language and with the exaggeration habitual to him.

We have heard some of Mr. Phillips Brooks' regular hearers maintain that his sermons¹ sound far better than they read—a remark usually made of successful preachers who have a strong personality behind their words. However this may be, Mr. Brooks's printed discourses are very well worth reading. They are straightforward, manly, hopeful, full of charity and full of faith. He does not reject the special doctrines of his church, but he does not lay undue stress upon them. The creed which he believes in is "broad, solid, practical." He scorns the minister who makes himself "busy building the fences of his sheepfold a little higher, and warning his flock of the danger of looking over." He does not believe saints to be "feeble, nerveless creatures, silly and effeminate, the mere soft padding of the universe." He is not frightened by the "disturbed condition of faith" at present, but thinks the world to be "wonderfully like a high-spirited young man of twenty-one years old," "with all the characters and moods that belong to that most interesting and perplexing creature." Often he addresses himself to young men, and one can not but hope that many of them may be brought within reach of an influence so powerful for good.

Singularly in contrast with the spirit of Mr. Brooks's discourses are two volumes² which urge Christians of other denominations to lay aside their differences, and to enter the fold of the Protestant Episcopal Church. In the

¹ "Sermons." By the Rev. Phillips Brooks, Rector of Trinity Church, Boston. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1878.

² "The Comprehensive Church; or, Christian Unity and Ecclesiastical Union in the Protestant Episcopal Church." By the Rt. Rev. Thomas H. Vail, D.D., LL.D. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1879.

³ "Catholicity in its Relationship to Protestantism and Romanism. Being six Conferences Delivered at Newark, N. J., at the request of Leading Laymen of that City." By the Rev. F. C. Ewer, LL.D. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1878.

preface to the last edition of "The Comprehensive Church," Bishop Vail says that in 1841, when the first edition appeared, "the Church did not apprehend the receptive capabilities of her divinely catholic constitution. It was *not up to the idea* [the italics are ours] presented in this book." He believes, however, that the idea is "now quite generally accepted;" but still says (chap. 4) that "there is an amazing indifference upon the public mind as to this duty of unity." In the lectures delivered at Newark the subject is discussed with more warmth and less taste. Dr. Ewer believes that Unitarianism is "a European variety of Mohammedanism;" and that "from the opening of the nineteenth century Low-churchmanship has been the underlying, prolific, and sole cause of perversions to Rome."

Dr. Morgan Dix¹ exhorts his hearers to "hold fast to the golden thread of the old theology" in the matter of the creation and the fall of Adam; but he so far complies with the spirit of the time as to print fewer doctrinal than practical discourses. His sermon defending childhood against the distorting and forcing influences of the age, and that on "The Communion of Saints," in which he urges Christians not to be behind the heathen in "truth and fidelity to the dead," are especially eloquent.

The fourth volume of Mr. Joseph Cook's Monday lectures in Boston, which discusses the nature and office of conscience,² is characterized by the same qualities which have given such widespread popularity to the preceding volumes. We sometimes wonder whether a sceptic would be convinced by Mr. Cook's peculiar logic; whether his auditors do not applaud his smart rather than his true sayings; whether he brings a scientific mind to the discussion of scientific questions. Perhaps he is more useful in strengthening belief than in making converts.

Last year the Adult Bible Class of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, studied the book of Job with Dr. Raymond, who prepared for them a metrical paraphrase which is now published.³ The explanatory essays which accompany the paraphrase embody the results of both reading and thought, and will be helpful as well as interesting to any one who is beginning the critical study of one of the greatest poems ever written. As for the paraphrase, which is printed in parallel columns with the revised version adopted by the Bible Union, we can not see how it renders the text more intelligible, and we can see that it weakens the force and impairs the sublimity of familiar passages. We had hoped that the days of paraphrase were passed.

¹ "Sermons Doctrinal and Practical." By Morgan Dix, S.T.D., Rector of Trinity Church, New York. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1878.

² "Conscience, with Preludes on Current Events." By Joseph Cook. Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Co. 1879.

³ "The Book of Job; Essays and a Metrical Paraphrase." By Rossiter W. Raymond, Ph.D. With an Introductory Note by Rev. T. I. Conant, D.D., and the Text of Dr. Conant's Revised Version. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1878.

Professor Day, well-known as the author of works on ethics, logic, and the art of discourse, seeks in his "Outlines of Ontological Science"¹ to determine the valid grounds and tests of all knowledge—a task to which he has been invited by the recent rapid developments of science. The subject is considered under four heads: Philosophical Logic, Philosophical Psychology, Philosophical Theology, and Philosophical Cosmogony.

The latest book on ceramics,² though less pretentious than some of its predecessors, and less profound than others, will meet the wants of the general reader quite as well as any. It waives matters such as the marks of factories and artists, which are of interest to the connoisseur only; it sums up the history of the ceramic art without undertaking to solve disputed problems; and it draws many of its illustrations from American collections easily accessible. While, therefore, the special student may not find in this book much that is new, unless it be in the treasures that he has overlooked in his zeal for the remote, the reader whose interest in the subject is greater than his knowledge, will have his interest quickened and his curiosity gratified.

At first glance, one is at a loss to know for what class of readers a book on "Sensible Etiquette"³ can be intended, or whose wants it supplies. Those who need to be told, as the readers of Mrs. Ward's work are told, not to blot their letters, not to "gorge" at supper, not to take too much wine, not "to tilt a soup-plate for the last spoonful," not to play with their food, not to finger the glass or silver on the table, not to forget (even if you are "a gentleman wearing white ducks") to take leave of the hostess, not to dye the hair, not to wear diamonds in the morning, not to indulge (if married) in hysterics, to brush the teeth, to take care of the nails, to keep clean ("with Windsor soap"), to speak grammatically—those who need instruction on these matters are not yet ready to study nice questions of etiquette. In their eyes, social forms are likely to assume too great rather than too little importance. Those, on the other hand, who have been well brought up turn over the leaves of a book of this kind with surprise dashed with amusement—surprise not only at the extent of the ground traversed (in morals as well as in manners, in discussions upon all subjects—from the bath to the Harvard examinations for women—and in citations ranging all the way from Caius Marius to Mrs. John Sherwood, from Aristotle to Ouida), but also at some of the rules of "Sensible Etiquette." Thus, we are told that a letter to a friend should not end with

¹ "Outlines of Ontological Science; or, A Philosophy of Knowledge and of Being." By Henry N. Day. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1878.

² "The Ceramic Art. A Compendium of the History and Manufacture of Pottery and Porcelain." By Jennie J. Young, with 464 Illustrations. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1878.

³ "Sensible Etiquette of the best Society: Customs, Manners, Morals and Home Culture. Compiled from the best Authorities." By Mrs. H. O. Ward. [Fourth Revised Edition.] Philadelphia: Porter & Coates. 1878.

"yours truly," or be signed with initials merely ; that in a republic it is as much the gentleman's duty to bow first as the lady's ; that "it is not binding upon any young man to remain one moment longer than he desires with any lady."

A more thorough examination, however, discovers in the book many excellent suggestions, both as to the sources of good manners in sound judgment and right feeling, and as to their utility and beauty in the intercourse of daily life—suggestions particularly valuable to young people in a country where the young aspire to take the lead in social life, and to determine its conditions. The increasing demand for such books shows how much they are needed. This demand is as well supplied by the work under review as by any other within our knowledge ; but it would be still better supplied if the author had paid more attention to arrangement, and had contented herself with making a digest of the social code, so far as one exists, instead of attempting to amend it in conformity with theories of her own invention. In consequence of the unsystematic presentation of the various topics taken up, it is difficult to study them in their mutual relations, or promptly to find the solution of a pressing question. In consequence of the author's occasional confusion of her own notions of etiquette as it should be with etiquette as it is, a young person is in danger of finding that he has set up for a reformer when he has merely intended to "do the correct thing."

The Dinner Year-Book¹ aims to give "for seven days of four weeks in each month a *menu*, adapted in all things to the average American market." As it would pass the wit of woman to suggest an absolutely different dinner for every day in the year, one is not surprised to perceive a certain sameness under an appearance of variety ; and we fear that many a husband would find difficulty in distinguishing at table between two dinners that look very unlike on paper. The book is full of excellent receipts for good and inexpensive dishes, and the scraps left over from one dinner are so thoroughly put to use in another that one wonders what a housekeeper who follows the book closely will do for breakfast. It is not easy to understand why, except on the supposition that the book is intended for the Western market, so little use is made of fish, except on Fridays. The index, though covering sixteen pages, is far from complete, or convenient for ready reference. To be thoroughly useful, an index for a book of this kind should not only contain every title, but should have each title under every head that a housekeeper or a cook pressed for time is likely to look for. Foot-notes making references and cross-references to the text would be a valuable addition to the body of the book.

Mr. C. F. Adams, Jr., whose familiarity with the subject entitles him to rank as an expert, has written a little book which contains a great deal of in-

¹ "The Dinner Year-Book." By Marion Harland. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons. 1878.

teresting information about railroads.¹ In the first chapter, entitled "The Genesis of the Railroad System," he follows the unsteady steps of what is now a giant; in the second chapter, entitled "The Railroad Problem," he discusses the serious questions presented by the enormous development of the railroads of this country, and throws upon them light obtained from the experience of Europe.

Mr. Clark's timely volume on "The Races of European Turkey"² is divided into three parts: "The Byzantine Empire;" "The Modern Greeks and the Albanians;" and "The Turkish Slavonians, the Wallachians, and the Gypsies." Each part is prefaced by a list of the leading authorities referred to, which include recent articles in British and American periodicals.

The illustrations of "The Story of Liberty"³ are many and varied, and some of them have done service elsewhere. Parents who would put into their children's hands Fox's Books of Martyrs will find not a few engravings to their taste, so far at least as the subject is concerned; but those who do not wish their children to sup full of horrors seasoned with bigotry will shun this book like a pestilence. In it the Roman Catholic Church is represented as busily engaged in roasting heretics, burying them alive, and in putting them out of the way by other equally unpleasant methods, or as in the person of "a holy friar," indecently carousing in private. Hideous caricatures that passed between the adherents of Luther and those of the Pope are reproduced. As for the text, it is a farrago of scraps of history, following to a certain extent a chronological order, but put together after a fashion hard to be understood by a child who is not old enough to seek his history in more authentic volumes. An attempt is made to enliven the text by dialogue, by short sentences, and by that most wearisome of expedients—the constant use of the present tense. The book is modestly dedicated "to the boys and girls of America."

Dr. Miles's treatise on "Stock-Breeding"⁴ embodies the substance of several lectures on the art of breeding domestic animals, and is published "in response to the repeated solicitations of persons interested in the subject," who have felt the need of a systematic statement in a convenient form of the principles and practice of the art. Not only those to whom the subject has a business value, but those also who take a purely speculative interest in the

¹ "Railroads: Their Origin and Problems." By Charles Francis Adams, Jr. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1878.

² "The Races of European Turkey. Their History, Condition, and Prospects." By Edson L. Clark. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. 1878.

³ "The Story of Liberty." By Charles Carleton Coffin. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

⁴ "Stock-Breeding: A Practical Treatise on the Applications of the Laws of Development and Heredity to the Improvement and Breeding of Domestic Animals." By Manly Miles, M.D., late Professor of Agriculture in the Michigan State Agricultural College. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1879.

laws of heredity, will find much food for thought both in the facts brought together, and in the theories by which different writers have sought to account for the facts.

In the "Blessed Bees,"¹ a young Michigan farmer prints the record of his first year's experience in bee-keeping by modern methods—a year which left him with "a clear cash gain of 360 per cent on the investment." We can readily believe that "to write these chapters was a labor of love," for they are full of enthusiasm as well as of intelligence. Specialists will of course study the book, and the general reader will find in it much to interest him.

In a volume of about one hundred and fifty pages, Mr. Thwing, a student at the Andover Theological Seminary, and a recent graduate of Harvard, manages to give a good deal of information about American colleges.² He does not go very deeply into the subject, but he has thrown together facts enough to be of no little assistance to those who are deciding to what college to send their sons. A table is given which shows at a glance the number of hours of instruction given by each of twenty colleges (out of three hundred and eleven), including the Universities of California and of Michigan, as well as Amherst, Harvard, Yale, and Cornell, but not Brown or Williams—omissions we can not account for. Another table affords means of comparing expenses in twenty-five colleges, and a subsequent page gives the amount of pecuniary aid which each offers to poor scholars. Many will be gratified to learn that our colleges are superior, in point of morals, to the English universities, and that on the one hand one half of the twenty-six thousand students of American colleges are professing Christians, while on the other hand college revivals are characterized by "entire freedom from sectarian influences." In the chapter upon Societies nothing is said of the theatrical entertainments which, in some colleges, are the prominent feature of the leading clubs. The chapter on "College Rank as a Test of Future Distinction," is so vague in its statements, and so indiscriminating in its selection of examples in point, as to be of little practical value. One would guess from Mr. Thwing's addiction to threadbare Latin phrases—*mens sana*, for example, *mutatis mutandis*, *facile princeps*, *sine qua non*—that he had not been long out of college. His vocabulary is not rich, nor his style easy; and he occasionally makes a slip in grammar, as where he says "*indulgences in liquor costs*," etc.

Mr. Whipple's "Recollections of Rufus Choate,"³ though containing little that is new, is an interesting sketch of a remarkable man. With the reissue of Choate's addresses and of his life by President Brown, it will help to keep the great advocate in mind a little longer.

¹ "The Blessed Bees." By John Allen. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1878.

² "American Colleges: Their Students and Work." New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1878.

³ "Recollections of Rufus Choate." By Edwin P. Whipple. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

"Canada under the Administration of the Earl of Dufferin"¹ is a handsome volume of nearly seven hundred pages. Its chief value consists in the eloquent speeches of the late Governor-General, revised by himself. Outside of the Dominion, few people will be interested in the minute details of Lord Dufferin's "magnificent receptions" at this or that city; but all friends of the aristocracy will be glad to hear that "the mighty cataract [Niagara] was in its grandest mood" at the time of his visit; and all those whose names are introduced—from the gentleman who read the first address, to the lady who presented the last bouquet—will consider the record none too voluminous.

A first book in grammar should teach in simple language the uses of the different kinds of words known as parts of speech, and should show how to put them together in sentences. It should avoid technical terms until the things of which they are the names have been thoroughly mastered, and it should provide enough, but not too much, easy work for children. Many of these conditions are apparently fulfilled in Mr. Ballard's little book;² but the children are given altogether too much work to do. The author's sentences are not always simple enough for a child, and his English is sometimes open to criticism—as where he uses *whose* to refer to *book*, or defines a cow as "An animal with four legs, two horns, a tail, *and that* is nearly as big as a horse, and gives milk."

A popular edition of Wilson's well-known work on "American Ornithology,"³ with Bonaparte's additions, brings a valuable book within reach of a moderate purse.

A good general view of the history of English literature can be obtained from Mr. Thomas Arnold's paper, originally written for the "Encyclopædia Britannica."⁴ Like Mr. Arnold's previous publications—"From Chaucer to Wordsworth" and "History of English Literature"—the book is not a dry catalogue or a mere compendium. It does not profess to contain the names of all the writers in the language, small and great, but it gives an intelligible account of those best worth knowing and points out the traits which contemporaries have in common, and the direction in which the current of each generation sets. Perhaps too much stress is laid upon the spirit of the age, and not enough upon individual peculiarities; perhaps questions are regarded too often from a religious (not to say Church of England) point of view, though less so than in Mr. Arnold's other books; but the author certainly

¹ "Canada under the Administration of the Earl of Dufferin." By George Stewart, Jr. Toronto, Canada: Rose-Belford Publishing Company. 1878.

² "Words, and how to Put them Together." By Harlan H. Ballard, Principal of Lenox High School, Lenox, Mass. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1878.

³ "American Ornithology; or, The Natural History of the United States. Illustrated with Plates engraved from Drawings from Nature." By Alexander Wilson and Charles Lucian Bonaparte. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.

⁴ "English Literature, 596-1832." By T. Arnold. [From the "Encyclopædia Britannica."] New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1879.

contrives to give in an interesting manner, though in a small space, a large amount of information, not only as to the works of the best authors, but also as to the critical opinions about them.

Though Mrs. Jameson's opinions on art and on Shakspeare have lost the influence they exercised a generation ago, all who have read her "Characteristics of Women," her "Sacred and Legendary Art," or her "Diary of an Ennuyée," will be interested in the modest record of her life¹ prepared by her niece. It is published under the superintendence of Mrs. Oliphant, whose account of the heroic life and tragic death of the biographer is the most touching chapter in the book. Even those who know little of Mrs. Jameson's writings will find much to interest them in her personal history, and in the glimpses she gives of places she visited, and of people with whom she was intimate. Her friendship with "that sphinx-like woman," Lady Byron, lasted for twenty years, but ended suddenly, like all Lady Byron's friendships, from causes not fully explained. She was intimate with Miss Mortineau, and was assailed in that amiable woman's Autobiography—an assault which seems to have determined Mrs. Macpherson to write these memoirs. In both cases, there were probably faults on each side. If not "implacable"—the word with which she at first characterized Lady Byron—Mrs. Jameson was certainly not of a yielding disposition, as is shown by anecdotes of her childhood as well as by the history of her married life. Whatever her genius for friendship, she had none for love, unless, indeed, her long intimacy with Major Noel, a relative of Lady Byron, partook of that character.

Had she had a particle of affection for her husband, or had she treated him with a fair amount of tact, the "incompatibility of temper" between them might in course of time have been diminished instead of being increased, for his defects were chiefly of a negative character—such as reserve and indecision. Being what she was, however, Mrs. Jameson's chief sorrows in life came from her marriage; she was always unhappy in her husband's presence, and she confided her unhappiness to Major Noel. When in 1836 she visited Mr. Jameson at Canada, in obedience to his positive orders, she had for Niagara "no words to express her utter disappointment." As for Toronto, it was "strangely mean and melancholy," "a small community of fourth-rate, half-educated, or uneducated people, where local politics of the meanest kind engross the men, and petty gossip and household cares the women;" and the climate was "hateful." When, however, the warm spring days arrived, Mrs. Jameson began to find both place and people more agreeable. Such a great change in opinion shows how much her judgment was under the control of her feelings—a characteristic which goes far to explain the obscurity into which her critical writings have fallen.

¹ "Memoirs of the Life of Anna Jameson." By her niece, Geraldine Macpherson. With a Portrait. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1878.

"Modern Frenchmen"¹ contains biographies of Victor Jacquemont, traveller and naturalist; Henri Perreyve, ecclesiastic and orator; François Rude, sculptor; Jean Jacques Ampère, historian, archæologist, traveller; and Henri Regnault, painter and patriot. The lives of Rude and Regnault are, as might have been expected, the best, both because the material is the most interesting, and because the author has more sympathy with artists than with naturalists or travellers. In the biography of Ampère are a few pages about his relations with Madame Recamier. Mr. Hamerton seems to have some doubt as to the transcendent beauty or the intellectual powers of this famous lady, but none as to her wonderful tact, her freedom from passion, and her willingness to awaken passion in her admirers in order to keep them at her feet.

Mr. Hamerton's works are said to be more popular in America than in Great Britain, and he seems to write quite as much with an eye to American readers as to those nearer home. On both sides of the ocean some of his books have done good service in weakening prejudices and correcting misconceptions regarding France and the French character, and his last book will do still more in this direction.

"Johnson's Chief Lives of the Poets"² should be used as a reading-book in the higher schools, both because of the knowledge it gives concerning six famous men of letters, whose lives cover more than a century of literary history, and because in these pages the student is brought in contact with the manliness, the strong common-sense, and the vigorous English of Johnson himself. Matthew Arnold's excellent preface gives valuable hints to teachers on general subjects, as well as on the proper use to be made of the book; Macaulay's Life of Johnson is one of the most favorable specimens of his style; and the essays by Macaulay and Carlyle, which have been added by the American publishers, increase the value of the book.

"Grammarland,"³ which is dedicated "to all children who think grammar hard and dry," has passed through at least three editions in England, where it has been found useful to teachers as well as entertaining to little people. It tells about "rich Mr. Noun, and his useful friend Pronoun; little ragged Article and talkative Adjective; busy Drs. Verb and Adverb; perky Preposition, convenient Conjunction, and that tiresome Interjection, the oddest of all;" and it tells about them all in an interesting as well as an instructive way. He

¹ "Modern Frenchmen. Five Biographies." By Philip Gilbert Hamerton. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1878.

² "Johnson's Chief Lives of the Poets." Being those of Milton, Dryden, Swift, Addison, Pope and Gray, and Macaulay's Life of Johnson, with a Preface by Matthew Arnold. To which are Appended Macaulay's and Carlyle's Essays on Boswell's Life of Johnson." New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1878.

³ "Grammarland; or, Grammar in Fun, for the Children of Schoolroom-shire." By M. L. Nesbitt. With Frontispiece and Initials by I. Waddy. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1878.

must be a dull child who can not learn without trouble the name and the general characteristics of each part of speech that comes into the court-room presided over by Judge Grammar, assisted by his two learned counsellors, Sergeant Parsing and Dr. Syntax.

Mr. Henry von Laun's account of "The French Revolutionary Epoch"¹ is a useful compendium, but it has little claim to rank as a history. The first part is a convenient abridgment of Taine's "Ancien Régime," and the rest of the book is, in the words of the preface, "chiefly based upon the fourth, fifth, and sixth volumes of the "Histoire des Français," by MM. Lavallée and Lock." In his effort to be concise, Mr. Von Laun is sometimes obscure, and sometimes dull; and occasionally he follows the French arrangement of words in a sentence too closely. A good index would enhance the value of the book.

"Shelley's Minor Poems,"² from the text of Mr. H. Buxton Forman, is the title of a little volume just issued from the press of John Wilson & Son. It is a model of typographical excellence.

Mr. Serjeant's "New Greece"³ is a compilation of the facts relating to the present condition of the Hellenic kingdom, and to its history since its establishment in 1830. An introductory chapter deals with the treatment of Greece by the Congress of Berlin. The author accuses England of abandoning the cause of Greece at the Congress, and bitterly inveighs against Lord Beaconsfield. An appendix contains convenient lists of treaties and of the authorities consulted.

Professor Ihne's Early Rome,⁴ in the "Epochs of Ancient History" series, embodies in a concise and interesting form the latest results of German criticism upon what used to pass as the history of the Roman kings and of the early ages of the republic.

"The Normans in Europe,"⁵ in the useful "Epochs of Modern History" series, aims to present a connected view of the Scandinavian Exodus which began in the ninth century and culminated in the Norman Conquest of England. In the preparation of this work the author has had the advantage of Professor Stubbs's advice and criticism.

¹ "The French Revolutionary Epoch. Being a History of France from the First French Revolution to the End of the Second Empire." New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1879.

² "Shelley's Minor Poems." By Henri von Laun. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1878.

³ "New Greece." By Lewis Serjeant. Cassell, Petter & Galpin: London, Paris, and New York.

⁴ "Early Rome, from the Foundation of the City to its Destruction by the Gauls." By W. Ihne, Ph.D., Professor at the University of Heidelberg. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

⁵ "The Normans in Europe." By the Rev. A. H. Johnson, M.A. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

SOME RECENT ENGLISH BOOKS.

"BIOGRAPHY OF WILLIAM COBBETT." ¹ That Cobbett was a remarkable man, even his "bitterest" political opponents admit. He had in him most of the elements of the typical John Bull, and he demands our admiration in that he had ever the courage of his opinions. His lot was cast in a stormy political and social period—a period of disruption and upheaval. Old landmarks were destroyed, and England took many strides forward in the path of social and industrial progress. Cobbett was one of the pioneers of that greater liberty which the people of England now enjoy. On one occasion he said, "I have been the great enlightener of the people of England." In the mouths of some this would be a vain and empty boast; but in Cobbett's case it had more than a substratum of truth. As W. J. Fox said, the newspapers have never yet admitted fully their deepest obligation to Cobbett. "He was the inventor of *Twopenny Trash*;" and perhaps this *Twopenny Trash* has done more to procure perfect freedom for political writing in England than any other single agency which could be mentioned. Of course, Cobbett has been described as "a firebrand" and "an agitator," and so he was in one sense, and gloried in it; but sometimes such men are necessary. When the political atmosphere in a nation becomes oppressive it can never be cleared without a storm. Cobbett did a great deal of work for which he deserves to be honored. It was right and fitting that this memorial of him should be published. Mr. Smith appears to us to have accomplished his task in a very worthy manner. Unlike a great many biographers, he does not give us a great deal of himself and little of his subject. He rather allows Cobbett to plead his own cause, and be himself his most effective justification, by quoting copiously from his works, and by narrating the story of his life with simplicity and directness. Those who wish to know Cobbett intimately have now the opportunity. These volumes—for which also the publishers have done their best—will, we fully anticipate, enjoy a large measure of the public favor. They throw considerable indirect light upon the general history of the period extending from 1784 to 1832—a momentous time both in the annals of England and of Europe.

¹ "William Cobbett: A Biography." By Edward Smith. Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington.

MR. SPENCER WALPOLE'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND.¹—Mr. Walpole has essayed a difficult and delicate task, but if the remaining portion of his work be as satisfactorily accomplished as the first instalment, neither he nor the public will have reason to regret that he has undertaken it. There are those who think that contemporary history is dangerous ground for the historian, and the mere political partisan would undoubtedly fail in attempting to grapple with it; but Mr. Walpole, notwithstanding his strong Conservative predilections, writes with a moderation and an absence of party spirit which are truly admirable. In his Preface, he does not disguise the lamentable condition of England at the beginning of the present century. "During the first few years which succeeded Waterloo," he remarks, "Englishmen enjoyed less real liberty than at any time since the Revolution of 1688. The great majority of the people had no voice in the Legislature. Political power was in the hands of a few fortunate individuals, who were bent on retaining the monopoly which they had secured. The tax-payers were laden with fiscal burdens which were both unequal and ill-devised. Death was the punishment which the law awarded to the gravest and the most trivial crimes. The pauper was treated as a criminal, and the administration of the Poor Laws made almost every laborer a pauper. Harsh and oppressive as the laws already were, the oligarchy, by which England was governed, was continually demanding harsher and more oppressive legislation. During the five years which succeeded Waterloo, the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended; the liberty of the Press was restricted; the right of public meeting was denied; domiciliary visits in search of arms were allowed." In fact, this period of English history, which is within the personal recollection of statesmen still living, exhibited but little advance upon feudal times.

Mr. Walpole shows in these volumes what reforms were achieved in twelve years, viz., from 1820 to 1832 inclusive. Owing to the labors of Romilly and Mackintosh the Criminal Code was reconstructed; Huskisson reformed the commercial system, following the doctrines of Adam Smith; Canning reformed the policy of the Foreign Office; a Tory government, abandoning the traditions of its party, emancipated the Roman Catholics and the Dissenters; and a Whig ministry reformed the constitution of the House of Commons. These were mighty revolutions to be effected in so short a space of time; but when the hour comes and the man, nothing can withstand the powerful conjunction. Mr. Walpole presents us with a luminous view of the social, literary, and political condition of England and her relations with the various European States; and his narrative concludes, for the present, with the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832. The remaining volumes of his interesting work will be eagerly anticipated by the public, and

¹ "A History of England from the Conclusion of the Great War in 1815." By Spencer Walpole, author of "The Life of the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval." Vols. I. and II. Longmans, Green & Co.

also by the student of the most recent (which is also well-nigh the most important) period of English history.

AN OLD STORY OF MY FARMING DAYS.¹—Though inclined here and there to be a little tedious, this is notwithstanding a remarkable work. Hawermann, its hero, is a very fine study, drawn with vigorous outlines. Many of the other characters also possess a distinct individuality. There is abundance both of pathos and humor in the novel, which is a representation of Pomeranian life and manners. The English publishers did well to issue a translation of the German work, and the spirit of the author appears to have been largely retained in the reproduction. Many of the passages in this work would do no discredit to any living writer of fiction.

TO MY LADY, AND OTHER POEMS.²—Though Mr. Beatty has evidently been a close student of Tennyson—of whom he gives us echoes now and then—he has also claims of his own. If not a powerful, he is a sweet singer. There are some tender, graceful things in this little volume.

WORDSWORTH AND THE LAKE DISTRICT.³—It was a happy idea of Mr. Knight to write this volume. More than in the case of any other poet, the poems of Wordsworth are saturated with local feeling and enriched with local color. There will be many lovers of the great Lake poet to welcome this attempt at an interpretation of his works, by bringing out the singularly close connection between them and the district of the English Lakes, and by explaining Wordsworth's numerous allusions to the locality. Besides successfully accomplishing his object as thus stated, Mr. Knight has produced in every way an agreeable and entertaining volume.

"CHRISTOPHER NORTH."⁴—A wide welcome is sure to await this new edition of the Life of Professor Wilson, that most genial of Scotch critics. Originally published in an expensive form, Mr. Jack now issues the Memoir, with excellent paper, type, and binding, in one volume, at a very cheap rate. The work is perfectly complete, and contains the striking portrait of old Christopher and the other illustrations which embellished the original issue. There is no need, at this time of day, either to say any thing of Wilson's claims as poet, essayist, and novelist, or to enlarge upon the merits of this charming memoir of him by his daughter, Mrs.

¹ "An Old Story of my Farming Days." By Fritz Reuter. From the German by M. W. Macdowall. Sampson Low, Marston & Co.

² "To my Lady, and Other Poems." By Pakenham Beatty. Provost & Co.

³ "The English Lake District as Interpreted in the Poems of Wordsworth." By William Knight, Professor St. Andrew's University. Edinburgh: David Douglas.

⁴ "Christopher North. A Memoir of John Wilson, late Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh." By his Daughter, Mrs. Gordon. Edinburgh: Thomas C. Jack

Gordon. Its publication will revive the interest of many old friends in "Christopher North," and procure him, we trust, many more admirers still. It is an excellent tribute to one of the finest literary spirits of the nineteenth century.

CRESSIDA.¹—Miss Thomas's previous novel led us to form considerable expectations for her future. Though these expectations are scarcely fulfilled by her present story, it has yet many excellent points, and is much better worth reading than many of the novels daily issued. The author has been unfortunate in her heroine: when she first comes upon the stage she engages our interest, but we lose this somewhat as we go on. We are disappointed in her, and she scarcely seems to fulfill our preconceived notions. Her conduct with two or three of her admirers is utterly indefensible, nor does there seem rhyme or reason for it. Some of the other characters are much better drawn; indeed there is distinct individuality in Joe Kennedy and Norbert Alleyne. Now and then the writing is admirable; but the story is uneven in this respect. Yet notwithstanding the fact that as a whole the novel does not satisfy us, it still proves that Miss Thomas has the making of a good story-writer in her. When she obtains a satisfactory plot we doubt not she will be very successful, and we shall look with interest for her next appearance in fiction.

THE POEMS OF ALLAN RAMSAY.²—Mr. Alexander Gardner, of Paisley, is rendering a great and valuable service to English literature by his admirable series of reprints. His editions of Scottish and other authors who may now be regarded as classics are simply beyond praise, whether we regard the outward and visible presentment of the book, the nature of the critical work by which the various authors are introduced, or the faithfulness of the text. The work now under notice is an example of the truth of this. There is no edition extant of the popular Scotch poet Allan Ramsay which can be compared with this. All the authentic material that can be collected bearing upon the poet and his works is here presented to us. There is an introductory note, then a carefully written life, and a full critical estimate of the genius of Ramsay. The works are comprised in two volumes, the first including verses to the author, and his own serious, elegiac, comic, satiric, and epigrammatical poems; the second embracing his pastoral, lyric, and epistolary poems, with the fables and tales. Ramsay divides the crown with Burns as regards the affection in which his poems are held; and this new edition of the works of the author of "The Gentle Shepherd" can not but still further enhance his popularity.

¹ "Cressida." By Bertha Thomas, author of "Proud Maisie." London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington.

² "The Poems of Allan Ramsay." With Life, Appendix, and Glossary. In two vols. Alex. Gardner, Paisley.

THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW

FEBRUARY, 1879.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN PAINTING AT PARIS IN 1878.

I.

THE success of the English painters at the Universal Exhibition of 1878 is satisfactory to the national pride of an Englishman, which could not but be a little galled by the old continental denial of his artistic capabilities ; but a purely cosmopolitan thinker might be pleased with it for a very different reason. It is good evidence that national prejudice is gradually wearing itself away, and giving place to a sentiment of interest in national varieties. The present state of feeling amongst the most intelligent of continental visitors to the Exhibition was not at all that of dislike to conditions of art differing from those that they were accustomed to at home ; on the contrary, it was an earnest desire that such varieties might be perpetuated. For the first time in the history of the world there began to prevail a feeling of apprehension that the art of the world might possibly become too uniform.

England and America differ most essentially from each other in what may be called the quality of artistic nationality. England has it in the supreme degree, and, so far as we were able to judge from the Universal Exhibition, America scarcely has it at all. The continental origin of English painting is too remote to be easily discernible at the present day. We know, historically, that English painting is an offshoot of Flanders ; but although there still are some points of technical resemblance between the descendant and the ancestor, the descendant has a new and original spirit, and such resemblance as there is goes no farther than the use of a few processes. But the resemblance between American and French art is

much more than simply technical. The American students in Paris have imbibed not merely the processes of the French painters, but also their spirit. They do not simply paint as Frenchmen paint, they think and feel as Frenchmen think and feel, and that to such a degree that if their works were exhibited under French names and scattered through the rooms of a French exhibition, there is not a critic in Europe who would be able with any certainty to pick out the American picture from the mass. I am not sure that in the interests of the future American school this can be considered a great misfortune, though it is destructive of originality for the present. Every nation in which a new school is formed must learn to paint from some other nation which has already mastered the art. England learned the art from Flanders, America is learning it from France. *Is learning it*, do I say? nay, rather, has already learned it, for Parisian Americans seem to paint just as well as the French themselves, and I think the time has come for the development of a more national style on your side of the Atlantic. It was well at the beginning, when you knew nothing, to go to those who did know, and get taught; but now that you know as much as your masters (I mean of all communicable knowledge) why not quietly go home and work out your own artistic destinies in your own way? We may have to recur to this when we come to the American painters who exhibited in Paris; but I will begin with the Englishmen, as they form the older school of the two, and by far the stronger and more independent.

English painting has undergone a great change since the first French Universal Exhibition in 1855. We may even with advantage go four years further back, namely, to the first of all the Universal Exhibitions, that which was held in Hyde Park in 1851. It is true that painting was not admitted into that Exhibition, though sculpture was; but the Royal Academy of that year gave a very complete idea of the state of English art, and I am just old enough to have a distinct recollection of that exhibition, or at any rate of its most characteristic pictures. Turner was dying, and there was nothing of his upon the walls. Millais was just twenty-two years old, and already celebrated, but in the first stage of militant young pre-Raphaelitism; much tormented by hostile criticism, yet holding his own stiffly and stubbornly against it. He exhibited "She only said, 'My life is Dreary,'" "The Return of the Dove to the Ark," and "The Woodman's Daughter." Charles Collins, who at that time promised to be one of the pre-Raphaelite leaders, but after-

ward gave up painting, exhibited "Convent Thoughts." Holman Hunt's picture (he had only one) was "Valentine rescuing Sylvia from Proteus." There were many other pictures far more important than these, both by their dimensions and for their degrees of accomplishment (Leslie, Landseer, Maclise, and others were then in the full vigor of manhood), but the little pre-Raphaelite pictures were really the most important with reference to the future, because they marked the new direction of English art. Their principal characteristics were an overstrained earnestness and an almost morbid degree of intensity—intensity in every thing, in the painfully minute drawing, in the overwrought brilliance of the color, and in the dramatic conception. Like all unripe things, pre-Raphaelitism was crude, but it had inaugurated a new analysis of nature, to the inexpressible amazement of all foreigners who strayed from Paxton's house of glass into the rooms of the Royal Academy. During the interval between 1851 and the French Universal Exhibition of 1855, the younger artists of the English school went more resolutely than ever into pre-Raphaelitism. The date of 1855 may be remembered as that of the most determined English originality in painting. No such painting as the pictures of Millais, "The Order of Release," "The Return of the Dove to the Ark," and "Ophelia," and Hunt's pictures, "The Light of the World," "Claudio and Isabella," and "Strayed Sheep," had ever been seen on the Continent.

The work in these was English throughout, and English in an unprecedented manner. You have only to refer to the French criticisms of 1855 to see how much bewilderment this strange insular art produced in the French mind. Théophile Gautier did full justice to the resolution displayed by these new artists; but he expressed the apprehension that they would succumb in the wrestle with nature. He founded this prediction especially on Hunt's "Strayed Sheep," "the truest picture there, but which appears the most false." The French critic could not have chosen a better example of the tendencies and the dangers of the young English school in 1855. Truth was the great object pursued, but only truth of detail. It was by the critic's indulgence that the "Strayed Sheep" could be called the truest picture, or for the sake of an effective antithesis. It contained an enormous quantity of separate truths, the result of intense observation, but it was not really a true picture, for it lacked the most important verity of all, namely, truth of aspect. The effect of these pre-Raphaelite pictures on the French mind in 1855 was so extraordinary that the whole English school

was made responsible for their peculiarities, and English art was condemned in the lump as pre-Raphaelite, when in reality the sect had no influence whatever on the work of the older men. After this new sensation, which only astonished the French people, and did not lead them to consider English art as seriously admissible into continental galleries, they thought no more about the matter till 1862, when some of them went to London and renewed acquaintance with our painters. In 1867 the English school appeared again in Paris, but no longer produced astonishment. It is a well-known law in human affairs that the same sensation cannot be produced twice on the public mind by the same agents. The first freshness of surprise at a new thing is a sensation only to be felt once. In this case the agent itself was enfeebled. The first enthusiasm of pre-Raphaelitism had passed away, and left nothing but the difficulties of retreat before taking up a new position. The ardent young leaders had gone as far as human earnestness and patience could go in the direction of detail, and now had to make up their minds what to do next. The effect on the continental mind was a disappointment. In 1878, on the contrary, the effect has been the reverse of a disappointment. Pre-Raphaelitism is dead, or so transformed as to be scarcely recognizable; but the young English school has entered resolutely on its new path. It knows perfectly well what it intends to do, and, what is more, it does it.

The prevalent characteristics of English painting twenty years ago were, first, a condition of tension or strain, the result of eager aspiration combined with imperfect artistic knowledge. The young men had the most passionate desire to be true, but they did not willingly take into account the impediments in art itself, and they conducted their operations with gallantry rather than science. They had the defects as well as the qualities of power and originality in youth. To come to particulars: their color was crude, their details were obtrusive, and their compositions wanting in good taste. There was a self-assertion and a violence in the young school which made it often astonishing, but seldom agreeable. To-day all this has changed by the mellowing influence of experience. English color, to begin with, can no longer be accused of crudity except by those who hate all color that is not simply gray or brown. It is now, on the whole, as moderate as color can be without descending to mere monochrome. The painters are evidently studying quiet hues with especial patience and care, and in many works they deny themselves plausible opportunities for brilliance. There

are some exceptions where brilliance of color is in itself a part of the motive, as, for example, in Mr. Brett's landscapes, which we will study in their place. But besides this exchange of crudity for harmony in color, our contemporary English artists have got rid of *strain* and violence in all other ways at the same time. Their art has far more the appearance of ease, of good breeding, than it used to have. It is in far better taste. The impression produced by it is that artists belong now to a better class in society, and are less bent upon attracting attention by eccentricity. There is a *comme il faut* in painting as in manners, and as modern English painting has become more highly educated, it has at the same time gained in dignity and serenity of style.

The late President of the Royal Academy was always a gentlemanly painter in another sense, in what may be called the society sense of the term. He lived in the upper class of the English sporting world, had a house at Melton, and rode to hounds. I never used to care in the least for his important pictures, though I have sometimes recognized much knowledge and ability in smaller works; and occasionally when working more with the idea of art and less to suit the superficial taste of his customers, Sir Francis showed real artistic power. One of his celebrated pictures, "The Cottesmore Hunt," was shown in the Paris Exhibition, and I had the curiosity to study it just to see how much artistic craft might be expended on so unpromising a subject. Any thing more essentially unsuited to pictorial purposes than an English hunting field it is not possible to imagine. The ground itself is seldom picturesque, and both horses and riders are far too neat and tidy for the purposes of art; besides which, the red coats are generally isolated patches, which it is scarcely possible to associate with any thing else in the picture. "The Cottesmore Hunt" is composed in two main groups; one to the spectator's left, led by a gentleman on a gray horse; another to his right, led by one on a bay. The composition is carefully arranged throughout with reference to these two groups. To the right you have a huntsman on foot, whip in hand; to the left, another huntsman on foot, examining a dog. The immediate foreground is occupied by two groups of dogs, with a third in the middle to serve as a connecting link between the two halves of the composition. The landscape is subordinated to the arrangement of the figures, and made to help the composition, which is most careful in every part. The picture was simply and not unpleasantly painted, the coloring of the landscape being rather in the

Dutch manner ; the horses and dogs were well drawn, and the figures in good, natural attitudes. These, so far as I could see them, were the real merits of this celebrated picture ; but, after all, it was more attractive to fox-hunters than to artists, and the same may be said of all fox-hunting pictures whatsoever.

The Landseers were, of course, popular as usual ; the portrait of Sir Edwin himself, drawing, whilst two dogs are looking critically over his shoulders at his work, being certainly the most popular of the set. But I do not think that Landseer's reputation can gain much by putting many of his pictures together. His great manual skill, and his incomparable knowledge of animals are visible always ; but the insufficiency of his color is unpleasantly felt when we see very much of it at once. It was particularly chilly in two important pictures at Paris, the "Swannery invaded by Eagles," and the picture of polar bears tearing to pieces the relics of an Arctic expedition, called "Man Proposes and God Disposes." Both are painful subjects. The swannery was the more distressing and unpleasant that our sympathy is entirely on the side of the swans, whose home is ruthlessly invaded, and who, though they resist vigorously, are not a match for their assailants. It is, however, a grand display of bird-forms, especially in the magnificent movement of the wings. My impression is that this would be a finer subject for sculpture than for painting, except that sculpture could not give (unless in a bas-relief) the eagle and swan combating in the air, and the swan flying away in full retreat. The subject would have been less repulsive in sculpture, as the scene would have been less realized and we should have had no blood. The Arctic picture is inevitably cold—ice and white bears can not well be otherwise. The picture is excessively long in proportion to its height, which makes the composition difficult, and throws the bears very much asunder, one at each end of the canvas. Nothing could be better than their action—the strong action of one of the most powerful of animals—and the idea of their ferocity is fully conveyed though they are tugging at inanimate objects. "The Sick Monkey" is not so dreary a picture as that of the polar bears, but it is infinitely pathetic. It is a fact in natural history that monkeys are so far human as to care for their afflicted comrades, and I remember how a French naval officer told me that he had "enjoyed" monkey-shooting on the coast of Africa, and that it was "most amusing" to see the monkeys carry away their wounded, "a sight to make you die of laughing." Landseer had the keenest sense of the ludicrous, and could tell a

funny story as well as anybody ; but he saw nothing absurd in the tenderness of our poor relations the monkeys. On the contrary, his picture, in which a monkey is kindly caring for a sick comrade, is pathetic in the extreme, and a lesson to humanity. Like most humorists, Landseer had a great deal of melancholy at the bottom of his nature, and a very strong sense of the sadness of decrepitude and death. The dismal Arctic scene, in which a bear is crunching human bones, and where the useless relics of a high civilization are scattered on the barren ice, and the two other pictures of animal suffering and defeat are quite as much parts of Landseer's own personal character as the pleasant humor of the dogs looking over his shoulders.

Landseer was represented by six pictures, the two others being the well-known "Indian Tent" and the "Ptarmigan Hill."

Millais had ten pictures, nearly all of them of first-rate importance. The "Yeoman of the Guard," commonly called the Beef-eater, was in the middle of one wall, on the line, and round about it were arranged striking examples of the various powers of the artist in figure-compositions, portrait, and landscape. The well-known picture "Hearts are Trumps" is a combination of portrait and *genre*. Three ladies, whose names are given, are seated at a whist-table in showy dresses, and in a showy, highly-decorated room. It is a very brilliant performance with handsome women and a superabundance of flowery adornment, but it is by no means the most refined piece of work that I have seen by Millais, simply because there is too much of it—too much display of fine people and things in one canvas. The portrait of Mrs. Bischoffsheim is much less objectionable, although she is quite as richly dressed as the other ladies ; but she is alone, and the background is much quieter. This picture has been etched for *l'Art* in a very masterly manner by Charles Waltner ; but the etching cannot convey the rich color which is one of the many fine qualities of the original. It is not glaring color, but harmonious, and it reminds us of good work by vigorous old colorists who knew the æsthetic value of dress-patterns, but did not care to copy them too minutely. The lady's face is thoroughly well painted, and a peculiar shade of expression, combining intelligence with dignity, and a quiet consciousness of grace and charm, is rendered with the most delicate skill. The portrait of the Duke of Westminster was much less interesting. His grace, though a gentlemanly-looking man, is neither so charming as Mrs. Bischoffsheim nor so picturesque and pathetic as the old Beef-eater.

He is dressed for hunting, and just ready to go out ; but he looks too refined for a fox-hunter of the old type, and there is some contradiction between the preparations for pleasure and the serious tranquillity of the face, which is not lighted up by the slightest eagerness for sport. Perhaps the burden of the largest private fortune in the world takes the zest from rural delights. As for the Beef-eater, he is too old to interest himself much in any thing now ; but he has the dignity of an ancient veteran who knows his duty and his place, and he sits bolt upright in his quaint costume with that stiffness which is peculiar to old soldiers, and to English soldiers. His eyes are dim, his complexion is that of extreme old age when the skin is colored in patches, and he scarcely seems to belong to our time, but to be some dead Royal Guard of the old Tudor days resuscitated for us by a miracle. That splendid red costume and that calm old face are remembered by millions of visitors. The landscapes on each side, "Chill October," and "Over the Hills and Far Away" produced, of course, much less effect upon the crowd, for the crowd seldom takes any interest in landscape, but all artists and lovers of art stayed to look at them. "Chill October" is a river scene, the river being a small one, swollen by autumnal rain. The color is extremely quiet, the sky is warm gray, and there is a bluish gray hill in the distance. In the middle distance the land is nearly flat, but just rising out of the water and covered with bare trees, which are reflected in the river with silvery gleams of light coming through the interstices of their stems and branches. The immediate foreground is almost entirely occupied by reeds turned sere and brown, and in what grass there is the artist has purposely avoided any refreshing greenness. It is quite possible that the extreme monotony of the reeds in the foreground may have been intentional, as helping the expression of melancholy ; but pictorially considered it is, I think, in some degree a mistake, for the reeds attract attention too much and are tiresome ; more open water with ripples and eddies would have been more agreeable to the eye. The picture is a true impression received from nature, and it is in all respects a quite genuine piece of work ; but I do not see in it any very exceptional power, such as we feel at once in the painter's strongest figure pictures. The other landscape, "Over the Hills and Far Away," is a very true impression of the Scottish Highlands. The sky is gray and rainy, and there is a rainbow in the distance. The foreground is a boggy moor with a light gray marshy pool, almost white, and a great abundance of rushes. The painter here is more peculiarly

himself that in the voluntary sobriety of "Chill October." He is a colorist naturally, and not a quiet colorist, but a splendid and brilliant one. All this foreground of Highland moor is intensely rich in color, but not at all too rich; Highland moors are so in reality, especially in autumn and in rainy weather. Beyond the glowing red land, which extends in the shape of a festoon from one side of the frame to the other, we look down into a distant valley with a river winding through it, lighted by that wan light which on a gray day filters through the thinner parts of the rain-clouds. On the left rises a dark hill with pines, and a bluer hill of greater elevation rises behind it; to the right is a dark gray hill, but these do not occupy any great space on the canvas. There are no figures, and the most essential parts of the subject are the foreground (painted chiefly for its color) and the distance, with its effect of dreary light. On the whole, I should say that this picture shows greater and more peculiar power than "Chill October," and would be less imitable by other artists. The other picture might have been painted by a man of ordinary skill in landscape, if only he had a true feeling for nature, for there is nothing either in its color or its execution to baffle him; but "Over the Hills and Far Away" would defeat such a man by its color, which is really that of a colorist. Nevertheless, although a true impression of Highland scenery, it is somewhat petty in execution as regards the foreground, and also somewhat monotonous, whilst the sky, though faithfully remembered, is deficient in interest. If these pictures had been exhibited by a landscape painter they would have attracted less attention and fetched probably as many hundreds of pounds as they fetched thousands;¹ but the immense reputation of Millais as a figure painter insures extraordinary success for his landscapes. He does well to cultivate landscape, which is a refreshment for him, and also for the public, since every thing that he does in that department of art is inspired by an honest affection for nature. A man of his celebrity might have been expected to paint landscape with some affectation of *bravura*, some air of condescension to what is vulgarly (though erroneously) considered an inferior class of art, but there is nothing of this temper in Millais. He goes to nature as humbly and faithfully as the least of us, and simply does his best.

In connection with the Highland pictures of Millais let me mention James Macbeth, whose strange but true picture of "The

¹ The price of the two pictures together was, I believe, £7000.

Moor at Whistlefield'' is full of the sentiment of the Highlands. The foreground is nothing but an expanse of moorland, dimly lighted, and very warm in color. The middle distance is red moorland in half shade rising high in the picture, and up near the top you have a deep blue mountain to the left, and a dark purple mountain to the right, with just a little glimpse of yellowish sky above them. This scene carried me back to the Highlands at once. It is full of what seems to me the real sentiment of Highland landscape, and of the fine rich Highland color. I do not know what color you may have in America, though the fame of your fiery autumns has reached us; but in Europe I have never seen anything comparable, for color, to the Scottish Highlands. You get such purples there, in the distant hills, such deep Titian blues, and so rich a variety of red and gold and green in the foregrounds; whilst gray skies, gray rocks, and "waters wan" are generally present to temper the general richness with their sobriety. I have mentioned one picture by Mr. James Macbeth, and may speak of another before I have done, "Gareloch, on the Clyde." As in the "Moor at Whistlefield," the horizon is high, and there is little space for the sky. Below it is a line of purple hills, not exaggerated but modulated with dark blue and purple gray; then you have a line of warmly colored land, and below that the Gareloch, calm, with soft pale reflections and partial rufflings of light, wandering breezes. The foreground is dark green land, diversified with warmer vegetation, and some groups of massive trees rise dark against the water—dark, for it is the Scotch gloaming, which lasts so far into the night. Such was the fidelity of Mr. Macbeth's picture to the character of Highland scenery that it needed little effort of imagination to go down to the loch side, and find a boat there, and wander out upon the calm expanse in the dreamy twilight, disturbed by no other sounds than the thud of the oars in the rowlocks and the ripple of the water under the bows.

The greatest successes in the English Exhibition, in the way of attracting attention, were decidedly, after the pictures of Millais, those of Watts and Burne Jones. "Love and Death," by Watts, is one of those examples, which have been frequent in English art, in which the idea overwhelms the pictorial element. The figure of Death, being seen from behind, shows really nothing but a very big study of whitish drapery, which occupies more than half the picture, besides which the figure of Love is in a very painful attitude, not to be maintained for any length of time except by the most

practised model. It is a tall, upright picture. Death is ascending some steps, down which his long drapery flows to the left-hand corner, and even there you do not see the end of it. His head is hidden in the mantle, but his right arm is extended, bare and menacing, over the figure of Love, a well-grown boy, who shrinks back from the awful visitant, lifting both his hands to repel him. Love is crowned with roses and has wings colored with blue and other hues, nor has his healthy face had time to grow pale with apprehension, for Death has come suddenly and quickly to interrupt his joyous life. The picture is a fine conception, if we consider it simply as poetry, and the figure of Love is very strongly painted ; but I could not reconcile myself to the too abundant draperies of Death, though they are preferable to the naked hideousness of the same figure as the old Germans used to paint it in their *danses macabres*. The picture of "Pallas, Juno, and Venus" was learned, but it belonged so decidedly to the modern archaic school as to lie outside of my sympathies except as part of a decoration. Certainly such painting of the nude entirely escapes from the imputation of sensuality, it is pure idea clothed in human forms, but with little of the warmth of human vitality. The same may be said of Mr. Walter Crane's picture, "The Renaissance of Venus," which is entirely archaic in conception, and might do good service in a room decorated throughout in the same key. I never like to accuse an artist of affectation, because what seems affectation to us may be a sincere preference in him ; but really I find it somewhat hard to understand why Mr. Crane purposely denies himself the resources of the modern palette and modern artistic science in the representation of objects, to go back to a style of art which does not belong to our century. You will find instances of this tendency in France and Germany as well as in England, and I can not help suspecting that painters sometimes go back to archaic forms because they find a certain facility in them, as Morris certainly did in the archaisms of the "Earthly Paradise." A frank archaism permits you to avoid many difficulties and shelters you from many a criticism. Observe how often in the "Earthly Paradise" the archaisms adopted by the writer enable him to get over the difficulty of a rhyme, and make a bald verse tolerable ! In painting, the same device gets over difficulties of representation, because archaic painting may always be simpler in spirit and less subtle in its craft than professedly modern work. To return to Mr. Watts. His portraits were amongst the successes of the Exhibition. That of Joachim was perhaps the best.

It is an excellent likeness, representing the great violinist actually performing; and I may observe that whereas almost all other painters, when they represent a violinist, only display their own profound ignorance of the instrument and the right manner of holding it, Mr. Watts has been carefully true on these points, so that we know Joachim to be a cultivated violinist and not a common fiddler. Both hands are seen, and they are almost as important as the head itself, being drawn with the most consummate knowledge. The face is full of an absorbed expression, showing how completely the great musician is occupied with his performance. The color, as in all Mr. Watts's portraits, is quiet throughout, being chiefly in browns and dark greens, and the consequence is that the red of the bow takes a very high value and is of very great use. Mr. Watts told me that in coloring he restricted himself almost exclusively to the earth pigments. The other important portraits by Watts were the Duke of Cleveland, General Laurence, Robert Browning, and Mr. Calderon, the Royal Academician. The Duke's face wears an expression of profound sadness, that of General Laurence has a look of massive, manly strength, and capability of stern resolution. Browning is very simply painted, and, I believe, is like. The portrait of Calderon is an excellent likeness, having all the nobility of his noble face, with its rich, dark, southern complexion. Watts does not finish sufficiently to suit the taste of some critics, but I have a great admiration for the straightforwardness of his performance and for his utter scorn of those minor prettinesses which give pleasure only to the uncultivated. The important picture by Mr. Burne Jones, "The Beguiling of Merlin," was hung close to those by Mr. Watts. It is wonderful how much this painter's reputation has been increased by the opening of the Grosvenor Gallery. He was known before to a select few, and I was myself one of his earliest admirers many years ago; but it seems to me now that although his power as a painter has increased, his eccentricity and perversity have increased with it. I write this with some hesitation, because all the peculiarities of a painter are necessary to make up the sum total of the impression which he produces upon us, and if the pictures of Mr. Burne Jones could be purged of every thing that I dislike in them, it is probable that the savor of them would be lost, even for me. Let us remember, too, that originality is in itself so precious a quality in art that it ought to be highly valued on its own account, and Mr. Burne Jones really has originality, sometimes an evil originality, but an undeniable originality still. I will begin

with what is bad in him. He has the reputation of being a fine colorist, but the complexion of his figures are generally more like death than life; if, indeed, they are to be considered as living they generally look dreadfully ill. They remind me of De Florac's French-English expression in "The Newcomes," "of pale he has become livid." It is natural that Merlin should look ill when the enchantress was reducing him to that condition in which he was to be "lost to life and use and name and fame;" but why should the lovers look like sea-sick steamboat passengers in "Love in the Ruins"? Again, there is a strange choice of shapes in all Mr. Jones's figures. The general public may not perceive it, because he always drapes them, and the draperies are painted with great care, and are in their own way curiously successful both in color and fold; but if his figures were undressed (and any real critic or artist can, of course, undress them at a glance) they would be very odd figures indeed. For brevity's sake we may say that they have goitered necks, but that is only a part of the truth. A real goiter would require more drawing than Mr. Jones is disposed to give. The neck of Vivien is immensely long in proportion to the face, and immensely thick, the distance from the upper end of the breastbone to the jaw is made equal to that from the chin to the eyebrow, and the thickness of the neck is equivalent to the distance from the ear to the end of the nose. Apply these measurements to any living human being and you will see how monstrous they are; but I must trespass still further on the reader's patience. If the figure were perfectly erect (one knee is bent, and the head is leaning over the right shoulder) its height would be equivalent to twelve heads, thereby excelling in disproportion the worst figures of Callot, which only get to ten. The legs are long to deformity. The distance from the waist to the heel is equivalent to seven heads. Merlin is in some respects finely conceived, but very unpleasantly angular, every thing about him having a tendency to run into triangles. The thorn-tree is in flower, there are hundreds and hundreds of flowers, each of them painted separately, and the background is largely occupied with intertwinings of meager old thorn branches, taking strange, weird forms as "uncanny" as anything in nature. All these peculiarities go to make up the sum total of strangeness which affects us in the picture. The long, lithe woman—longer in proportion to her head than any woman ever was in nature—distinctly reminds us of a serpent. The angular arrangement of the old man's figure adds mightily to the sense of his misery, and the

quaint forms of the ancient thorn-tree impress us with a feeling of hoar antiquity. I never yet knew a powerful work of art in which the departures from truth and accuracy were not essential elements of its power. I spoke of pre-Raphaelitism at the beginning of this article—well, here we have it again, in its present form, still delighting in intensity of conception and minuteness of detail ; but there is the difference that whereas twenty-five years ago the pre-Raphaelites sought for colors—the brightest they could get, and as many of them as possible—Mr. Burne Jones tries for *color* in a higher sense, and frequently attains it. He paints quite as strongly in water-color as in oil. His “Love among the Ruins,” a water-color, might have been exhibited among the oil pictures and would have supported the comparison. The picture really consists of two independent compositions. On the left you have the architecture of a sombre Italian palace, massive and prisonlike. You look through a great doorway, above which is a frieze of Cupids. You are in a sort of abandoned garden, with thin trees, brambles, and other plants, some in flower and struggling for their existence amidst a confused heap of fallen building materials, amongst which is a shattered fluted column. On this heap of rubbish, which is to the right, sit the pair of lovers, a pale girl in blue, leaning on her lover and clinging to him, whilst he bends over her and shelters her. The intense melancholy of the expressions seems to imply that the future is very dark before them, and this may be the meaning of the picture—love under sad circumstances, existing still in spite of them. “Love, like these flowers,” the painter seems to say to us, “can blossom amidst the ruins of great houses.” Mr. Jones seems to have a taste for putting his figures into uncomfortable positions. The lover here is seated on the fallen stones, and the girl is kneeling on them whilst she clings to him. The figures make one picture to the right, and the elaborate study of architecture, brambles, etc., makes another picture to the left. Both are powerfully painted and with very great science. The color is such as could only have been produced by an accomplished colorist, but in spite of some richness of hue in the dresses and plants it is not agreeable color. It is easy to see that the artist has immense technical resources in the treatment of his materials ; but this is a part of the matter which could not be fully entered into without wearying the general reader.

The recent election of Sir Fredrick Leighton to the Presidency of the Royal Academy gives an additional interest to his work. I

have had to speak of it very recently in the *Portfolio*, and do not wish to repeat in one review what I have said in another; but I may observe that although Sir Frederick was well represented at the Paris Exhibition, in a certain sense he was not very effectually represented, as Millais and Landseer were. I mean that although Leighton's pictures were good so far as they went, they were not enough to convey to foreigners a just idea of his true importance in our school. The *Daphnephoria* ought to have been there, and one or two others of his large compositions. He was represented by three pictures only, "Elijah in the Desert," painted for the Liverpool gallery, "The Music Lesson," and a portrait of Captain Burton. The figure of Elijah seemed to me little more than a fine academic study, proving knowledge on the part of the artist, but likely to leave the spectator rather indifferent about Elijah. The portrait of Captain Burton is painted with sober power, and "The Music Lesson" with ineffable sweetness and charm. There are not two more perfect works than these two in all contemporary art. I really do not see how they can be bettered. There is no affectation in them—the artist has an honest purpose before him, and attains it by fair downright skill and knowledge. There is the gentlest feeling in the "Music Lesson," and a subtle delight in a beautiful artistic arrangement. A young mother is teaching a girl to play upon a long guitar, and the pair fall quite naturally into the loveliest of attitudes. They are painted and drawn (for the drawing is as exquisite as the painting) with the tenderest care and finish, even to the tips of the fingers. Strong and masculine Captain Burton is treated differently, but quite in accordance with his character. What I like in these pictures, and in all the mature work of Leighton, is its absolute freedom from every thing that is morbid, perverse, or affected. He never attracts your attention by charlatan-ism of any kind, but relies on cultivated taste, on his own sense of what is becoming under the circumstances, and on his superiority of knowledge. He has not the intense and fiery genius of Millais, but few modern artists have his sanity, his steady and reliable judgment, his mature science, always equal to the occasion. These qualities adapt him peculiarly to the office which he now holds; indeed it may be truly said that the English Academy has never had so perfect a president, for even Sir Joshua Reynolds, though a great artist, was far inferior to Leighton in culture outside of art. Sir Frederick is almost equal to Rubens in this respect, and has revived the times of which Thackeray spoke regretfully as irrevocably

past, "when painters were the most accomplished gentlemen, and the most accomplished gentlemen were painters."

Mr. Calderon's picture of "Victory" represents the non-combatant inhabitants of a medieval castle looking out from the battlements on a fight which has ended happily for their friends. The error of the picture, as a piece of artistic arrangement, is an enormous space of mere wall, for we see the top of the tower from a position in mid-air, as a bird might, and its wall occupies much canvas. Had it been badly painted the result would have been disastrous; but happily it is well painted, with that variety of tone and color which a good artist always resorts to when his material is likely to prove tiresome. The dames and children are all strikingly animated, and we soon share their joy in the turn events have taken. Mr. Calderon is one of the few modern artists who know how to awaken our sympathy with the really human side of life in the middle ages. For him it is not merely a pageant, a display of quaint costume; he sees the human interest and chooses his subjects so as to make it prominent, exactly as Shakespeare did. His picture "On her Way to the Throne" represents a queen just ready to enter the throne-room. She has descended a staircase and is followed by her ladies. Two tall and stately lackneys dressed in red are waiting to draw aside the green curtains which for the moment still hide the royal countenance from the assembled subjects whom we do not see. Her majesty's *coiffeur* seizes upon this opportunity to give a finishing touch to her curls, and her tirewoman arranges her train. There is a great deal of dramatic interest in the picture and comedy not overdone. Her majesty is dignified and aristocratic, as becomes her station; she condescends to wait an instant, but that is all. The best figure is that of the hairdresser, with his extreme professional zeal and eager activity to secure artistic perfection in the august curls. Two studies, or portraits, by Mr. Calderon, entitled "Constance" and "Margaret," were excellent examples of practiced skill exercised upon a simple theme. "Margaret" was perhaps the more interesting of the two, a pretty English girl about fifteen years old, with blue eyes, a sweet mouth, rather plump cheeks, and a most winning expression. She wears nothing but a simple white undress and a small green ribbon in her hair. I have seldom seen hair so intelligently painted, and with so small an allowance of work. The manner of it is not unlike Lawrence's treatment of hair in his best portraits—mere sketching, if you like to call it so, but sketching which conveys the quality of the thing painted better than

any amount of labor. Nobody can paint the hairs on a human head one by one. They *must* be interpreted in masses, and if the masses have quality it is all we want.

When an artist becomes a member of the Royal Academy, custom requires that he should present a picture to remain permanently in the gallery of that institution. This custom is always cheerfully complied with, as the painter feels that he is leaving a record of himself to future generations of British artists. It is easy to foresee that in course of time the gallery formed by these diploma pictures will become of first-rate importance. Few of them are likely to be more interesting than "Letters and News at the Lochside," by Mr. Wells. This picture represents an angling party on a Scotch lake shore, with their boats. They have landed to catch the postman, who is passing on his white pony, and have just received their letters and newspapers, which they are eagerly perusing. The picture is the more interesting that it contains portraits of the artist's friends, amongst whom it is easy to recognise Mr. Millais. This is one of those comparatively rare works in which figures and landscape are of nearly equal importance. It is, at the same time, a group of portraits and a lake scene. The portraits are painted with entire absence of pretension united to the most thorough knowledge, the lake scene is interpreted with the greatest breadth and simplicity of treatment; but though there are few details the effect is thoroughly understood. The lake lies rippling and gleaming under a light breeze and a varied play of sun and shade. To the right the mountains are lighted, but to the left they pass into that quiet gray gloom which is rarely absent from a Highland scene. The lake shores are barren enough, but there are some massive trees in the distance, such as we often see on the islands or promontories of a loch.

In striking contrast with that sober tranquillity of color, which Mr. Wells seems to cultivate as a virtue, is the brilliance of Mr. Brett. There were two landscapes by him in the Exhibition, "The Spires and Steeples of the Channel Islands" and "Mount's Bay, Cornwall." It is unnecessary to criticize both, as Mr. Brett has always the same qualities and defects, so I will confine myself to "Mount's Bay," which is certainly the more interesting picture of the two. It shows the closest possible study of nature, and is, I verily believe, as near the positive truth as the art of the painter can get. Instead of the broad system of interpretation adopted by Mr. Wells, we have here imitation as close as the artist has found to

be compatible with some degree of pictorial effect. The spectator is supposed to be on the cliffs, and sees beneath him the vast expanse of the bay, as it extends from the precipitous rocks in the immediate foreground to the undulating, cultivated lands in the distance. I never saw an expanse of water more thoroughly studied, with its play of blue and sea-green, its purple wavelets near the shore, its trailing cloud reflections and light markings of various gusts of wind. The day is fine, with light clouds, and there is light everywhere, which is, to my feeling, the greatest defect of the picture. I should not find fault with a figure painter for not being a chiaroscurist, because form and expression are more important than light and shade in a figure picture; but I am quite convinced by this time that *chiaroscuro* is an element which a landscape painter cannot afford to neglect, and this simply because, more than any other, it brings out the power and meaning of landscape. Without it a picture is likely to become nothing but an agglomeration of bright colors and carefully imitated forms. This is the case with "Mount's Bay." The picture is full of knowledge. The artist has studied nature with a closeness of observation quite unknown to the old masters. Claude would never have seen the pale sapphire, the emerald and amethyst transparencies in the water, still less the splendor of the golden lichen on the rocks. No old master would have painted the foreground with that geological and botanical truth; but though he could not have understood the structure of islanded rock and rugged slope of shore, he would probably have felt it to be desirable that one part of his composition should be in light and another part in shade; he would have sought for a certain charm and poetry which *chiaroscuro*, and it alone, can ever give to landscape. Everybody felt that Mr. Brett's landscape lacked something, though they could not say what. People rebelled against its bright color, for they could not understand that lichens might ever be golden, or water gleam like jewels, but they did not ask for what Mr. Brett had denied them, the gentle temperance of wisely ordered shadow. Again, though the coloring was, in the main, true, it was really open to this objection, that there was an equal intensity of it on all objects both in the foreground and the middle distance.

Mr. Vicat Cole, now an associate of the Royal Academy, is one of the most popular of contemporary landscape painters. He began, almost like Mr. Brett, with much minuteness of detail, but his work is now becoming larger in manner and more pictorial. His autumn river scene in evening light, entitled "The Day's Decline,"

shows more of the artist and less of the mere student than his earlier pictures. He is still strongly attached to nature, and especially to English nature, so that we see at a glance that his pictures are of English scenery seen with English eyes, and they are not the worst for this strong impress of nationality, this flavor of the native earth. He understands trees well, and the vegetation of cultivated scenery generally, including the state of the crops, the beauty of hedges, ditches, and pastures. He knows thoroughly all the common forms of land in southern England, with its low but steep hills, rich vales, and gracefully sloping fields. He can paint the gold of the ripe wheat, the autumnal splendors of the foliage, and the glow of warm evening light on the familiar nature which he loves. Resembling Constable in his taste for cultivated grounds, he differs from him in truth of detail, which Constable often knowingly sacrificed or carelessly overlooked. Of the two, Vicat Cole is the truer painter, but not the more essentially artistic. His picture, "The Day's Decline," shows the banks of an English river in autumn under a glow of evening light, with hills like those of Surrey, and a fine clump of trees in which the light is playing. On one shore of the river are low, green fields, on the other a slope of arable land, with the plow left in it. Another picture by the same artist, "Autumn Gold," is similar to this in material and sentiment; but the artist strikes another key in "Summer Rain." It is not possible for landscape painting to be in a healthier condition than in these pictures, the love of the native land is in them to the full, and they are neither morbid nor affected in any way whatever; yet they are not great art because they do not show much imagination in their style, which (as yet) lies half-way between simple realism and the styles of the great painters.

For downright power, the sort of power which comes from the imaginative grasp of reality and the profoundest sympathy with human life, nothing in the English exhibition exceeded Mr. Herkomer's "The Last Muster." Chelsea pensioners are in chapel, and one old man is quietly dying in his seat, to the alarm of his next neighbor, who is anxiously feeling his pulse. The picture is not at first sight particularly attractive, it is not in the least pretty or charming, the coloring is more able and learned than pleasant, from the predominance of reds, which though very skillfully managed are still monotonous. The handling is clever, but a little uncouth, the pigments being plastered somewhat heavily in parts, even on the faces. The style, in short, is that of a man who is very much in earnest and

does not set himself out to flatter the public eye, and the whole picture looks so terribly serious that a frivolous spectator would be repelled by it at once. If, however, you have patience to study it, the painter soon gets hold of you and makes you feel all that he intended you to feel. English or not, you will have sympathy for these old soldiers in the late evening of their life, in chapel for the "Last Muster." The whole picture is replete with the melancholy poetry of old age. They will fight no more battles, these old defenders of England, except that last fight—"the last and the best"—which each man must fight for himself against the terror of dissolution. I never saw a picture that seemed less painted for personal fame or wealth; the artist seems to have been absolutely possessed by his subject and to have had no other consideration, yet it won for him the medal of honor. The whole system of medal-giving is a mistake, for original artists can not fairly be compared together; but in this instance the jury made, at all events, a wise selection. Mr. Herkomer's other picture, "After the Toil of the Day," was an evening scene, probably in the Tyrol. A yellowish evening light pervades the whole work very equally, so that the picture is somewhat too uniform in light and shade throughout. We are on a village road, between a row of cottages with very picturesque roofs and a stream. There are some geese in the foreground, and five men are seated in front of the cottages, according to continental custom. There is a girl, too, with a very pretty face, and there are one or two other figures in the road. I mention this picture for what seems to me to be a great difficulty encountered by figure painters in all such compositions. Their habit of putting high finish into faces pursues them even in subjects of this kind, when the faces become mere spots in the middle of a landscape or buildings, the consequence being a contradiction in finish which vexes a critical eye. Suppose you paint an apple-tree and rather a small figure on the same plane. If you paint your tree in a large, unctuous manner, I say it is an incongruity of style to paint the face in a minute and precise manner. A good landscape painter, knowing the value of executive harmony, would paint face and foliage on the same principles, either both precisely as Millais did in his "Ophelia," or both unctuously and sketchily as Constable would have done. I do not like to see delicate work inserted in coarse work, like a medal in the bark of a tree.

Here, for the present, may end this talk about contemporary artists. By permission of the publishers, I hope to resume it on a future occasion, with especial reference to the American school.

GAS STOCK.

GAS STOCKS have suffered a sudden fall in market value, and electricity is generally regarded as the cause in producing this depreciation. It will be interesting to examine the grounds of the popular belief that electricity is about to revolutionize our methods of illumination, and that it is the agent by which gas stocks have lost their high place in regard to investments. The first practical questions to be answered are in reference to the generators of the electric current by which the electric light is produced ; are they efficient in themselves, and can they produce an electric light which will be cheaper than gas light of equal intensity ? The writer has found among business men a great deal of misapprehension in regard to these generators of electricity, commonly called dynamo-electric machines. Many think that they resemble the frictional electrical machines which they once saw at school, and that the electricity is a fluid or substance which is to be conveyed in pipes just as gas is at the present time. In a general manner, we can say that these generators all depend upon the principle that when a wire which forms a loop of any figure whatsoever is revolved rapidly near a magnet or magnets a current of electricity is generated in the wire. We can revolve the wire near the poles of a magnet, or the magnet near the wire, and in both cases a current is generated.

Theoretically, all motion can be changed into heat. This is the now commonly received and well-known doctrine of the conservation of force. When an express train is suddenly stopped the motion heats the brakes. When a cannon-ball is stopped by the plates of an iron-clad, it is often heated to the melting point. Electricity has its exact equivalent in heat, and it seems logical to say that motion can be entirely changed into electricity. Theoretically this is true ; and practically by the revolution of a wire in front of the poles of an electro-magnet from seventy to eighty per cent of the work required to produce the revolution is changed into electricity.

These new generators are already so complete, that it is proposed to utilize natural forces, in a more general manner than has been done hitherto ; for instance, to place one of these dynamo-electric machines near a water-fall, and transmit the current over wires to a more available point, and there set another dynamo-electric machine in motion which shall furnish power or light just as is desired. This statement is within the bounds of possibility ; it has been found to be perfectly possible to transmit motion in this way. The electric currents produced by these new machines are immense, and far exceed those which are created by the old method of Voltaic elements or batteries ; the most refractory substances are melted in the heat of the Voltaic arc, and immense wires are needed to convey the current, for small wires of considerable length are immediately fused by the great heat developed.

Understanding, therefore, that the new generators of electricity require steam-engines to drive them ; that the method is to revolve coils of wire in a magnetic field—that is to say, in the presence of electro-magnets ; that the current differs in no respect from that used in telegraphy except in strength ; that it must be and is transmitted over wires or large metallic conductors, and that all motion can be transformed into electricity—we are prepared to begin our inquiry. In the first place, granting that we have the best generator now before the public, what will be the methods of the new system of electric illumination ? Let us confine ourselves, at first, to the case of single buildings or large halls, and rooms in manufactories. The first step is to obtain a steam-engine, which shall furnish about one and a half horse-power to each electric light or burner, if the electric light is formed between carbon points, as in the present system. There are over two hundred manufactories on the continent of Europe which are lighted by electricity, and the general statement is that the light costs one third as much as the same amount of light produced by gas. The reader can find many estimates of cost in the work on electric illumination by Hippolyte Fontaine, and in the new work by Schellen on dynamo-electric machines. In general, these estimates appear to be fair ones, cover all the items of expense, and include estimates of deterioration and interest on first cost. It can not be doubted that for certain purposes and certain localities electric illumination is cheaper than that by gas. This statement, however, needs to be carefully considered, for we can not conclude that because electric illumination is cheap for certain manufacturing

operations, it is also suitable for all localities, and can compete with gas for general purposes. The light has only been successful in large inclosures like railroad depots, foundries, and in manufacturing establishments with lofty ceilings. There is difficulty at present in adapting it to low-studded rooms, such as weaving rooms in cotton mills ; still this difficulty is not insurmountable. The light appears to be making its way into use in localities and manufactories similar to those we have mentioned, both in Europe and in this country. In general, the generators in this country are now placed in mills or large establishments merely on trial, at the expense of the companies which are introducing the electric light. Very few corporations have taken any risks at present in the introduction of electric illumination. The moneyed interest are much more cautious than the general public, and less ready to believe in the success which newspapers blazon forth. Resting, therefore, upon what is already secured, it can not be denied that the electric light supplies a deficiency, and is already introduced successfully in certain localities and for certain purposes. A large foundry, a large exhibition hall, a depot, can all be lighted economically by the electric light. We must not forget, however, that frequently more light is obtained than is really necessary. It is as if we lived in an immense palace which we have hired at an extremely cheap rate, and which gives us far more accommodation than we need. The above remarks are based upon the present system of lighting, in which a steam-engine of six or twelve horse-power is required to maintain six to twelve lights. We shall presently consider what is called the subdivision of the electric light—in other words, the production of many lights of intensity not far from that of two or three ordinary gas-burners. At present all that has been practically accomplished is the perfection of the generators, and the production at six or twelve points in the electric circuit of six or twelve electric lights between carbon points. These lights are individually as well as collectively very intense, and suitable only for lighting great areas.

It is the custom in many places abroad to use the electric light for a portion of the time—for instance, to use what is called the Jablochhoff candle, which consists of two carbons separated by a substance which melts away as the carbons burn, for two or three hours, and then to use gas. In this way there is no doubt that one light can advantageously supplement the other. In our rapid review of what is assured at the present time we have endeavored

to divest the subject of imaginative possibilities. It is commonly thought that Paris has been and is lighted by electricity; this is not true. During the time of the Exposition there were many electric lights in and about the buildings and in the neighboring avenues, but nothing like the general lighting of the city was accomplished. This was prevented, not by the power of monopolies or prejudice, but by practical difficulties which we shall have occasion to speak of. With the best system of electric illumination now before the public, it is not possible to light city streets or dwellings. By lighting is meant the actual illumination by means of electricity without the aid of gas. The use of this new method of illumination is therefore confined to certain narrow limits. "But," it may be said, "will not the consumption of gas be necessarily less if large manufactories in cities adopt the electric light, and will not this tend to depreciate gas stocks?" Granting that a large number of great manufacturing establishments, hotels, and theaters should adopt the new light, we should say that gas stocks would suffer from this cause; but there are certain limitations to be borne in mind. There are not a large number of buildings which run a requisite number of hours to realize the economy of electric illumination, for time is also an element in the calculation of the saving made by the adoption of the new light. In the city of Boston it is estimated that from ten to fifteen per cent of the daily consumption of gas arises from the large manufactories, hotels, and theaters, which have not yet to any extent (there are two establishments lighted by electricity) adopted the light; and it is not probable that there will be this adoption even for several years—certainly not unless some better lamp or electric light apparatus is devised. The number of large manufacturing establishments, depots, or great halls in a city or town, therefore, is an element in our estimation of the possible effect of the electric light on gas stocks. In a manufacturing town like Lawrence or Lowell gas stocks might suffer if the electric light really made its way to any considerable extent. Especially where water-power is cheap would this be the case. It must be remembered, however, that water-power is not necessarily cheap in large manufacturing places like Lawrence, which are in the center of a thriving, bustling community. And it is not possible to consume additional water-power in running electric generators without proportionate expense. There are also certain business relations between mills, gas companies, and city corporations, which make the introduction of a new sys-

tem of lighting extremely difficult in many places. At the present time, therefore, we can not say that what has been done should have affected gas stocks.

Let us now see what are the possibilities of electric illumination. The largest consumption of gas arises from dwelling-houses in cities. It is the small burner multiplied over great areas which, like a low rate of interest, gradually produces great results. It is estimated that the city of Boston consumes only about ten per cent of the daily amount manufactured, and the largest part of this is burned in street lamps. If, therefore, a suitable electric lamp for streets should be devised we might, if there were no such things as monopolies or personal interests in the matter, begin to fear a little for our gas stocks. Supposing that a suitable lamp giving the light of five or six of our present street lamps should be invented, and that twenty of these could be maintained by one generator. It would be necessary to place steam-engines of ten or fifteen horse-power every few blocks, and even this future success must be accompanied by the discovery of some economical method of insulating and conveying the wires over which the electric current flows. It has often been proposed to convey the telegraph wires, which enter a city in such great number, underground; but this has not proved practical, and we should therefore also have to maintain massive conductors above ground until it can be shown that there is some economical method of insulating them underground. We can not affirm that new generators requiring less horse-power may not be invented which will maintain small lights suitable for street illumination, or that one engine of immense horse-power may not economically generate sufficient electricity to illuminate a large extent of city space.

Nothing has been accomplished yet in this direction, and from a logical point of view it would be just as reasonable to dispose of our interest in a water privilege for fear of a new magnetic motor as to dispose of our gas stocks for fear that a new application of electricity would light our city streets, for in both cases nothing definite has yet been realized. Even if such a new invention or method could be applied to street illumination, the equivalent of gas saved is only from ten to fifteen per cent of the total consumption.¹ Electricity must therefore enter into competition with gas in dwelling-houses, and in all places where small burners are em-

¹ In Boston.

ployed, in order to seriously affect our gas stocks. What steps have been taken in this direction? We are sorry to answer "none," at this present writing, for Mr. Edison has not made his plans public. The plan of that inventor, together with that of many others, is to produce small lights by the incandescence of platinum wire or of a wire made of platinum and iridium. Dr. Draper, of New York, in his *Scientific Memoirs*, February 27th, 1847, states that "a surface of platinum of standard dimensions, raised to a standard temperature by a Voltaic current, will always emit a constant light. A strip of that metal one inch long and one twentieth of an inch wide, connected with a lever by which its expansion might be measured, would yield at two thousand degrees a light suitable for most purposes."

It is well-known that Mr. Moses G. Farmer, of the United States Torpedo Station at Newport, R. I., has for many years experimented upon the light produced by the incandescence of both of these metals; and many also in Europe have endeavored to overcome the difficulties in the method. The incandescence of the wire produces a beautiful light; but the wire fuses at a certain point, and the light is interrupted. The difficulty is in making an automatic regulator which shall maintain the wire below the point of fusion. It is claimed that Mr. Edison has accomplished this. Granting this, although there is no proof before the public, it must be borne in mind that each light would require a comparatively delicate piece of mechanism instead of our simple gas cocks, and that wherever an electric circuit is divided, or in other hands wherever the incandescent wire is introduced if the current is diminished to say one hundredth the light is reduced one ten-thousandth or as the square.

Attempts have also been made to produce the electric light by the incandescence of strips of carbon placed in receivers which have been exhausted of air or in receivers filled with nitrogen. The difficulty in this method is to prevent the gradual disintegration of the carbons. This is not a new method, but was experimented on in Europe as early as 1845. It is said that the preparation of the small carbons which are necessary is expensive.

In our present method of illumination we have a meter which gives a comparatively accurate method of determining the amount of gas which we burn. Many stories can be told of its sometimes absurd registration, or of its peculiar interpretation by agents of gas companies; but on the whole it answers its purpose. If light-

ing by incandescence of platinum wire is a success, how shall we measure the light? There is no known method at present. It may be answered that some plan of subscription will be found effectual, and just as our water supply is taxed by the number of faucets, so will our electric lamps be taxed. We can not, however, compare a water supply with that of electricity; for the generation of electricity is limited, and if one person or one corporation is lavish, it is at the immediate expense of the rest of the subscribers. Granting that a meter also has been invented in order to introduce electric illumination into houses, we must establish steam-engines, at least one for twenty ordinary city houses, with all their concomitants. The imagination immediately takes a flight, and suggests why not heat your houses from the same source, or from the electrical current; for there is an immense waste in the present system of each family maintaining a furnace. Steam, however, can not be economically conveyed great distances without losing its heat, and although it is possible to heat water by electricity it would not probably be economical to first partially convert the energy of a pound of coal into steam, and then convert the energy derived from this steam into motive-power, and finally to convert the motive-power into electricity and heat. Nothing practical has been done in this direction, although the imagination suggests great possibilities. We are forced, unwillingly, to confess that no progress has been made in the introduction of electric illumination into dwelling-houses, and granting even that Mr. Edison has solved the difficult problem of dividing the electric light, he has other problems fully as difficult to solve before the light can compete with the simple method of illumination by gas. We are forced to believe that if the present decline in gas stocks is based upon what electricity has accomplished there must be a reaction, for there is nothing at present in electric illumination which can seriously affect the consumption of gas in cities like Boston or New York. We have looked into the subject from an electrical point of view, and it is not the purpose of this paper to inquire into the cause of the present fall in gas stocks. The causes are undoubtedly many, a feeling of insecurity in all investments, sympathy with the decline in other stocks, and last, but not least, the competition with kerosene and gas made from it. It is possible at the present time to make a large saving by the use of kerosene in dwelling-houses; and it is claimed that large establishments can be lighted by what may be called kerosene gas at a far

cheaper rate than by coal gas. It is certain that public attention is directed to new methods of employing petroleum; and the chances seem to be better in this direction than in that of electricity. There is certainly less danger from the electric light than from gas or kerosene; but practice controls even the most dangerous elements.

It is difficult to steer between the skepticism of scientific men and the unbounded credulity of those who know nothing of electricity. The latter believe that we are on the verge of greater discoveries than the world has ever seen, and electricity to them is capable of all things. On the other hand, the scientific man perceives the difficulties in scientific investigations, and finds the first great glow of enthusiasm at some discovery so often succeeded in his own case by limited possibilities, that he is trained to be critical, and to believe that in ninety-eight cases out of a hundred his discoveries will have no appreciable influence on mankind. At times the skepticism of scientific men has been excessive. Sir Humphry Davy laughed at the project of lighting the city of London by gas, and satirically asked the projectors why they did not take the dome of St. Paul's for a gas-holder. In those days, however, we are inclined to think that the general public was more skeptical than the scientific men: it took from ten to fifteen years to introduce gas-lighting into London.

THE BIRTH OF THE COMMUNE, 1830-1839.

A FAVORABLE view of the state of the secret factions at the time of the first Commune (1830-1839) was afforded the writer in several clandestine meetings which he had an opportunity to attend and of which he has carefully preserved the notes. The following literal extracts from the same may borrow additional interest from the present pulsations of Socialism on both sides of the Atlantic :

" After traversing several vacant lots encumbered with building material, we halted on the brink of the canal de l'Ourcq, not far from the bassin de la Villette. Though the nearest street lamp was concealed by an intervening block, I readily discerned before me a long low building, apparently an old freight-room, on the darker side of which single pedestrians, slowly coming from an opposite direction, were mysteriously disappearing. ' This,' observed Morin, ' is *my* club ;' and taking hold of my arm he continued, ' All is right to-night.' The ground floor was pitch dark, and densely packed with empty boxes and barrels, over which we climbed our way to a trap-door in the rear, where a password was exchanged with an armed sentinel flourishing a dark-lantern. At the bottom of a still darker flight of stairs another door opened into a spacious vault dimly lighted by wax-candles in wire sockets nailed to the wall. Here two ushers checked off every newcomer on a membership roll. Upon a wink from Morin I passed unchallenged. The low, grated cellar-lights were carefully blinded with shutters and rags, and the seats mainly consisted of boxes and barrels, which, Morin later informed me, contained arms, ammunition, and blouses. When about seventy members had assembled the meeting was called to order by the president, a spare, pensive-looking old man, with a July scar across the left cheek. This was not a new organization, but something of a veteran club and thoroughly familiar with such parliamentary forms as it had seen fit to adopt. Sentinels were detailed outdoors, dues collected, and printed documents freely distributed. This was unquestionably a workingmen's meeting—'ouvriers' every one of them, plainly but cleanly dressed men, bent upon earnest business. From the remarks which passed around during the perusal of the tracts it was evident something was brewing, and when the president declared the discussion open, a dozen voices claimed the floor at once. How the contest was decided escaped my attention, but directly a smooth-faced, broad-browed man of about forty advanced

to the tribune, which consisted of an empty brandy-cask standing on one end with a board nailed across the other.

"The orator, in a manner strikingly pleasing and self-possessed, opened with the hope that, notwithstanding recent attempts at disorganization, this assembly would still persevere in its opposition to the demagogues who aspired to lead, as well as to the irresponsible crowd that followed in order to fish in troubled waters. The former aimed only at place and power, the latter craved nothing but blood and pelf. Both would disgrace the cause of liberty and surrender it to a despotism worse than ever endured before. Beware of those blatant organs of our grievances who have none of their own except being out of office. Let us not incumber our just political claims with social and economical questions for which the country is not ripe. Every thing in its own time and place. Wages are low, truly; but industrial competition is great, and [this was during the American crisis], foreign markets unusually depressed. The government was not accountable for this, only for withholding liberal education and the right of suffrage from the people.

"The orator now referred to certain social heresies circulated in print this evening, which would only inflame the worst passions of the ignorant and vile and prejudice the so-called upper classes against the cause of progress and the just grievances of the people. Of all the utopies advanced, the regulation of wages by law and the war against capital and property were the most absurd. Threaten to take from any man what he lawfully acquired, whether by patient toil or a freak of luck, and you at once become his deadly enemy, an outlaw whom he will aid in exterminating without the slightest compunction. To inaugurate the republic, the reign of justice and freedom, by placing capital under the heel of labor; by limiting every man's right to enjoy the fruit of his earnings; by supporting the lazy and vicious with the saving of the honest and industrious, is a proposition that needs but to be stated to be doomed to universal condemnation.

"Suppose that you distribute the wealth of the whole nation per capita to every household in the land, how much will come to each and how long would it last? How long before it would flow back into its wonted channels, and those who know how to reap and save would again possess what the others only know how to spend and waste? And then, during this transient equality of fortune, what would become of the talent, the skill, the industry, which are only nerved into action by the hope of competence and distinction, the just reward of meritorious toil? What would sustain the production, the industries, and commerce of the land? Who among us would strive for the highest and best if deprived by law of the fruit of his labor? If all were to be equally supported out of a common fund, how many would finally care to labor at all?

"Before all things, my friends, let us be just, if justice we expect. Do we not—you, I, all of us—labor to become capitalists? and if we were all to become rich to-day, how many of us would be here to-morrow to champion the cause of the poor? It is complained that no matter how large the profits of the employer, the supply of labor alone regulates its wages. Is there any thing more simple and equitable than this law of supply and demand, which no legislation of man will ever subvert? And do we not, each of us, most rigidly observe it in the dealings of everyday life? Has any one of us, no matter how circumstanced, ever offered his baker, his grocer, his butcher, his tailor, a higher price than the

state of the market compelled the tradesman to demand or to accept? And, to go one step farther, have any laborers ever been known, individually or collectively, to propose a reduction of their wages in order to enable their employer to sustain competition or to save him from bankruptcy and want?

"I cheerfully grant, my friends, that the relations between capital and labor are not what they should be; but only time, experience, and enlightened humanity can regulate their improvement. They can not be perfected before our very human nature is perfected by a more rational education, and the study and practice of those public and private virtues which fit us for the exalted duties of free citizens and for self-sacrificing devotion to the common good. The best form of human government is yet to be discovered. An ancient tree can not be uprooted and replaced from the seed in a day!

"Then let not us, who are only pioneers in the work of reform, anticipate our strength and mistake our mission. Let us only faithfully do our own part by tracing out the path of true progress which our children may follow with entire safety and ultimate hope of better success!"

While this discourse, which surprised me by its moderation, was frequently cheered as warmly as the secrecy of the occasion allowed, it had not been spared with signs of disapprobation from the left corner, designated by Morin as the "Montagne," where about a dozen restive spirits seemed to form a dissenting faction. Dissenting they were, even among themselves, for each of them seemed just then engaged in keeping the others from taking the floor, the chair having repeatedly decided that only one of them could speak at a time. The amount of eloquence lost to the world by this ruling may never be known. Victory at last decided for the most agile, who closed the fraternal conflict by reaching the tribune almost at a single bound.

A more suggestive contrast to the preceding speaker could hardly be imagined than this picturesque knight-errant of the scarlet republic. His effort to fill the spacious cellar with breathless expectation was one of consummate dramatic art. Yet, notwithstanding a leonine cast of hair and beard, and an eye that affected to challenge the absent sun, his genius evidently fell short of keeping a lustrous nap on his Sunday coat and his spring gaiters from grinning indecorously at the audience. The relation of these symptoms to a pipe and tobacco-pouch protruding from a breast-pocket and a cluster of blue claret drops enamelling a shirt-front of uncertain age, was fearlessly left to general conjecture. The American glass of water being yet unknown among the forensic resources of the sister republic, the orator sought composure in tossing back his mane *à la* Ledru Rollin and buttoning his coat

à la Lamartine, while a sweeping glance around the room commanded the walls to recede, and, resting for a moment over the "left corner," seemed to appeal for timely help should he come to the sticking point.

"What shall I say," broke he forth at last in a tremulous key, "in reply to the learned and well-to-do citizen who has just left the tribune? He professes to be a working-man, but his hands are whiter than mine. (*Voice*—Soap is only five cents a pound!) He is a printer, I am only a binder. He has ample leisure (*Voice*—When you lounge in the grog-shop) to glean the learning he has displayed before you. I have not the same opportunities. I can not follow him upon that ground. All I know is, that there is no equality, no fraternity, while he works less and earns more than I do. I can not support my family (*Voice*—You are a bachelor and keep a mistress!) on four francs a day (*Voice*—I have a wife and two children, and get only three francs; let us divide!)"

Voice from the Montagne—"Citizen President, why do you not silence the interrupters?"

Pres.—"This is Sunday; a little amusement is not out of order!" (Great applause.)

"I shall not lose the thread of my discourse," defiantly resumed the speaker. "It is not so much that wages are low, but that they are unequal, like every thing else. One kind of labor is no better than another. Hands don't move without the will, while brains come by chance. Capital and property are crimes against the people that must be abolished before the condition of the laborer can improve. The citizen printer is much concerned whether the wealth of the country could be permanently divided. I do not share his trouble. Nothing is permanent in this world. An old house is repaired or replaced by a new one. If, as he fears, things should return into the old channels we can drain these again. If only once or twice in each generation, it is worth while taking the guns into the street for it. Just give me my share now and I am willing to take the risk. I have hungered and gone threadbare long enough. I can not wait until mankind becomes virtuous and enlightened, and the laws of the world are changed by the ballot. Plenty of ammunition and three days of fair weather would set things all right for us. But, after all, I don't wish to push matters to the worst. If the harpagons who now monopolize the wealth of the country should die too hard, let them live. Let them keep their stolen gold, and let us issue ten milliards of

national money. (*A voice*—Assignats?) Yes, paper money, assignats if you choose, for the use of the people. The wealth of the nation is valued at a hundred milliards; that is ample security for those who prate about public honor! Circulation, circulation, is what we want, an abundance of it, no clutching, no hoarding, no stagnation! Make the money of the people a legal-tender, and to the guillotine every Jew and traitor who refuses to take it at par! If we can not all be rich and educated, then none should have that privilege to the exclusion of the rest. This is what creates inequality and aristocracy. The common people are in the majority, hence they should rule. Outside of that there is no republic. Every thing must be demolished and rebuilt from the ground up. Those who are not with us are against us. The citizen printer and his friends are conservatives, monarchists under another name. (General mirth.) They will clog the wheel of progress if stained with a single drop of blood. They can not be trusted. Moderation in revolution is nothing less than treason! On the day of the barricades they will be found on the other side—the side of order. (*Ironically*—Yes, ‘order reigns in Warsaw!’ (Furious applause on the Montagne.) Fellow-citizens, brother republicans, true working-men, children of the people! I denounce them to you as traitors; they have no business here! I demand their expulsion; instantaneous, immediate! To-morrow may be too late; citizens, brothers, once more I demand their expulsion! Who will second my motion? Their expulsion, or the dissolution of this club!”

“I, I, I,” responded the Mountain, as if with one voice.

President—“But permit me to remind you, Citizen Chamard, that you are in the minority! The majority is against you.”

“The majority. Aha! *that* is the cry! The majority, sir, is the argument of the strongest, the right of brute force, the wolf devouring the lamb! Might is not right. I defy the majority! I demand their expulsion, because they are wrong and we are right. The point is not debatable. They stand convicted by the treasonable language we have heard here to-night. In the name of the republic, democratic and social, I demand the vote!”

“The vote! the vote! the vote!” roaringly seconded the left!

“The vote! the vote! the vote!” lustily shouted the right.

The vote being taken by raised hands, resulted: For expulsion,

12. Against, 64. The motion is lost.

A voice—“Long live the twelve apostles!”

The discomfited leveler had now reached the zenith of exasperation. "Citizen traitors," vociferated he, shaking his clenched fists towards the right and center, "take notice that we yield to force alone. (*Voice*—Mirabeau, oh!) We shall remember you on the day of the barricades! Vive la république démocratique et sociale!"

The merry titter which accompanied the retiring gladiator back to his seat had not yet subsided when the head and shoulders of the next orator appeared above the brandy cask. It was not, however, until I observed that Morin had somehow slipped away from my side that I recognized his features, so transfigured did they seem with concentrated excitement. He did not wait long for silence, and the drop of a button could have been heard when, after repeatedly pressing his lips to an almost invisible line, he began thus:

"Fellow-citizens. I should exceedingly regret if we had only derived amusement from the incident just now buried under almost unanimous derision. To me at least it conveys one of the gravest of lessons. The leaders of the great cause of the future are getting impatient of delay. Their pockets are empty because they do not labor. They must precipitate matters at the risk and peril of us all and of our glorious cause. That the "twelve apostles" upon this floor should have been intrusted with the secret of their design to our exclusion does not speak well for either the wisdom or the honesty of our chiefs. It portends of mistakes and excesses which a majority of us are not prepared to indorse. We are being dragged into what is intended as a revolution, but may end in a vanquished riot, expiated on the scaffold and in deportation. I contend that we are not ready for such a move. I shall not flinch from duty when the roll is called, but rather than stake our all upon a premature dash, I would prefer to work and conspire at the risk of my head all my life and leave a clearer field to the next generation. If we sally from our caves now and burst upon society with guns in our hands, we shall be proclaimed outlaws and shot down like beasts of prey. The republic is worthy of a better fate. A mere political change is difficult enough without a flagrant provocation; how much more when coupled with subversion of the social relations, as proposed by our extremists! We may capture or put to flight the government, win over or neutralize the army, but we can not subdue or reconcile the moneyed people, the bourgeois, the *réactionnaire* of every age and country! Not only the noblesse, not the Bourbons alone,

but the bourgeois as well, never learns and never forgets. The bourgeois has no heart, no soul ; he is nothing but an arithmetical figure, and a five-franc piece is his god. Outside of that and what it procures he has no feelings, no aspirations. To those above him he cringes, and he frowns upon those beneath. The poor, the unfortunate, the lame, and the blind to him are only foreground pictures, darkened to raise him into brighter relief. They have no wants that claim his sympathy, no rights that command his respect. The artist, the thinker, the man of letters, must fawn in his shadow if they wish to live on his crumbs. He has no mission on earth except to fill his purse and to support the government that protects him in that pursuit. If it takes another century to educate the *canaille* of the cities and the priest-ridden peasant to the republican standard, an age would scarcely awaken the bourgeois from his dogged, ponderous conceit !

“ This, you see, fellow-citizens, is the big rock which must be blasted before we may advance to a more hopeful future ; and no small task it is. Having been a bourgeois myself, I speak from experience. The great misfortune is—the bourgeois is simply imperishable. Generally speaking, he is only a gilt-edged proletariat, and every proletariat would be a bourgeois if he could. The bankrupt nobleman trades his title for the dowry of a shopkeeper’s daughter, and the enriched proletariat becomes a bourgeois with all the insolence of the new-fledged parvenu. Thus their ranks are perpetually recruited from above and below. The bourgeois is the backbone of every despotism ; upon him the present dynasty is leaning with gushing abandon, while the police takes care of the rest of the nation.

“ How to surmount this rampart against light and freedom should absorb the wisest heads in our ranks. How not to do it has been brilliantly expounded upon this floor to-night. The musket, the guillotine, vandal destruction ! Every body rich and nobody to work ! Ten milliards of assignats with the financial disaster of our first revolution fresh on the page of history ! How will you redeem them and what will they represent ? Twenty francs for a pound of bread, two thousand for a pair of boots, a fortune for a suit of clothes ! Wages—five francs a day ! Yes—five francs at most, for labor will be a drug when business is destroyed by the confusion of values ! A few vampires getting richer and the masses poorer than ever ! Universal starvation, riots, plunder, bloodshed, and anarchy without end. It has been so before, and it ended in

the crowning of the Corsican Cæsar ! Are you prepared for such a repetition ? And will not the bourgeois then crow louder and grow fatter than ever !

“ But has it never occurred to you, my friends, that the bourgeois is waxing so rich because he can buy us so cheaply ? Labor is overcrowding his market ; we are simply standing in each other’s way ! Yes, my friends, no doubt of it ; there are too many of us here, in these stifling cities, leading a life against nature ! At every return of stagnation thousands are without work, their families without bread. Their manhood decays in idleness, their children sink into vice and shame, seldom or nevermore to rise ! From the dignity of a laborer rancor and want have degraded him to the level of the rabble significantly styled the dangerous class. We can not advance without these outcasts are clinging to our skirts, soiling our banner with their crimes. No wonder we can not make friends.

“ To my mind the remedy is obvious, though it may prove a herculean task. The cities must be depleted before the republic can thrive. People must cease to flock here, and some of us must leave. We must thin out this mass of social putrefaction and return to a purer source of life. I wonder that I ever came here and remained so long. I was reared in the country, under a genial sky, among smiling fields and gardens and an abundance of the fruits of the earth. I never was so happy as when, by the sweat of my brow, I tilled and nursed the plants that yielded the support of life’s rainy days. My slumber was sweet then ; I had not the care of the morrow ! To that life I would gladly return to-day if I could !

“ The great cities have ever been the bane of the nation ! Paris claims to be France, and should we rise to-morrow, Paris and consequently France would be ruled by a mob. Between the bourgeois and the *canaille* our task is discouraging indeed. But this is not all ! The republic may be proclaimed in the Tuileries after a week’s desperate fight, but it can not at once take root in the hearts of the people. It can not be sustained without more wisdom than was shown in preceding revolutions. Every trade requires an apprenticeship, and the art of self-government is the most difficult of all. Not one in a thousand who talks about it knows what it means. Too many bluster about rights who know nothing about duty. With such elements we shall have a republic only in name, and before many months may again fall victims of the excesses

or the treachery of the demagogues whose tempting baits were thrust before you an hour ago. I now move, fellow-citizens, that the Communist tracts distributed here this evening be denounced as destructive to the ends and the harmony of the party, and that their authors be subjected to the censure of this club."

This was probably the first time that Communism was mentioned by name in any meeting of the underground republic.

We had now reached the end of September, 1839. Morin, who was twice my age, and employed as porter and messenger in our commission house, was gradually looking more dejected, while his absences at night became more frequent and protracted. My repeated applications for another glimpse at the contraband republic were refused, upon the pretext that my youth had been objected to, and I might not be able to preserve my incognito *should any thing happen*. Not caring, after all, to burden my responsibility with more guilty knowledge than was prudent in my position in the counting room of a dynastic bourgeois, I quietly desisted.

On Saturday, 18th of October, afternoon, Morin left the house several hours earlier than usual, alleging a visit to his birth-place, several leagues south of the capital. "Should he fail to appear at his post on or before next Monday noon, I might learn the reason by inquiring of his family, whose address I had. Meanwhile the Savoyard at the corner was engaged to perform his duties at his expense."

Next day, Sunday, while I was entertaining a friend of my age in my room on the top floor overlooking nearly the whole southern part of the city, an indistinct roll of drums or of musketry suddenly wafted towards us from the direction of the Pont Neuf. Directly drums were heard nearer by, and descending to the front office windows we soon discovered that something was up and the militia were being called to arms. On that day nearly the whole garrison was out of the city on a grand review held by the king and military authorities, and the "générale" or alarm beat was but slowly responded. In the street we only learned that a small mob was gathering near the Hôtel de Ville or City Hall. Following a squad of municipals from the Place de Victoires, down the narrow streets towards the church St. Eustache, we there diverged from the war-path and struck to the left. A devious course for a few blocks brought us up at the rue Tiquetonne, where something

lively was fast attracting a crowd. Straight across the street from the corner of the one on which we had advanced a barricade was going up in the most approved style of revolutionary art. A capsized furniture wagon and three or four cabs formed the frame of this rampart, which was being rapidly filled in with tables, chairs, boxes, and barrels. Directly before us on the outer side of the work a dozen rioters, clad in the traditional blouse, were tearing up the pavement in alternate blocks, and piling up the granite cubes to a height of several feet against the frame, so as to form a solid breastwork. The whole force engaged here probably not exceeded thirty hands, commanded by an intelligent, high-bred-looking young fellow with a splendid ringing voice. But though the barricade seemed to be his home it was evident the blouse was not his daily garb.

In the excitement I experienced at this bewildering scene my eye could not dwell upon any particular detail. A rotary earthquake is the only thing I can liken to my impressions at the time. Had the roofs of the surrounding houses spontaneously come down to cap that barricade, not much would have been added to my surprise. Strange that amidst all this I had never thought of Morin except to rejoice at his absence from the city, when suddenly my companion, nervously grasping my arm and pointing to the demolishers of the pavé: "Do you see that dark little fellow in the gray blouse and black cap? He is glancing this way now! Don't you know him?"

Though loth to believe, I could not long resist the evidence of my senses. Despite a well-studied disguise, that falcon beak and sulky frown could not be mistaken; and now, as he "bosses" the crew, there is his nervous, husky voice! Again he glances this way, but he sees me not. Cold drops gathered on my brow while I leaned against the wall for support; but there was not much time to dream. "Quick now, another row to the left. Here, men, a little more base," and more such orders, were flying about in quick succession, but not quicker than the hands and feet of the republican sappers. The swarthy foreman had just stooped again for another boulder, with his back to the open street, when upon a shrill call from the clear voice within every blouse vaulted over the breastwork into the débris behind, and was seen no more. The gray one, which was the last in the file, had barely vanished from sight when our ears caught the clicking of arms, a sharp word of command up the street, and, just as I was thoughtlessly craning my

neck around the corner to see what it meant, a rattling detonation rent the air and the splinters from the barricade flew far and wide into surrounding space !

Not a shriek, not a moan, from behind the rampart during a dread suspense of a few moments ; only the wild, exulting cry of "Vive la République !" as the blood-red flag was flaunted over the wall of rubbish and a thundering volley from the republican fort returned the salute of the National Guard.

"That was a famous dose," now shouted one of the patriots behind a cab near our corner ; "that will settle them, I hope ; but before he was done reloading his gun, another greeting of the Nationals knocked the ramrod out of his hands, and conveyed the impression that the settlement referred to would not be an altogether one-sided affair. Our post of observation being now rapidly losing its character of neutrality, it was deemed prudent to place room between us and the scene of strife. It was not a moment too soon, for the streets were fast filling with mischievous-looking people, and before we reached the second corner we met another squad of militia hastening to a flank attack on friend Morin's barricade. Close behind them a surging crowd cut off our retreat by the way we had come, and gradually drove us into a net of narrow, dingy streets in the opposite direction. Here a small mob of boys and women had hold of a citizen soldier, whom they were stripping of his arms and uniform. Farther on, another, in a senseless condition, was being dragged into a covered alley, while a blasphemous hag was probing his ribs with a pair of scissors forked at an acute angle. Up the next street a mob of vociferous gamins were pursuing and pelting a young municipal, stripped of all but shirt and pants, and bleeding from a wound in the face. Debouching at last into the rue St. Martin, we met a strong patrol, who immediately surrounded the whole crowd and held us under their guns until the young soldier's assailants were singled out. Following the rue St. Martin to the Boulevard, we finally worked our way back to our starting point a short time before dusk, after answering a thousand questions on the route.

Here we learned that strong bodies of troops, recalled from the review, were surrounding the scene of revolt, which seemed to be confined to the center of the city north of the river. Firing was heard in that direction until late in the night, and not until near daylight was the riot effectually suppressed.

This rising of the Reds, which was intended to rally the whole

organized republican force, but scarcely mustered five hundred guns, is known as the "insurrection Barbés," from the name of its leader, a daring Marseillais, seconded by the notorious Blanqui. But few of the moderates "did not flinch when the roll was called," and the "twelve apostles" and their friends were left to fight it out alone. The rabble, who had been counted upon to do the "terrorizing," kept prudently aloof when they found the movement unsupported. They might have made an effort to join in next morning had the forlorn hope been able to hold out till then. As it was, however, this affair was emphatically nipped in the bud. The barricade Tiquetonne and several others, though part of a well-concerted plan, remained unconnected with the focus of the insurrection, and were captured after a struggle from which very few blouses besides Morin escaped unscathed. But the Reds had made their mark, and the infant Commune, though yet in its cradle, had received the baptism of fire. Barbés and a number of his followers were captured alive after a most heroic resistance, tried, and sentenced to death, though immediately commuted to imprisonment and deportation to penal colonies.

In February, 1840, I was sent on business to the United States, whence I did not return until October following. In December, a day or two before the funeral pageant in honor of Napoleon's remains just conveyed home from St. Helena, a peculiar, inimitable shrug attracted my attention to a group of laborers repairing one of the streets on the proposed line of march. The next moment I was tightly squeezing Morin's hand, who delighted me with an excellent report of himself and family. Not only was he never suspected of his political sins, but, after leaving our house on his own accord, was promoted to a berth of foreman on municipal works at a fair salary. Upon parting with him I could not help remarking that, when I last saw him on the street, he was handling paving-stones in a very different way. "Oh! as for that," he promptly replied with a roguish Parisian twinkle, "*we are not putting them down very tight.*"

And likely they did not, for the boulders came up once more with wonderful ease in February and again in June, 1848. The Reds, the Socialists, and their Communist offshoot had their day until a disgusted and horrified country sought relief at the hands of the derided hero of Strasbourg and Boulogne. Twenty years rolled on, and the long pent-up leaven again burst over the gilded bounds of political empirism and social palliatives. Once more the

wheel of revolution bespattered the shop of the bourgeois and civilization itself trembled in its shoes !

Communism had now attained its majority and celebrated it in the lurid glare of the petroleum torch. But it only had one holiday ; shall it ever have another ? " Society " will decide.

.

Twenty years more have elapsed since I last heard from Morin. He did " take his gun into the street " in February, but not in June, 1848. Shortly after that he was at last enabled to realize his modest dream of a contented life " among smiling fields and gardens."

The citizen printer, whose sensible appeal had opened the meeting in the cave, was then publishing a liberal journal, which displayed the rare tact of keeping out of trouble with the police of Napoleon the Little.

As for Citizen Chamard, the champion of " greenback " equality, he was last heard from in the June insurrection, when, in the attempt to reduce his most advanced opinions to practice on a limited scale, he was shot by republican guns as a thief !

RECOLLECTIONS OF MAZZINI'S VIEWS ON RUSSIA AND THE EAST.

CONCLUSION.

FOR years after the Franco-Italian war, Mazzini still issued warnings against the possibility of joint intrigues between the "Man of Villafranca" and Alexander II. So he did in his pamphlet "To the Youth of Italy" (*Ai Giovani d'Italia*), written in November, 1859. In December of the same year he still asserted that the Czar, without binding himself so formally as not to be able to draw back at the least incident, had promised to Louis Napoleon, in case the war of 1859 were prolonged by the intervention of Germany, to come to his aid by sending a Russian army against Germany and Austria, and by raising internal foes to the latter in the shape of a Hungarian insurrection. Mazzini maintained that "the powerful name of Kossuth was to be used" for that purpose. As he and Kossuth had formerly been fellow-workers in the Central European Democratic Committee the statement was certainly not made without good grounds. Nor has it ever, to my knowledge, been disputed by the Hungarian leader.

On his part, Louis Napoleon—according to Mazzini's information—had agreed that, whatever extent the war of 1859 might assume, nothing should be done by France to moot the Polish Question. This promise, I may incidentally mention, was given whilst Prince Jerome Napoleon's business was to keep up a close connection with Polish exiles at Paris!

Again, it had been agreed between Alexander II. and Napoleon III. that the stipulations referring to Russian naval power in the Black Sea were to be torn up. (This reminds us of what was done afterwards in a similar sense between Gortchakoff and Bismarck during the Franco-German war, England being compelled by the stress of circumstances to yield an unwilling assent.) Furthermore it was stipulated that Hungary should have the Russian Grand Duke Constantine as its king; "a condition," Mazzini asserted, "which I am pained to say had been accepted by some of the Hungarian agitators—perhaps with mental reservations equal to

those of Count Cavour, and equally pernicious." Lastly, the agreement was that, if England did make common cause with Germany against Louis Napoleon, a conflagration should be raised by Russo-Bonapartist agents in Servia, Bosnia, and Montenegro for the overthrow of the Ottoman Empire, so as to occupy England's attention there.

Mazzini pointed out that active agents had been traveling for that purpose between Paris, Belgrade, and Constantinople shortly before the Franco-Italian war. He strongly and indignantly pronounced against all such Imperialist intervention in the Eastern Question. He did so again in 1861,¹ by referring to the words he had written in 1859, and by declaring that it would be a lasting disgrace for the sacred name of Rome and for the banner of his nation if Italians were to fight, as the satellites of a foreign power, against German nationality "for the benefit of a Franco-Russian Czarism." The germs of spontaneous life that were growing up among the Slavonian, Rouman, and Hellenic populations of Turkey would, he said, be destroyed by this contamination.

A few words on Mazzini's views about the future of the Magyar nation may here be in their place. For practical purposes his connection with Kossuth and Klapka decided, for some time, his public bearing in reference to Hungarian affairs. He could not act in concert with the foremost Magyar leaders, and yet declare for the cause of the bitterest internal foes of Hungarian national integrity. However, his gradual estrangement from Kossuth was not calculated to deepen the earlier views he had held on the subject of Hungary. Still, though he began to work out theoretical opinions about the Slav races—little known, then, to several of his associates in London, to whom his Italian writings were a sealed book—he nevertheless did not underrate the strength of the Magyar nation, both in its opposition to the centralizing tendencies of the Vienna Hofburg, and as a counterpoise to Russian encroachment. When, in consequence of Kossuth's sudden espousal of the French war scheme in 1859, a rupture had taken place between him and the Hungarian leader, he felt disconcerted in various ways. He repeatedly asked, during our interviews in the years following, what could be done to get General Klapka to fill the gap in the Democratic connections of the Italian Propaganda. This was all the more significant because Klapka had refused to sign the much-

¹ See "La Quistione Italiana e i Repubblicani." Napoli, 1861.

talked-of project of a Danubian Confederation, to which Kossuth then lent his name. That scheme, in principle, rather fitted in with Mazzini's views. It aimed at the junction of Hungary with Moldo-Wallachia and the South-Slavonians of Turkey. Pesth, Bucharest, Belgrade, and Agram—that is to say, a Magyaro-German, a Rouman, and two Slavonian towns—were to be in turn, in the former Swiss fashion, the seat of the authorities of this Danubian League.¹ General Klapka stated to me at that time, in the strongest words possible, that Hungarian opinion was dead against the proposal. Mazzini, seeing this drift of Magyar sentiment, would have preferred working with a distinguished Magyar exile who had refused giving publicly his countenance to the project of a Danubian League,² as espoused in those days by Kossuth.

XI.

In February, 1861, Mazzini addressed a public letter to me : “ *On the Position of Italy towards Germany.* ” It contains a powerful exposition of the crafty policy of French Imperialism and its attempts to gain the leading position of Europe—partly by a corruption of the moderate elements ; partly by its intrigues in the camp of those who strove for the independence of nationalities ; partly

¹ In a pamphlet entitled “ Germany and Hungary Against Kossuth's Plan of a Danubian Confederacy,” printed as No. VI. of the “ Fly-Sheets of the Society for German Union and Freedom,” I opposed this project. I am glad to say that Kossuth has since then fully come back to his earlier views. He is at present incessantly active in opposing both Russian policy and the more insidious pan-Slavist agitation.

² It may be useful to quote here a passage from Klapka's “ *La Guerre d'Orient en 1853 et 1854,* ” published at Geneva in 1855. In it he much blames the neglect with which the Allies treated the Caucasian populations, so serviceable in every war against Russia. Of Muscovite aims upon the Danubian countries he says : “ By her ‘ generous ’ intervention in the affairs of Hungary, Russia had reached her first aim. She had deprived of its distinct existence, and thrown into chains, the only nation that was still dangerous to her on the Danube ; the nation which, in all Polish risings, had always shown itself ready to aid its downtrodden neighbors ; the nation whose existence as a political body and whose exuberant popular force were a standing threat against Russian encroachment upon Turkey ; the nation which, pressing in between the Slavs of the South and those of the North, was opposed to the pan-Slavist tendencies ; the nation which, in a general war against Russia, would have forced Austria to march with the Coalition. Russia had achieved this success of hers with the help of Austria, of the South Slavonians, and of the easily corrupted Wallachians, so that Austria herself, in her turn, should receive the fatal blow, and become in future dependent upon Russia's will.” In the same work Klapka takes the side of German Schleswig-Holstein as against the Danish view of dynastic succession, which he looked upon as being in the interest of the Czar.

by offering an alliance to Alexander II. For the present purpose a few passages referring to Russia will suffice. Mazzini wrote :

" Shall the lessons of 1848 be lost to our cause? In that year we were the masters of the battle-field. The nations had, as always, responded to the call of the men of freedom. As always, the despots had yielded to the first attack. We might have consecrated the New Era ; we might have founded, on the ruins of the Old World, the United States of Europe. The Alliance of Nations could have been substituted to the torn-up treaties of dynasties. Why did we fall? Why did the kings, though flying, or trembling on their thrones, regain, step by step, the lost territory? Associates of Blum and Messenhausen, of Trützschler and Tiedemann, do you not remember why? We had scattered our forces. We fought isolated battles. The united princes were able to combat us, one after the other ; and they conquered and they mocked us. To-day, threatened by the same danger, they try the same method. Shall we relapse into the same errors? Here lies the true danger for us, for you, for Hungary, for Poland, for all nations. The forces of the Party of Reaction daily dwindle away more and more. To vanquish them in open war is only a question of time, and of a near time. But French Imperialism, which pushes itself into our own camp, struggles at our side, and shares the spoils of victory with us, is a far more dangerous foe."

Then, turning to the possibility of a junction of Imperial France with Russia, Mazzini wrote :

" If that decisive day arrives, the emperor only need say to the Czar, ' Constantinople is yours ! ' in order to make himself absolute master of Western and Central Europe. How is that danger to be warded off? Clearly by no other means than by isolating the empire and hemming in the action of Bonapartism ; by reorganizing Europe as young and strong political motives, in accordance with popular tendencies—in the name of the nations and by the nations. With this view, Imperial France must be cut off from every chance of co-operation ; and as much mutual confidence must be created among the popular forces of the various countries as is required for rendering foreign aid unnecessary. All causes must resolutely be destroyed which impel nations to receive the initiative of the movement from a third hand. In one word, the law of eternal morality, not the calculations of a deceptive policy of expediency, or the impulse of a pride nourished by dynasties, and which is only advantageous to them, must be our guide. Help us, therefore, to found Italian Unity ! The Mediterranean will then become a European, not a French, lake ; and in the South you will have a stronger line of defence than the Mincio. Your mistrust is in the direction of France. And you *must* mistrust her, as long as you have a weak Italy, which itself is accessible to the invasion or to the seductions of a promise of military support. Help to reconstitute Poland, and to set up, on the ruins of the Turkish Empire, a Slavo-Roumano-Hellenic Confederacy ! You will then not have to fear any more the intervention and the preponderance of Russia. Leave the Austrian Empire to the condemnation which God and men have uttered against it ; then you will have allies at the Danube, and not, as to-

day, enemies. Blot out from the forehead of Germany the black spot which Austria impresses upon her by making the sons of Hermann and Luther appear before Europe as the soldiers of despotism. The nations will then environ you in harmony and love. Before all, work for the establishment of your national unity by the people ! Give to the ashes of Schiller a fatherland ! Every step you go forward on this path will be a spur to the Italian movement to free itself from a pernicious influence which you justly fear. . . . The Germanic and the Italian ideas will then form a league of brotherhood on the Alps. . . . In you there lives confidence in the power of the people ; and you resolutely search into the designs of Imperialism. You and all those who resemble you it behoves, therefore, to say incessantly to your compatriots that, if ever they followed the path traced out by the enemies of our unity, they would damage their own cause and ours, and only serve Bonapartism, to combat which they have so much at heart. . . . Speak to your compatriots for us in this sense ! . . . Let there be an alliance between us, not a fratricidal war ! . . . We have a common enemy ; let us be united in combating him !"

XII.

To this letter of Mazzini, issued as a pamphlet in Italian, German, English, and French, I answered by a similar publication, the latter passages of which referred to a scheme then brewing in the Tuileries, of which I will in a subsequent chapter give some details. It had for its object a combined action of Napoleonic France and of Cavourian, afterwards Ratazzian, Piedmont against the integrity of the German nation. That scheme was in connection with Louis Napoleon's piratical raid upon Mexico, into which even the English Government had allowed itself to be dragged. The most startling revelations were made to me at the time through the agency of a great Italian leader, whom the cabinet at Turin had endeavored to inveigle into such a plot, and in which he was to officer a Slav movement, to be fostered by a guerrilla enterprise starting from the Dalmatian coast, and penetrating through the Herzegovina and Bosnia into Croatia and Slavonia. In this way Austria was to be occupied in the East, whilst France and the aggrandized Piedmontese monarchy were to fall upon Germany from the Rhenish and the Austro-Bavarian side. The plot was fortunately nipped in the bud.

Prince Jerome Napoleon at that time acted under the cloak of an independent *Frondeur*, as the connecting link between the Tuileries and that small but active clique of pseudo-revolutionary renegades known as *la Démocratie ralliée*. Many years before, in 1849, I, as one of the envoys of the Provisional Governments of

Baden and the Palatinate to the then President of the French Republic, had had occasion to see the agents of the so-called "Red" or "Mountain Prince," Jerome Napoleon, busily at work with the attempt to enter into relations with German Democrats from the Rhine countries for the object of farthering French aggressive designs. I scarcely need say that I indignantly spurned the insidious advances of his tools. This, no doubt, was the cause of an imprisonment, in violation of the law of nations, and of a decree of "exile forever" from the soil of France, then decreed against me at Paris.

In 1861, Prince Jerome Napoleon, acting in his cousin's interest, once more busied himself with plans upon the Rhine frontier. It was in reference to these schemes that, in the answer to Mazzini, I said :

"Soon after the war (of 1859) an Italian statesman of prominent position declared in full Parliament that Italy, from a feeling of gratitude, was bound to help France to the recovery of her 'natural frontiers.' Another voice recently issuing from the camp of Victor Emanuel's Government held out a threat that Germany would be deprived of her harbor on the Adriatic. Menaces so daring only destroy the good work of German popular leaders, and create a hostile reaction against the Italian cause. In vain Cavour gives out pacifying assurances ; their value is too well known. And even if such knowledge had not become general, the arrogant speeches of a French prince, who acts as a Napoleonic *factotum* in the Paris Senate, would suffice to arouse the watchfulness of the Germans. Already those Imperialist war-heralds are bragging that Italy is chained to the battle-car of the Government of December the Second ; that she will serve the French Empire with her army, with her ships, through all vicissitudes of the struggle ; that she will help Bonaparte to 'change the map of Europe in the interest of France.' Aye, the son-in-law of Victor Emanuel, the Napoleonide standing next to the French throne, throws unheard-of threats into the face of Europe. He wants to tear up the Treaties of 1815 with the point of the sword, in order to aggrandize France—'this time,' he significantly adds, '*not in the direction of Italy.*' He speaks of Bohemia as a nation to be separated from Germany. He foreshadows a combination of navies of the second order, under the leadership of France, to be hurled against England. He calls Italy the ally of the emperor for all these dark designs. And whole France is apprised by an official dispatch that the prince has made a masterly speech ! And at Turin they have not or dare not offer a single word of contradiction !"

The next passages contain these words, which by the light of events that occurred nine or ten years afterwards have certainly received their full confirmation :

"These Napoleonic threats are met by vigilance on the part of the Germans. We are firmly convinced that not only nations in general, but the best political

elements in France itself, must wish such monstrous schemes to suffer a defeat. We are not the enemies of France. To the French Republicans who respect our nationality we hold out the hand of brotherhood. We have not forgotten that it was the people of France who first shook the chains of Europe. But for this very reason, GERMANY, IF FORCED TO WAR, WILL THROW ALL HER ENERGY INTO THE STRUGGLE; for nothing is more fatally hurtful to European, to French, freedom than the corruption of the French popular mind by the vain mania of military glory. By intoxicating herself with *gloire*, France degrades herself to the position of a camp-follower of Cæsarism, servilizes herself, and becomes the scourge of nations. It is rendering a service to civilization, to the spirit of civic freedom, TO FRANCE HERSELF, to draw her away from this dangerous path."

I added :

" But who could more impressively describe the pernicious effect of Bonapartian rule than Joseph Mazzini himself has done? The voice of the murdered Roman Republic never tires in giving evidence against the criminal. You always branded this proposed league with the Oppressor of France as a disgrace, as a danger for Italy, for Germany, for Europe. To the eloquent exposition in which you laid bare the psychology of the government of the *coup d'état*, the approval of Germany has not been wanting. All men of honest conviction applaud it. Every true friend of freedom has seen in it the ground on which Germans and Italians can meet in full harmony."

I have quoted the above passages because, as I mentioned before, there was then a plan—now much forgotten, because it never came to ripeness—of using Italy, or rather the aggrandized Piedmontese monarchy, and the pan-Slavic propaganda as a means of crippling Germany on her western frontier, and of neutralizing Austria (then still a leading member of the Bund) so as to prevent her from giving military aid to the German confederacy. Prince Jerome Napoleon, to my knowledge, held in his hand some of the threads of that pan-Slavic Propaganda.

XIII.

Some facts and details may here be in their proper place.

During several years after Garibaldi had delivered the Two Sicilies from the Bourbon yoke numerous plans were formed for getting up expeditions, under his leadership, either to the coast of Dalmatia, with a view of raising an insurrection in Croatia and Southern Hungary, or to the Danubian Principalities, where the hospodar Couza had perpetrated a *coup d'état* in Bonapartist fashion. An ex-minister of Couza, M. Pano, an advanced Liberal,

came as the confidential agent of the party that had been overthrown by the state-stroke to London in those years, seeking contact with the English Government, which however rather gave him the cold shoulder through Lord Palmerston. M. Pano also was in frequent connection with Mazzini, who introduced him to me. The patriotic party of the Principalities then sought to overthrow the usurper Couza ; but M. Pano, I believe, was not among those who wished for the election of a Hohenzollern prince, or for any prince. The last I heard of him was that he had died in mental grief near Vienna.

As to the plans of expeditions to Dalmatia or Roumania, they originated from the most various motives and in the most various quarters. Garibaldi was urged to their acceptance before and after Aspromonte. It was with the utmost difficulty he disentangled himself from them, even when his shattered health compelled him to go, with a crippled leg, to Ischia and to the baths of Casa-Micciola. On their part, the agents of the Cavourian school of statesmen who had only learnt too many devices from their Parisian model, were continually getting up sham-plots for the preparation of sham expeditions, hoping thereby to enmesh the Democratic party of action into their nets—in other words, to obtain by means of a “confidence trick” an insight into what the party of action itself under Mazzini and Garibaldi was really doing. Now, there can scarcely be a doubt that between Louis Napoleon and Ratazzi on the one hand, and the Russian Government on the other, there were again threads of connection at that time, destined to suddenly tighten one day round Austria and Turkey. But I know that, with all his desire to see both Austria and Turkey overthrown, Mazzini was then once more practically averse to any project calculated to give free scope to Russian policy.

To write even a mere sketch of those multiform plans for some expedition to the East would alone exceed the limits of an essay. I will confine myself, therefore, to the mention of a strange and very serious project, which preceded Garibaldi's attempt upon Rome in 1862, and which will explain why he undertook that apparently hopeless venture.

The Mexican intrigue was then in full swing. Under cover of an intention to keep the government of President Juarez to the fulfillment of obligations towards its foreign creditors, Louis Napoleon sought to encompass the overthrow of the Mexican Republic itself. His object, as he afterwards acknowledged in so many words,

was to establish a "Latin Empire" at the Mexican Gulf, under French protectorate. The second object was to get a foothold on American soil, for the purpose of giving support to the expected slaveholders' revolt in the United States. "Through the heart of Mexico the heart of the American Republic was to be reached," as Jules Favre later on correctly said. The Spain of Isabella, of Father Claret and Sister Patrocinio, readily made common cause with Louis Napoleon. So did the English Government in the beginning. Whatever explanation may have been offered for England's subsequent withdrawal, it is a fact that Earl Russell, contrary to all diplomatic usage, had promised the eventual recognition of Archduke Maximilian as monarch of Mexico, even before the latter had set foot upon Mexican soil! The extraordinary despatch in question is printed in the English blue-book.

It is little known, but I can vouch for the fact, that Louis Napoleon, with a view to an ulterior attack upon the Rhine, had proposed to the cabinet at Turin that an Italian contingent should be sent to Mexico; and that, after the success of the Mexican enterprise, a joint French and Italian attack should be made upon Germany—the Italians sending a contingent of theirs to the French army on the Rhine, whilst a French auxiliary force was to act with the Italians at the Mincio. Garibaldi was to operate from the Dalmatian or Turkish coast in the direction of Hungary, so as to distract Austria there, and thus to facilitate the French attack in the Rhenish quarters by preventing Austria from doing her duty as a member of the German Bund. The Russian Government would thus have obtained the long-desired opportunity for her own action on the Danube.

Without entering further into the matter, it may be enough to state that it was in consequence of being informed of this nefarious plan that Garibaldi suddenly resolved upon moving against Rome by way of a diversion. It was the knowledge of this secret connection which will explain the contents of an address of sympathy, written by me, in the name of German friends, to the captive at the Varignano,¹ as well as a similar utterance I felt induced to make

¹ These are some of the passages of that address: "There are defeats which carry in them the germ of a future victory. By courageously rising against a usurpation that gnaws at the heart of your fatherland; by uttering the heroic cry, 'Rome or Death!' you have given timely warning to a nation which was in danger of becoming the prey of of a foreign vampire-policy; you have traversed, at least for a while, infamous despotic projects into which Italy was to be drawn. Yes, in spite of the mis-

as the appointed speaker of the London Germans after Garibaldi's triumphal entry. Here, again, it is but right to mention that Mazzini—though he was dissatisfied with, and in some measure even surprised at, the expedition which ended at Aspromonte—certainly was far from countenancing any scheme of united French, Italian, and Russian action. It was not with such allies and at such a price that he wished to see a move made in the direction of Venice and the East.

As to Mexican matters, which the arch-intriguer in the Tuileries so strangely sought to intertwine with German and Eastern affairs, a quotation from the short biographical memoir alluded to in the beginning may here be given. I there said :

“When that crime against a nation's independence and freedom was attempted which afterwards found its tragic end at Queretaro a great commotion arose among the exiles of various lands living in this country. The lowering tempest of the slaveholders' insurrection had not yet burst over the North American Republic, but already the more far-seeing men observed its rapid approach ; and, with a correct appreciation of the connection of things, they felt that the planned attempt of the two imperial adventurers against Mexico was a prospective threat to the United States. Holding to this view, Mazzini participated in a confidential communication to President Lincoln, which, had it been acted upon, might have brought about a change of affairs in Europe of the most decisive nature for Continental democracy. This communication, directed against the Imperial scheme of the Archduke Maximilian and his Napoleonic protector, was drawn up by a German hand. It bore an Italian, a French, and a German signature ; Mazzini signing for the Republican party of Italy. A plan of action was laid down, showing how the intervention in Mexico could be foiled by an effective blow at head-quarters in Paris and elsewhere. *President Lincoln did not decline. He reserved his decision for the time of greatest urgency.* In the meanwhile the armies of the North grappled with their confederate antagonists. When the great crisis came, Lincoln fell under the murderous weapon of Ravallac-Booth, and the plan alluded to was buried with him in his gory grave.”

Had it been possible to obtain the necessary means for bringing about a movement at Paris during that Mexican complication, Napoleon III. would in all likelihood have fallen then through a rising at home. I know that a number of officers and non-commissioned officers in the French army were already gained over to the Republican view. Few may suspect that the expedition which

fortune that has interrupted your work of deliverance, you have done a great service to the cause of progress. On the day when Italy shall enter into the possession of her capital, your name will have to be inscribed into the tablets of history as that of the true victor.”

culminated in the deliverance of the Two Sicilies depended at the time upon the confidential collection of a comparatively very small sum, which was fortunately obtained among friends of the Italian cause in England and Scotland.

XIV.

A promoter of the war movement against Russia in 1853, a hearty hater of all Russian interference in the East, to such an extent that he agitated for a coalition of powers in 1859 against the danger of a Russo-French alliance; a watchful observer of every contingency that might have led to a similar peril in the years immediately following, Mazzini naturally was a well-wisher of the rising in Russian Poland in 1863-64.

There can be no doubt, for an attentive reader of his writings, that the peculiar religious bent of his mind had influenced his earlier ideas about the relations between Italy and Poland on the one hand, and Poland and Russia on the other. He then fondly spoke of his own country in a manner rather at variance with the opinions of the vast mass of European Liberals, Democrats, and free-thinkers—as “the Mother of religious unity in the Middle Ages,” and therefore as “the sister, for long years, of Poland in the Creed.” His interest in the Uniates, whom the Czar tyrannously endeavored to force back into the fold of the orthodox Russian Church, amounted in 1842 almost to a religious interest, whilst Liberal critics in general simply looked upon those occurrences as a proof of the inquisitorial intolerance of Muscovite Cæsaro-Papism. With the lapse of years, however, Mazzini mainly laid stress on the restoration of Poland as a political duty and necessity.

Is it necessary to give proofs here of the deep and sympathetic interest which was aroused in England when, on January 21st, 1863, the news was flashed over Europe of a simultaneous rising all through Russian Poland? With a warmth most surprising after so many years of total indifference, English statesmen, public writers, masses of people in general—as I have stated before, in a special essay on that subject—once more espoused the grievances of a downtrodden nation. The House of Commons and the House of Peers rang with denunciations of the tyranny of the Czar. At great public meetings war was called for in case Russia persisted in her barbarous conduct. The English Government, urged on by this agitation, drew up its famous “Six Points,” and asked for a

conference of the eight signatory Powers of the Treaty of Paris. Of course, Russia coolly set aside these indignant demands of Europe.

Through Mazzini, and through a representative of the Secret National Committee of Warsaw, a few German and French exiles—among them Ledru-Rollin and myself—had been made acquainted, before the Polish rising, with what was coming. The day of the outbreak was confidentially known in advance. Nevertheless, Lord John Russell was utterly and even absurdly wrong when, in the midst of the insurrection, he all at once declared, in a tone of great excitement, that the discovery had been made of the rising being organized by the “cosmopolitan party of revolutionists,” especially by Mazzini, and that the aim of the insurgents was the introduction of Communism! To try making out Mazzini a Communist—him who, all through his career, had energetically combated Communism—is an assertion which could only raise a smile. Nor was there any single Communist in that circle of exiles who had received confidential information before the outbreak. As to the notion that the Secret National Government at Warsaw intended introducing Communism, all their decrees and actions are there to show that nothing could be further from their mind.

Mazzini had grave misgivings as to the time of the outbreak being well chosen, and he expressed them in a letter which was conveyed to the Warsaw Committee. Russia, however, by her terrible conscription or proscription decree, left the Poles no choice. The banner of revolt having been raised, those so-called “cosmopolitan revolutionists” abroad who sympathized with the Polish cause, though they had certainly not in the least “organized the insurrection,” only could endeavor to do what lay in their power to help it by direct or indirect means. Thus, in the City Hall of Glasgow, where, as well as in other Scotch towns, addresses were delivered by the writer of this essay, “On the Situation of Germany and the Rising in Russian Poland,” resolutions were passed by those assembled to the following effect: Rupture of all diplomatic relations with Russia—recognition of Poland as a belligerent nation—declaration of British sympathy with Germany in her efforts at gaining her own freedom and union—formation of a committee destined to receive subscriptions for the Polish rising—transmission of a petition to the House of Commons, and of an address to the Hon. Arthur Kinnaid, with the object of promoting the Polish movement.

After a heroic struggle the insurrection succumbed. A system of revengeful Russian atrocities was introduced, before which the genius of humanity veiled his face. Fresh emigrants left the soil of the thrice downtrodden country. Some time afterwards General Langiewicz joined the circle of exiles in London, entering into close relations with the chief of the Italian party of action, who in his very last utterances—shortly before his death—still denounced the policy of the Czar, whilst expressing hopes for the future resurrection of Poland.

XV.

In a previous chapter, a letter has been referred to, written in 1857, to the *Italia del Popolo*, under the signature "Y." It is stated now in the *Fortnightly Review* that "Y" represented the name of Mazzini. In that letter he spoke of "about seventy-nine millions of Slavs, occupying a zone of territory which extends from Archangel to Thessaly, and from the mouth of the Elbe (*dallo sbocco dell' Elba*) to that of the Volga;" for which statement the reader is referred to a map of Schafarik.

It need scarcely be remarked that Mazzini had been strangely misled in that matter. Even now, after a lapse of twenty years, or of thirty-six years after the publication of Schafarik's map, there are not 79,000,000 Slavs. This number of people can only be made out if several other races lying athwart the Slav stock are thrown in with the latter, against which manipulation those races, of course, protest with heart and hand. Again, the Slav race does not begin properly at Archangel. The Fin race prevails in that neighborhood. Nor does the Slav race extend to Thessaly. The Greeks, as we see just now, vehemently protest against that assertion. At the mouth of the Elbe, at Hamburg, and in Schleswig-Holstein, no other race is found at present but the German race; and between that point and along the whole Baltic shores of Germany, up to Königsberg and Memel, the German nationality is located. Probably Mazzini wrote, by a mere slip of the pen, "From the mouth of the Elbe," instead of "From its source." The fact is, even beyond the north-eastern frontier of Germany there are the Germans of the Baltic provinces mixed up with Esthoni-ans and Letts—all of them non-Slav. At the mouth of the Volga, lastly, there is again, not the Slavonian, but the Tatar stock. I

will not refer to other mistakes in that letter. Those mentioned are sufficiently striking errors in the premises of a vexed problem.

For all that, Mazzini acknowledged even then that there were grave obstacles in the way of the development of the Slav scheme. To Russia he would assign no other outlet for her growing life than Asia, "the only part where she can accomplish a mission of civilization." Perhaps Mazzini might have modified even this view of his since the publication of Mr. Schuyler on Russian civilization in Turkestan. At all events, he raised, in his letter of 1857, a warning voice against "the activity which Russia displays in diffusing among the Slav tribes the absurd plans of a pan-Slavism of which the Czar would be the center." He said the Slav movement in Russia did not issue from the heart of the people. It there comes from above, from the absolute head of the state, who only holds before the eyes of the other Slav centers the mendacious imposture of a constituted and ordered force so as to beguile them" (*non sorse dalle viscere del popolo ; scende dall' alto, dal capo assoluto dello Stato, ad affacciare agli altri centri il fascino menzognero d'una forza costituita, ordinata*). He spoke contemptuously of men who, "copying in the name of freedom the trafficking policy of tyrants, invite Austria to abandon a part of Italian soil in exchange for the land of our Rouman brethren ;" as well as of men who "crucify a second time sacred Poland by singing psalms in honor of the Czar" (*Crocefigano una seconda volta la sacra Polonia, inneggiando allo Tsar*).

All these passages are not contained in the translation which appeared in the *Fortnightly Review*.

In the second letter, written in 1871, as well as in the first, Mazzini emits some favorite ideas of his as to a future constitution of Europe. These ideas included the transformation of Switzerland into a Confederacy of the Alps, through the union with it of Savoy and the German Tyrol. This shows that the nationality principle was not the absolutely ruling one with Mazzini. Two thirds of Switzerland are German. Savoy speaks French. Then the German Tyrol is from olden times naturally connected with Germany, and does not think of joining itself to Switzerland. Years ago I replied to Mazzini's suggestion that Germans would naturally protest, from the nationality point of view, against the loss of German Tyrol, being not inclined even to part with the southern districts of it ; and that the cause of Republican progress in Switzerland would probably not gain by having either that prov-

ince or Savoy joined to her. He smilingly, with a "perhaps it is so," yielded assent to that argument.

As to the establishment of great Slav confederacies without heeding the intermediate state structures or the vast differences in speech and general aspirations among Russians, Poles, and so forth, it is a project which could only be compared to the idea of grouping Germans with their Dutch and Flemish kinsmen, as well as the majority of the Swiss (who had once been an integral part of our empire), together with the Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, Icelanders, English, Scotch, North Americans, the Cape Colonies, and Australia into a great Teutonic league. We do not dream of such an impossible confederacy. Why should the Slav races?

In truth, so little do the several Slav races understand each other, that at their pan-Slavonian congress at Prague they had to choose the German tongue as the medium of understanding. "Unification" being, however, Mazzini's favorite maxim, he did not always take sufficient account of the differences which even between nations so nearly alike as Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, or Spain and Portugal, render a closer compact almost impossible.

But though, in his letter of 1871 to the *Roma del Popolo*, Mazzini once more condemns the Austrian and Turkish empires in the strongest words, and looks forward to a great development of the Slav stock, he speaks of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Transylvania as of "a providential barrier to the dream of a pan-Slavonic unity," and says: "The dangers of the question may all be summed up in one—that in their ascending movement the southern and northern Slavonians should seek the aid of Russia, and yield up the direction of their forces to the Czar. In that case the result would be a gigantic attempt to *make Europe Cossack*; a long and fierce battle waged against all the liberties we have already won; a new era of militarism; the principle of nationality endangered by the idea of a European monarchy; Constantinople—the key of the Mediterranean—and all the paths to the vast regions of Asia in the hands of the Czar." . . .

Such a "hostile pan-Slavonic unity, composed of a hundred millions of Slavonians governed by one despotic will," Mazzini abhorred. He still in 1871 said: "We can not allow Russian Czarism—A PERENNIAL MENACE TO EUROPE—to step into the place now occupied by your masters; and no partial movement executed by a single element amongst you can be victorious; *nor, even were victory possible, could it constitute a strong barrier against the avid-*

ity of the Czar: IT WOULD SIMPLY FURTHER HIS PLANS OF AGGRANDIZEMENT." He still called Poland the "sacred, martyred nation." He still wished to raise up "a barrier against Czarism," so that "Russia would be confined to her true limits." He still warned against "the tenacity with which Russia, from the days of Peter the Great down to our own, has followed out the idea of the conquest of Constantinople."

More than this, he wrote: "The cry of 'peace at any price,' which was raised in England by a whole influential school, whose chiefs were Cobden and Bright, encouraged Russia to her attempt, and in a great measure determined the Crimean war."

XVI.

Is it too much to suppose, after all this, that Mazzini, who in 1853 energetically called for war against Russia, who in 1859 wished for a coalition against her and Imperial France, and who in 1864 was in connection with the Polish rising, would not only have stood aloof from, but would have severely condemned, the recent Russian Crusade—aye, have joined the opponents of Czarism?

AN AMERICAN WEDGE.

AN article by the writer entitled "Silver in Art," published just prior to the opening of the *Exposition Universelle*,¹ detailed with something of particularity certain novel developments of an art-industry that has advanced with rapid strides in America within the last decade of years.

The article was reprinted in Europe, and although mainly devoted to technical explanations of various methods of manipulating metals for the purposes of art, as developed and practiced in America, it was read with varying degrees of interest by many persons interested in the progress of the higher industries throughout the world.

By conservative craftsmen of England it was regarded almost with incredulity ; by others with nervous dissatisfaction ; and others again became alarmed lest encroachments were likely to be made by a younger nation on an industry which Englishmen regarded as entirely their own as the privileges of the Magna Charta.

Subsequent revelations proved that European metal-workers had drunk copiously of the waters of Lethe, and the booming cannon that announced the opening of the Paris Exposition of 1878 aroused them from a slumber as long and profound as that of Rip Van Winkle.

It was only when the display of American gold and silver work was discovered to the eyes of Europe that there came to our Transatlantic cousins a full realizing sense that it was possible to take cognizance of American art work, and it was "because things seen are mightier than things heard" that the self-reliant Briton awoke to find that in at least one high industrial art he had found a new competitor. His mind was deeply stirred by the positive and prospective decline of an important national industry, and the press gave occasional expression to what grew into a general uneasiness. The *Spectator*, for example, in the course of a lengthy review of Mr. Cripps's "Old English Plate," uses the following language :

¹ *International Review*, March, 1878.

"It is a modern mistake to assume that the production of good silver work demands neither special training nor high artistic power. It will not suffice to study old models, however excellent, unless fresh inspiration be gathered from nature, assimilated by the trained mind, and wrought out by the skillful hand into forms of fresh and seemly design."

And finally, after deploring the fact that English silversmiths have not received "fresh inspiration," it contritely says:

"We confess we were surprised and ashamed to find at the Paris Exhibition that a New York firm, Tiffany & Co., had beaten the Old Country and the Old World in domestic silver plate."

At this time the British House of Commons deemed it expedient to appoint a Select Committee to inquire into the operation of the acts relating to the Hall-marking of gold and silver manufactures, but which virtually resolved itself into a committee to discuss the decline of their industries and the danger of American competition.

The report of this committee fills a royal quarto volume, and unmistakably reveals the state of feeling among English metal-workers in regard to the relative excellence of their own work and that of other countries.

The committee had interviewed a great number of experts in the silversmith's art, and submitted them to lengthy and searching examination. The testimony adduced was sometimes amusing and always instructive. For example, in this busy nineteenth century, when the man most alive to his own individual projects and interests finds difficulty in keeping pace with the inventions of other men in the same direction, it causes an American to smile when he reads such a question and answer as the following, between a member of the Select Committee and a certain London "goldsmith to the Crown:"

"So far as articles of *vertu* and objects of art, in which the chief value consists in the scientific designs or good taste of the articles, do you consider that you still keep far in advance of America?"

"We do not feel their competition, and it is for other people to say whether we keep in advance of them. My own opinion is that we were in advance of them in 1851, and we are still further in advance of them now."

1851 was the year of the English international exhibition, and evidently the enterprising silversmith of London took it for granted that the world outside of England had been standing still for twenty-seven years.

There were Englishmen, however, who did not express this sublime faith in the perpetual supremacy of British manufactures.

A goldsmith of Pall Mall—Mr. Watherston, who evidently moves with the times—when commenting on the American silverware purchased by the Prince of Wales at the Paris Exposition, said, “It is very artistic plate, and would most likely be far more salable than the production of this country.” He expressed his chagrin, too, that the interference of governmental laws prevented him from buying to sell what the royal family could buy for their own delectation, and characterized the present system of enforced Hall-marking as a “manifest injustice.”

There was also a mixture of mortification and sarcasm in Mr. Watherston’s answer to another question, which was put in the following leading form by a Member of Parliament :

M. P.—“I suppose English workmanship, especially as to watches and jewellery, is considered to be the finest in the world?”

Mr. W.—“I think they are considered by English watchmakers and English jewellers to be the finest in the world ; but I should say decidedly not by foreigners.”

The gentleman’s testimony covers many pages of the Select Committee’s report, and tells many a wholesome truth, even at the risk of being accused of want of “patriotism,” as Mr. Jennings, in a letter to the *New York World*, tells us he had been, when he warned London manufacturers that they would find formidable rivals among Americans.

Indeed, it seems as if nothing but bitter experience could teach the manufacturing Briton a lesson, and he clings to his favorite delusions in spite of ocular proof. Even when American supremacy can be no longer denied, he uses an amount of ingenuity to account for it speciously, that, applied in the regular channels of his trade, might develop something more novel and original than the International Jury were able to discover at Paris.

Thus, in reply to a question of the chairman of that “Select Committee” in regard to American productions of precious metals, a prominent craftsman of London made this probably honest but certainly erroneous statement :

“I should say it is somewhere about ten years ago that a great deal of spirit and energy was thrown into the manufacture of silver in America.

“At that time those capitalists took from London very many of our best hands, paying them an advance of cent per cent on the wages they were making here. After a few years most of those men returned, and I have seen a great many works that were produced while they were living in America ; a considerable parcel of those goods lay in bond here in London three years ago, and no dealer in London would touch them. I went to see them, but they were not good enough for me to buy, in point of workmanship, irrespective of the quality of the material.”

The implication that the American silverware known in Europe was made by English workmen enticed to this country hardly needs refutation before any bright American boy of a dozen years whose open eyes have told him the truth, but it is a satisfaction to find the deliberate statement made by the American gold and silver smiths that the articles exhibited by them were such as are regularly made and sold in the course of trade in New York—a fact familiar to our people. Now that American manufactures have secured a foothold in Europe, and almost every steamer departing hence bears shipments of American plate, probably the London dealer who three years ago “would not touch” such wares is convinced beyond questioning that they are good enough for his patrons if not for him to buy.

“This foreign stuff,” as the same witness calls American plate, is so altogether different in every essential characteristic from British plate that London workmen, even if they had been taken from England by promises of “an advance of wages of cent per cent,” would have been as unable to produce it as a cook of the Celestial Empire to please the palate of a French epicure.

It is further true that not only have the English manufacturers found rivals among Americans, but in the working of precious metals, which ranks high among the industrial arts, even France herself, who has long been regarded as the citadel of all artistic work, has frankly and honorably acknowledged the equality of America’s manufactures.

The taking of the coveted grand prize by an American exhibitor, with the additional distinction of the decoration of the Legion of Honor, is the highest possible official recognition of the supremacy of our metallic art work, and comments we have quoted and alluded to in this writing, which are not the careless expressions of casual observers, borne from mouth to mouth and receiving a change of color from the prejudice of every hearer, but the deliberate utterances of experts before a high official court of their countrymen, furnish abundant evidence that by Englishmen at least the loss of the supremacy which Americans have gained is not regarded lightly.

The causes that have led to this great change in the relative positions of America and the rest of the world towards an important industrial art are many.

The English silversmith has fallen a victim to his ultra conservatism, and has plodded doggedly on in the well-worn rut of the

highway, looking stolidly little further than his own tracks, and permitting the exotics that have taken soil upon the wayside fields to bloom unnoticed.

In fact, the best English designers, bred perhaps under the influence of South Kensington, and trained in honorable but something too absolute devotion to classic traditions, would have regarded it as little less than disloyal to ignore the familiar types of Greece and Rome, and turn for inspiration to the land of the Orient, that has opened her treasures to the world's astonished gaze.

The decorative art of Japan is essentially simple in its use of natural forms, and the decorative figures it employs appeal strongly to those who recognize art as the legitimate daughter of nature; and America, the youngest of the great nations, has wedded her art to that of the ancient East, and the offspring—an American renaissance—is the new school of Japanese-American design.

The objects which were displayed at the French Exposition were not, it has been stated, specially made for exhibition there, but were such as are commonly seen in American homes; and in form, decoration, and general treatment they present a marked contrast to the conventionalities that prevail in Europe. The decoration of American plate has been rendered more attractive and varied by the introduction (by means of various metallic alloys) of the valuable element of color—a novel feature in the enrichment of such wares. Gold, platinum, copper, and other metals have also been employed, and the action of chemical reagents upon various metallic compounds has revealed peculiar properties which afford new effects in this field of art, that only scientific investigation could discover. Another highly decorative agent is formed of laminations of different metals, producing an effect not unlike the grain-ing of rare woods; and although this remarkable combination may also have been suggested by examples of Japanese decoration similar to some we have seen, the American productions so far surpassed any previous efforts that they were regarded with astonishment even by the clever Japanese themselves, and their commissioner purchased one of the most characteristic specimens for his government.

This Japanese-American decoration, because of its novelty, attracted most attention from connoisseurs in Europe, but the American domestic plate otherwise adorned by the *repoussé*, *applique* and other processes gave evidence that the harmonious application to useful objects of the styles of ornament ordinarily in vogue had

been the subject of study and experiment as careful as that bestowed upon the new school of decoration.

Another feature of the display of American plate, and one that we might indeed wish had been more conspicuous and found more numerous examples, because it was essentially and wholly American in design, was embodied in a single pair of candelabra adorned with implements and adornments of the North American Indian. The fitness of those primitive ornaments for decorative purposes of the very highest order was clearly shown in the sole example, which also presented the only piece of true metal sculpture, *per se*, in the display of American plate. This was the representation of two Indians, one at the base of the candelabrum peacefully paddling his canoe; the other surmounting the whole design and in an attitude of victory, waving above his head the bloody trophy of victory. The execution of these figures called forth flattering comments from the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, and as they represent a field of art that has been less diligently worked in America than some others the success should encourage greater efforts and the expectation of grander results.

The typical American ornament which formed the subordinate decoration of these candelabra possesses as pure a nationality as the everlasting Pyramids, and when developed in coming years it will insure a style of decoration as distinctive and as rich in artistic effectiveness as that of Egypt, Greece, or Japan.

The American department contained another feature that excited particular interest among archæologists and goldsmiths as well as among the general public, and may be mentioned here, in facsimiles of the jewelry discovered in the treasure-temples of Curium, Cyprus, by General Di Cesnola during his residence as American consul there, and now permanently lodged in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. These reproductions were recognized as the most accurate and truthful which modern ingenuity has produced—rivalling the similar work of Castellani, of Rome, and declared by the discoverer himself to be undistinguishable from the originals except by a definite mark upon each object. Such American triumphs at Paris have surprised the whole world, except perhaps those who have closely watched the progress of industrial art in the United States, and it now seems evident that in this industry as well as in other industries the young nation is prepared to successfully compete with the old nations of the world.

ROBERT BROWNING.

NO contemporary poet is greater than the author of "The Ring and the Book," and yet the world has been very fickle towards him. It reads him not, save in the spasmodic and painful effort, and if his popularity be measured by that of Tennyson or Longfellow, it may be described as the climax of neglect. His genius is powerful, but irritating; his poems are full of entangling meshes for the unwary reader; they are a thorn in the side of this desultory generation. Men like to have the reputation of understanding him, but are unwilling to go through the necessary amount of intellectual labor for the purpose. Critics enlarge upon his perversities of thought and diction; and yet when all has been said against him that critical ingenuity or popular feeling can suggest, it is universally admitted that this distinguished poet's works, with all their manifest defects, are charged with passages of the very loftiest order of poetry. Since the first publication of his "Pauline," now nearly half a century go, Mr. Browning has remained a sealed book to the great majority of the masses; he is not master of the arts which are essential to the acquisition of popularity; and those who blame him for his peculiarities of expression do him wrong. His soul has always been aflame with poetic thought; and his ideal and goal have never consisted in mere popular applause. He has sung because he must, and given to his song that articulation of which he was capable. If the honor which accrues to him in his own generation be limited, the conscientious student of his works will be unable to escape the conviction that when posterity—which "sees with larger, other eyes than ours"—shall assess the value of his labors it will award him a just and durable fame.

The life of Browning has been such as we should wish to associate always with the genuine poet—quiet, retired, uneventful. Though evidently a close student of human nature, his genius has been nurtured in contemplation rather than in the midst of those morbid forms of social and mental activity which have dwarfed

and paralyzed the powers of so many men of letters. Like the oak, Browning has grown to his present stature silently and by assured natural stages ; in retirement in Italy, with the solace and communion of his gifted wife (" Shakspeare's daughter," as a brother-poet called her), and, since her lamented death, for many years in England, he has been accumulating those vast stores of knowledge which find but their merest indication in his works. He is the most learned as well as the most intellectual of poets ; and yet it should not be forgotten how simply and divinely he can sing, as, for example, in his stanzas " Beautiful Evelyn Hope is Dead." His friends are amongst the most distinguished of Englishmen ; they know his powers, his gifts, and his charms in society ; for when we say that he has shunned the common forms of mental and social activity, it must not be assumed that there is no circle whatever in society which his genius has illumined. Only he is no poser, either in his works or his life.

One of the chief characteristics of this poet is that we are unable to classify him. We can not say of him that he is either a lyric, dramatic, or epic poet, and nothing more. We can readily say to what school a Tennyson, a Swinburne, or a Morris belongs ; but in this aspect Browning is greater than all, for he writes with equal force the various poetic styles. One critic calls him a dramatist, and so he is ; for with the exception of Sir Henry Taylor's " Philip Van Artevelde" and Mr. Swinburne's " Bothwell " he has written the only works within this generation worthy of being called dramas. Mr. Tennyson's efforts in this direction, admired as they must be for their many graceful and beautiful passages, can not be classed as dramas with those we have just named. But Mr. Browning is also an epic poet, and his " Ring and the Book " stands a unique example of psychological power thrown into the form of an epic. Then, again, his dramatic and other lyrics possess an energy and an inspiration which raise them to the level of any lyrics published by contemporary English and American poets. Add to all this that he possesses the faculty of humor to a degree not developed in any other living poet of the highest rank, and it will be at once seen that he may justly be termed a great poet. He is not a finished artist like Tennyson ; he is not a melodious singer like Swinburne ; he is not a gorgeous dreamer like the author of " The Earthly Paradise ;" he has not always the same facility in appealing directly and simply to the human heart as Longfellow : but, like the poets of the Shakspearean

era, he has heights of his own which none of these can reach. There is, in fact, a depth and a breadth in him which are very suggestive of the great Elizabethan writers.

How few are the poets who have been able to write so precociously as Browning at the age of nineteen, and who have yet lived to see their genius ripen to its full growth ! " Pauline," his earliest attempt at " poetry, always dramatic in principle, and so many utterances of so many imaginary persons, not mine," is somewhat unequal, and lacks artistic finish, but it nevertheless contains many remarkable passages. It is well that it has been retained in the later edition of the poet's works, as he desires it finally to be retained ; for had he altogether discarded it, the poem could not have failed to fall a prey to the refuse hunters amongst the by-ways of genius, and been again given to the world with all its original imperfections upon its head. It is valuable to us as indicating the class of work which afterwards proceeded from Mr. Browning, but the idea that it is an analyzation of the writer's own soul is erroneous. " Paracelsus," published in 1835, occupies the same position relatively to its author that " Adam Bede" does with George Eliot. In both, these writers scaled their first great height, and gauged the nature of their powers. Browning challenged recognition by his " Paracelsus" in no ordinary degree, and though some were discouraged by his ruggedness and quaintness of style, there were not wanting intelligent critics who at once recognized in the writer the greatest of living poets. In Paracelsus himself we behold a living, breathing creation, a being moved by an intense thirst to drink deep at all the springs of possible knowledge, yet whose cravings are never thoroughly satisfied. He differs from the individualities of previous dramatists like Marlowe, and is completely original and distinct. How fine and pathetic is the appeal of Paracelsus to the young Italian poet !

" Love me henceforth, Aprill, while I learn
To love ; and, merciful God, forgive us both !
We wake at length from weary dreams ; but both
Have slept in fairy-land ; though dark and drear
Appears the world before us, we no less
Wake with our wrists and ankles jewelled still.
I too have sought to *know* as thou to *love*—
Excluding love as thou refusedst knowledge.
Still thou hast beauty, and I, power. We wake :
What penance canst devise for both of us ?"

This poem has many lofty ideas towering from its surface :

in fact, as regards its changeful phases of feeling, its boldness of thought, and certain isolated passages of poetry, it is not inferior to succeeding work. The versification is sometimes poor, but it is again frequently noble, and in such excerpts as the following we get the clear Shakspearean ring :

Festus.— That God shall take thee to his breast, dear spirit,
Unto his breast, be sure ! and here on earth
Shall splendor sit upon thy name forever.
Sun ! all the heaven is glad for thee : what care
If lower mountains light their snowy phares
At thine effulgence, yet acknowledge not
The source of day ? Their theft shall be their bale.

Behold thy might in me ! Thou hast infused
Thy sòul in mine ; and I am grand 'as thou,
Seeing I comprehend thee—I so simple,
Thou so august.

Paracelsus.— Festus !

Festus.— I am for noble Aureole, God !

I am upon his side, come weal or woe.
His portion shall be mine. He has done well.
I would have sinned, had I been strong enough,
As he has sinned. Reward him, or I waive
Reward ! If thou canst find no place for him,
He shall be king elsewhere, and I will be
His slave forever. There are two of us !"

Nor is the development of the history of Paracelsus, that grand struggler for the destiny of the gods, the only striking feature of this work. It abounds with transcripts of the poetry in outward nature.

In the *rôle* of historical tragedy Browning failed, not because his work was bad, but because upon the English stage there were already signs of that deterioration which has since rapidly set in. Shakspeare himself has ceased to be a name to conjure with upon the English stage, where opera bouffe and French light comedy hold all but universal sway. Under these circumstances there is like room for surprise that the later dramatist's tragedy of "Strafford"—though supported by the powerful efforts of Macready—should have failed to hold the public ear. Yet some of the *dramatis personæ* in "Strafford" are truly majestic in their outlines. In 1843 and 1844 the poet again sought to charm an indifferent generation with his two dramatic sketches, "A Blot in the Scutcheon" and "Colombe's Birthday"—the latter an

especially charming and graceful effort. But though these two pieces were well received they did not hold the stage. The reason for this doubtless is that their poetry was far superior to their situations. The drama, to be successful, is now more a question of stage carpentering and melodramatic excitement than "a thing of (poetic) beauty." In neither of the dramatic sketches we have named is there a single line which can not be understood by the most ordinary intellect. The reason for their failure must be sought elsewhere than in their poetry: just as, so many years later, it must be sought elsewhere as regards the failure of Mr. Tennyson's dramas. Browning's plays had "thoughts that breathe and words that burn" in profusion, yet their genius did not save them from failure. The supporters of the theatre now ask only to be amused, and if this be done they will insure for the feeblest emanations of the brain an almost unexampled run. Shades of Shakspeare and Jonson, shall these things be!

In "Sordello," Browning exhibited something of his old manner, but he became terribly involved in expression, and his involutions sent many of his critics distracted. All those, of course, who swear by "How doth the little busy bee" kind of poetry were enraged beyond expression, and railed at the idea of that which to them was unintelligible and obscure being dignified with the name of poetry. They have always forgotten that Mr. Browning writes for men, and not children; and he who has a clear intellect can not complain if he is called upon for its due exercise. "Sordello" offers jewels of great price to the diligent searcher, but none other will discover them. It is very illogical for those who have never discovered the treasure to say that it does not exist; yet this charge has frequently been laid against the poet, and critics, irritated and discouraged by the manifest application required of them, have indorsed the popular verdict, so that it has now become the fashion to say that Mr. Browning is totally unintelligible. But when any person of average intelligence devotes himself to the study of the poet's works he is invariably astonished at discovering how fallacious is this hasty general verdict. In defending himself for the production of "Sordello," and explaining its general purport, Browning himself says: "My own faults of expression were many; but with care, for a man or book such would be surmounted, and without it what avails the faultlessness of either? I blame nobody, least of all myself, who did my best then and since; for I lately gave time and pains to turn my work

into what the many might—instead of what the few must—like ; but, after all, I imagined another thing at first, and therefore leave as I find it. The historical decoration was purposely of no more importance than a background requires ; and my stress lay on the incidents in the development of a soul : little else is worth study."

Mr. Browning's genius has been very prolific, and we almost toil in vain after the works which for many years have so rapidly succeeded each other. His "Bells and Pomegranates" furnish us with a series of poems almost unexampled in their strength and variety, considering the rapidity with which they were produced. The first dramatic poem of the series, "Pippa Passes," ranks amongst the best of these efforts. All the qualities which have justly earned distinction for Mr. Browning are present in this drama, which he has never surpassed for its exquisite delineation of passion and intensity of emotion, though he has subsequently worked upon broader conceptions. There is a thorough human interest attaching to the career of Pippa, the lovely peasant maid ; and in this instance at least the simplicity of the characters in the poem has its counterpart in the simplicity of the poet's eloquence. In this drama we find beauty, tenderness, grace, and passion combined in an unusual degree. The scene between the two murderers and guilty lovers, Sebald and Ottima, is very powerful. In a masterly manner the author has sketched side by side two portraits—that of the pure and simple-minded Pippa, and that of the dark, passionate, soul-disturbing and soul-disturbed Ottima. And what a triumphant note is struck in this lyric !—

" All service ranks the same with God ;
If now, as formerly he trod
Paradise, his presence fills
Our earth, and only as God wills
Can work—God's puppets, best and worst,
Are we ; there is no last nor first.

" Say not 'a small event !' Why 'small' ?
Costs it more pain than this, ye call
A 'great event,' should come to pass,
Than that ? Untwine me from the mass
Of deeds which make up life, one deed
Power shall fall short 'n or exceed !"

Then the soul of the poet bursts forth ever and anon in strains impregnate with happiness, as in the following stanza :

" The year's at the spring,
 And day's at the morn ;
 Morning's at seven ;
 The hill-side's dew-pearled ;
 The lark's on the wing ;
 The snail's on the thorn :
 God's in his heaven—
 All's right with the world !"

The whole of this poem is permeated with that large faith in God and humanity which has always been characteristic of Mr. Browning. His poetry tends to happiness, as the truest, best, and greatest poetry must of necessity. That which is the reflex of nature and the voice of God can not but have its high and exultant periods. It is the bard of mediocrity who always claims our sympathy because of his sadness and melancholy—too often but a hollow mockery of "the trappings and the suits of woe." A poet true to his mission and capable of accurately interpreting it can neither be a skeptic nor a misanthrope. There is no example in the world's history of a truly great poet being either.

In 1842 Mr. Browning published his "King Victor and King Charles," which contains several fine historical portraits, and before the expiration of the same year the "Dramatic Lyrics" followed. In the peculiar efforts attempted in the latter volume Mr. Browning asserted his superiority over all his contemporaries. These lyrics are singularly striking representations of human character and passion—pictures never to be effaced from the memory when once studied. Their strength, vigor, and variety are *sui generis*. Where can we find more stirring language than that in which the poet brings before our vision the memorable ride from Ghent to Aix, with its burden of good news? What pathos could be truer and more natural than that in which "The Lost Leader" is steeped!—while the martial ring and stirring character of the cavalier tunes have passed into a proverb. The melody and rhythm of these lyrics—in which Mr. Browning was said to be deficient—could not well be improved upon. Further, if we want variety, where shall we find it if not in such widely different lyrics as "Saul," with its very effective versification; "Evelyn Hope," with its immortal sweetness and tenderness; "Through the Metidja to Abd-el-Kadr," with its Oriental subject and treatment; "Home Thoughts from Abroad," with its beautiful reminiscences of English scenery; and "Any Wife to Any Husband," with its representation of the deep passion of a mutual love?

After these lyrics came "The Return of the Druses," in which the poet again went abroad for his theme. The "Dramatic Romances" were published in 1845. In this series appeared "The Pied Piper of Hamelin"—known to child and man wherever the English language is spoken—"The Flight of the Duchess," and "The Statue and the Bust." Of all the dramatic poems in the series originally entitled "Bells and Pomegranates" probably "Luria" is the most perfect, and it is certainly the one which most fully gratified competent critics. It was dedicated to Walter Savage Landor. The hero is grandly conceived, and worthy of the old masters of the dramatic art. Luria is a being whose passions and abilities are equally great; he devotes himself to his beloved Florence, and meets with that reward too often only meted out to the patriot—expatriation and disgrace. His tragic death occurs in the hour which is to make known his greatness and his virtues to the world. Writing of this poem, Landor observed, "Few of the Athenians had such a quarry on their property, but they constructed better roads for the conveyance of their material." Upon another occasion the author of the "Imaginary Conversations" said: "I have written to Browning: a great poet, a very great poet indeed, as the world will have to agree with us in thinking. . . . God grant he may live to be much greater than he is, high as he stands above most of the living!"

"Christmas Eve and Easter Day," written in Florence, was published in 1850. This is lofty religious poetry, strongly imbued with a divine charity. The poet is perplexed and rendered impatient by the multifarious and imperfect forms of worship, but his spirit is calmed by a vision of Christ. Then he is able to say with the humblest of worshippers:

"God, who registers the cup
Of mere cold water, for his sake
To a disciple render'd up,
Disdains not his own thirst to slake
At the poorest love was ever offer'd;
And because my heart I proffer'd,
With true love trembling at the brim,
He suffers me to follow him."

On the poet's next appearance, in "Men and Women," there was still exhibited the same growing fervor and force of expression. In the "Dramatis Personæ," issued in 1854, we witness also a series of powerfully-drawn studies of character. The contrasts in these two volumes of pictures are indeed great. We have

religious faith in "Rabbi Poln Ezra," who sees Love perfected beyond Power; the worldly and time-serving Bishop Blougram; the terrible suffering and pain of the "Death in the Desert;" the music, redolent of a higher sphere, of "Abt Vogler;" the repulsiveness of "Mr. Sludge, the Medium;" and the awakening, from his dream of perfection and bliss in his cherished idol, of "Andrea del Sarto." Had the poet's creations unfortunately ended at this juncture he would still have furnished us with grounds of surprise and wonder over his great versatility; but we have as yet only arrived at the mid-point in his career.

Mr. Browning's masterpiece, "The Ring and the Book," was published in 1869. It is a gigantic work, albeit it has not for its theme a subject which can at all compare with those of the great epics of Homer, Milton, and Dante. But it is a marvellous production, dealing with the passions of humanity in a manner at once searching and complete. The intellectual labor involved in it is immense; and there are snatches of poetry scattered about its pages—as for example the apostrophe to his dead wife at the close of the first book—as splendidly beautiful as any thing which has been written in verse since the sixteenth century. It shows the independent temper of the author, and his firm reliance upon the verdict of the future, that in an age of haste and desultoriness he could deliberately set himself to the task of producing so prodigious a work. A disparity has been suggested between the subject of this psychological epic and its elaborateness of treatment; but Mr. Browning's justification must be sought in another direction. That which is human concerns humanity; and if the simplest flower can speak to the poet, why should not human passion engage his loftiest efforts? With the great poet no subject can be trivial which suggests immortal lessons, and brings divine warning or consolation to universal humanity. That which otherwise seems mean, in the hands of the mighty dramatist and artist becomes sublime and imperatively supreme. Thoroughly to analyze this *tour de force* with which we are now dealing is not our purpose, but we may briefly indicate its story. The poet finds his subject within the covers of an old book picked up at an Italian book-stall. It is

" A Roman murder case ;
Position of the entire criminal cause
Of Guido Franceschini, nobleman,
With certain Four, the cut-throats in his pay,
Tried all five, and found guilty, and put to death,

By heading or hanging as befitted ranks,
At Rome on February Twenty-two,
Since our salvation Sixteen Ninety-eight :
Wherein it is disputed if, and when,
Husbands may kill adulterous wives, yet 'scape
The customary forfeit."

The count was descended of an ancient house, but poor. At fifty he marries a child of thirteen, the alleged daughter of Pietro and Violante Comparini. The count sought money and the Comparinis position. The latter take up their abode in the count's palace at Arezzo, where their daughter, Pompilia, is duly installed as mistress. By and by their wealth becomes exhausted, and the Comparinis, enraged, starved, and betrayed, flee for their lives. They betake themselves to Rome, meditating revenge, and are followed by the countess. The latter is accompanied by a certain young priest, Giuseppe Caponsacchi. Violante Comparini now proclaims that Pompilia is an impostor, whom she had palmed off as her daughter in order to gain the attentions of the count. She exposes the whole details of the fraud by which the marriage had been accomplished. The countess is neither more nor less than the child of a woman of the abandoned class, whom Violante had easily bribed to part with her offspring. This had been done by Violante partly because she and her husband were lonely and childless, and partly to secure certain property which must go away from the family if they continued without offspring. If this story could be substantiated, of course the count could have claimed no dowry with his wife. The count follows his wife and overtakes her with the young priest just before entering Rome. A trial ensues, and Pompilia is banished for a time to a convent, while the priest Caponsacchi is "retired" at Civita for the space of three years. Pompilia falling ill, she obtains permission to join her pretended parents at Rome. The count now initiates his revenge. Engaging four assassins, he goes by night to the house of Comparini. Pretending that it is the priest who seeks admission, he procures an entrance, when Pietro and Violante are murdered upon the spot, and Pompilia herself is also mortally wounded. The trial of the assassins ensues. Their condemnation takes place, and an unsuccessful appeal against the sentence is made to the pope; but upon due representation of the facts Innocent XII. orders the execution. The murderers are consequently put to death, according to the forms of punishment generally awarded to persons of

their varying social rank. In an epic of this description of course plot is little and character every thing. It is a great psychological poem, evidently written by Mr. Browning for the purpose of elucidating the mysteries of fact and nature, and of human action. The incidents forming the groundwork are in themselves neither promising nor unusual, but they afford the fullest scope to the poet for the dissection of human passions and the removal of the veil which interposes between the heart of man and the outer world. Mr. Stedman, in his "Victorian Poets," while admitting that "the thought, the vocabulary, the imagery, the wisdom, lavished upon this story would equip a score of ordinary writers, and place them beyond danger of neglect," can not regard the poem, as a whole, as "a stronghold of poetic art." It is difficult to understand this reasoning. The qualities enumerated surely sufficiently entitle the poem to be regarded as a stronghold. Mr. Stedman would have no objection to assign this position to Mr. Tennyson's Arthurian romances; and yet in many essential poetic qualities Mr. Browning's masterpiece enjoys a vast superiority over these romances, and only yields to them chiefly in the minor details of exquisite artistic prettiness and symmetry. "The Ring and the Book" bears the palm from all other poems of the century for the depth of its spiritual insight and teaching. It is the human applying the touchstone of humanity to its creations. We have the substance, if not always the form, of poetry; and if the soul of a living man be grander and nobler than the finest creation of a Phidias, this poem, impregnated with the true poetic spirit, must take precedence of inferior poetry in a richer setting. When we have made every possible deduction from the value of the work it still remains a colossal monument of genius. It must prove of inestimable value in developing the genius of the future.

In 1871, Mr. Browning published "Balaustion's Adventure," a work permeated with the spirit of the Greek drama, of which the author has given abundant proof that he is an enthusiastic admirer. Critics were astonished to find in this new volume evidences of a chaste and polished style, which it was for many years the fashion to say was beyond the powers of Mr. Browning. The story of Balaustion is admirably rendered. To this succeeded "Fifine at the Fair," and the portrait of Napoleon III. in "Prince Hohenstiel Schwangau, Saviour of Society." Homer nods, and the modern poets have similar moments of intellectual eclipse. They came to Mr. Browning in the works just named; but we can not include in

the same category, as some have done, "Red Cotton Night-cap Country ; or, Turf and Towers," published in 1873, and inscribed to Miss Thackeray. This Breton story has been described as mere "words," but it is in truth full of quaint, powerful, Shakspearean touches, as in the very opening lines :

" And so here happily we meet, fair friend
Again once more, as if the years rolled back
And *this* our meeting-place were just that Rome
Out in the champaign, say, o'er-rioted
By verdure, ravage, and gay winds that war
Against strong sunshine settled to his sleep."

Again :

" Nothing is prominently likeable
To vulgar eye without a soul behind,
Which, breaking surface, brings before the ball
Of sight, a beauty buried everywhere,
If we have souls, know how to see and use,
One place performs, like any other place,
The proper service every place on earth
Was framed, to furnish man with : serves alike
To give him note that, through the place he sees,
A place is signified he never saw,
But, if he lack not soul, may learn to know.
Earth's ugliest walled and ceiled imprisonment
May suffer, through its single rent in roof,
Admittance of a cataract of light
Beyond attainment through earth's palace-panes,
Pinholed athwart their windowed filagree
By twinklings sobered from the sun outside."

If these be "words, words, words"—and the book teems with such passages—'tis pity that our poets generally do not more frequently exhibit similar command of the visible signs of thought.

"Aristophanes' Apology" appeared in 1875. This volume includes the "Herakles" of Euripides, and forms the last adventure of Balaustion. The fall of Athens is sung in rich, nervous diction, while the details of the poem afford further evidence of the poet's analytical skill and his power to place before us, ancient scenes and characters with dramatic force and precision. "The Inn Album" is a tragic story of modern life, rarely paralleled for the dramatic vigor with which it is told. In "Pacchiarotto and other Poems," published in 1876, there are indications that the critics have, by their hostility, roused this veteran of the poetic art. Many passages in it bearing upon the race are not likely soon to be forgotten.

The two last works from Mr. Browning's hand are worthy of somewhat more attention than their immediate predecessors, for reasons which will be apparent as we proceed. The "Agamemnon" of Æschylus (undertaken by the author at the suggestion of his friend Thomas Carlyle) is a most faithful rendering of the great Greek drama. Of all the Greek poets, Æschylus, with his magnificent imaginative gifts, is perhaps the most obscure; while his figures, which are abundant to profusion, are almost bewildering to the modern reader. Yet Mr. Browning, in face of these obstacles, has achieved the task of transcribing the "Agamemnon" with spirit, energy, and literalness. A comparison of his labors with those of other English translators of the tragedy will prove that he has adhered with more than substantial accuracy to the original. Quaintnesses of expression and involutions of thought are peculiar to Æschylus while the Greek language itself in its simplest forms is difficult to render in exact literal English. Mr. Browning, fighting against these odds, has produced a translation welcome to all readers—alike those to whom the native tongue is familiar, and those who are indebted to the later poet for an introduction to the riches of Æschylus in an English dress. The tragedy opens with the soliloquy of the trader on the walls of the city of Argos. He awaits the preconcerted signal of the flaming torch announcing the capture of Troy. He is succeeded by the Chorus, who sing of the sailing of the expedition of Menelaus and Agamemnon against Troy ten years before, and the causes of the expedition. Klutaimnestra (Browning adheres to the Greek spelling) next enters, and announces the capture of the city on the previous day. The Chorus doubts the intelligence, and demands what messenger could possibly arrive with such speed. The reply of Klutaimnestra is one of the most striking and effective passages in the tragedy, and there is wonderful fire in the translation. The Chorus returns thanks to Zeus for the victory achieved; yet with the strains of gratitude mingles a feeling of incredulity. During the argument with the queen the herald Talthubios arrives, and corroborates the glorious news of the capture of Troy. He begs them to greet Agamemnon the king well, since he has razed to the ground Troy, with the mattock of retributive Zeus, with which the soil has been upturned. The very altars are destroyed, and the statues of the gods, while the generation is utterly perishing from out the whole land. The herald then recites the toils of the campaign, and is succeeded by Klutaimnestra, who in a specious address welcomes

the approach of her spouse, to whom she has been unfaithful. The Chorus is cognizant of her insincerity. Being questioned respecting Menelaus, the herald recounts a disaster which had befallen the Argive ships after the capture of the city of Priam. The boisterous weather and blasts from Thrace had scattered the vessels apart and some were lost ; but Menelaus' arrival might be anticipated. Then the Chorus chants of the wrath that has overtaken Troy, and the burden of the tragedy—that is, the work of Nemesis in avenging evil—is wrought out in their song. Agamemnon enters, and thanks the gods of the country for the victory over Troy. Yet in all his success but one friend, Ulysses, remained true to him. Klutaimnestra calls for fitting honors to be paid to her lord ; for a time Agamemnon resists—he does not wish for those honors which it is the due of the gods alone to receive, but eventually he succumbs to her entreaties. The Chorus is disturbed by a visionary spectacle flitting to and fro in the boding heart. Cassandra, the prophetess of evil, being perceived, Klutaimnestra bids her enter, since Zeus in his mercy has allowed her to partake with the household in the lustral water. But Cassandra unfolds her catalogue of woes, and predicts the death of Agamemnon ; the Chorus is distraught, and furiously upbraids her ; whereupon Cassandra further predicts the manner of the hero's death, and announces that the Chorus shall behold it enacted. The roof of the Atrides is never left by a chorus that chants in concert, yet in no pleasing strain, for such is the burden of its song—"Slaughter blood-dripping does the household smell of." While the colloquy proceeds, the voice of Agamemnon is heard crying out that he is mortally wounded. He has been slain by Klutaimnestra, whose pretended welcome only covered the plot she had formed with her paramour, Ægisthus. The queen has not only secured immunity for herself by this bloody deed, but has avenged the sacrifice of her daughter Iphigenia by Agamemnon. The Chorus, appalled at the murder, predicts that as she has cut off the king, so shall she herself be an outcast from the city, and an object of steadfast hate to the citizens. She laughs at their vaticinations, affirming that she is safe so long as she enjoys the friendship of Ægisthus. The Chorus bewails the death of the great king. Whereupon Klutaimnestra calls to remembrance that Agamemnon had treated with undeserved cruelty her own dear sapling and ever-to-be-lamented Iphigenia. She adds, with sarcastic and bitter energy :

" By us did he fall—down there !
 Did he die—down there ! and down, no less,
 We will bury him there, and not beneath
 The wails of the household over his death :
 But Iphigenia—with kindness—
 His daughter—as the case requires,
 Facing him full, at the rapid-flowing
 Passage of Groans, shall—both hands throwing
 Around him—kiss that kindest of sires !"

The chorus recognizes the divine law of retribution, and that the whole race is in the toil of Até—doomed to misfortune. Ægisthus enters, and defends his share in the murder. His revenge has been whetted by the fact that Agamemnon had caused to be served up to his father, Thyestes, the bodies of his own children. And this repast has proved fatal to the whole family. A contention arises between Ægisthus and the Chorus, and with this quarrel the tragedy closes. The Chorus prays that fortune should guide Orestes home, when he shall avenge the death of his father, Agamemnon, by slaying both Klutaimnestra and Ægisthus. This retributive deed belongs to the succeeding tragedy by Æschylus, the "Choephoræ."

This is a translation *sui generis*, and it is surely no slight evidence of Mr. Browning's versatility when ranged beside the list of original works to which we have already referred. The old fallacy that a poet is not the best translator is here exploded ; for if the poet will but subjugate himself to his original it follows of necessity that the higher his own claim may be to the title of poet the better will be his rendering of a brother poet like Æschylus. Mr. Browning has undertaken a stupendous task, and has achieved it with almost complete success. There are roughnesses in the "Agamemnon," but they belong to the original. The modern poet has nearly risen to the sublime, the grotesque, and the terrible heights of the ancient, while in the pathetic scenes and passages he is perfectly abreast with him.

The latest volume by Mr. Browning, "La Saisiaz : The Two Poets of Croisic," is concerned (at least as regards the former half of it) with those problems which have agitated humanity from pre-Homeric times down to our own day—problems affecting man's spiritual nature, his future life and welfare, immortality, and the subjection of evil. It was the boast of Voltaire, that though it took thirteen persons to establish Christianity, one was sufficient to destroy it ; but the philosopher of Ferney and other brilliant

skeptics have passed away, leaving the truths which underlie Christianity to acquire a deeper vitality and vigor with every epoch of time. Doubters and Agnostics—of whom there are many in existence at the present time—who pride themselves on being superior to religion, may be reminded that the greatest intellects which this world has produced have been men of strong and simple faith. There is that in religion which knits humanity together; it gathers into its fold alike the wisest and the meanest of mankind. A belief in God is as necessary to the souls of most men as the air they breathe is to the body. So when Mr. Browning in this volume declares that he is “very sure of God,” we know what he means. It is not that he has remained unmoved during the discussion of the difficult religious problems of the day. He has evidently followed them well, but the circumstances which led to the production of “*La Saisiaz*” demonstrated that he could not hark back from his robust intellectual and spiritual faith into the mists of infidelity. This poem, through intricate and argumentative processes, brings us to the same conclusion arrived at by the author a generation before in “*Pippa Passes* :”

“ God’s in his Heaven—
All’s right with the world !”

“*La Saisiaz*” is written in memory of a dear friend. The poet, in his opening lines, pictures himself as standing upon the summit which both had climbed together—a mountain-peak in the South of France—before death had made an enforced separation between them. But five days had intervened since the great Profound thus yawned betwixt the two spirits. She has been buried at Collonga, and yet he realizes her presence by his side, and can even reproduce the language and accents of her voice. After a glorious day upon the mountains, as they returned to their friends at the *châlet*, she had charged him again to explore the heights with her. At sun-dawn, accordingly, the poet rose and went forth; the veil was withdrawn from the landscape; up to Jura and beyond all was grand and sublime. Yet she came not; without summons or premonitory hint she had passed away in the night. The suddenness with which the tragical event occurred and its influence upon the surviving friend are most graphically depicted. He finds himself raising the great and momentous questions: “Does the soul survive the body? Is there God’s self—no or yes?” The matter he has to decide—and it is one in whose presence his spirit has no

desire to falter—is “ Was ending ending once and always, when you died ? ” He himself *is*, and shall as doubtless continue to *be*, “ Because God seems good and wise. ” Earth is but a pupil’s place ; life, time, a probation space. Gazing upon the world, whose glories are evanescent, it is incredible to the poet that this life should be the end of every thing. Can we only love on condition that the thing we love must die ? Are men made wretched, and caused to suffer, simply that they may imagine a state of universal happiness, without having participation in such happiness ? These are the thoughts which agitate him, and they are not to be settled on the mere *ipse dixit* of the skeptic or any other human finite being. Each man, by searching out his own heart, must find therein an answer to the most perplexing questions of the intellect. Thus the poet exclaims—

“ Traversed heart must tell its story uncommented on ; no less
 Mine results in, ‘ Only grant a second life, I acquiesce
 In this present life as failure, count misfortune’s worst assaults
 Triumph, not defeat, assured that loss so much the more exalts
 Gain about to be. For at what moment did I so advance
 Near to knowledge as when frustrate of escape from ignorance ?
 Did not beauty prove most precious when its opposite obtained
 Rule, and truth seemed more than ever potent because falsehood reigned ?
 While for love—Oh how but, losing love, does whoso loves succeed
 By the death-pang to the birth-throe—learning what is love indeed ?
 Only grant my soul may carry high through death her cup unspilled,
 Brimming though it be with knowledge, life’s loss drop by drop distilled,
 I shall boast it mine—the balsam—bless each kindly wrench that wrung
 From life’s tree its inmost virtue, tapped the root whence pleasure sprung,
 Barked the bole, and broke the bough, and bruised the berry, left all grace
 Ashes in earth’s stern alembic, loosed elixir in its place ! ’ ”

Having the assurance that each shall meet each some day far distant, the poet endures the world, accepts his fate cheerfully, and counts earth’s best its worst, defeat triumph, and complete and utter loss the utmost gain. He listens to the debate between the champions Fancy and Reason, and can act as umpire for the combatants on the great questions raised. If nothing is known as fact, much may be argued from man’s inner consciousness. Rousseau, Byron, and Voltaire—skeptics all of various type—are cited, but their philosophy gives nothing to satisfy the soul. In the end the poet is driven back upon the immortal soul and its maker, God. Loss has begotten in him thoughts as to ultimate human gain in the far-off ages. Death is a progressive stage in humanity ; the best part of us is that which endures ; the weakest and most corrupt that which goes down into the grave. If the present life

be the least part of man, then what is the whole? Such are the poet's final reflections; and if his work gives the reader some amount of intellectual labor in tracing its subtle arguments, such labor is amply repaid in the result.

"The Two Poets of Croisic" is in a totally different vein from the preceding effort. It is charged with keen satire upon the foibles of the world and upon the fickleness of public opinion. We see traced the career of two poets who, by extraordinary and fortuitous circumstances, forced themselves upon the attention of society and extracted its applause. Even a Rousseau and a Voltaire had been victimized by the sham articles foisted for the time upon the world as genuine poets. But, though the sham too often succeeds while the true and the real fails, in these particular instances a day of reckoning arrives. Poet Malcrais, the second of the two poets of Croisic, having been unmasked, is advised to returned to his obscurity at Bergerac; and here is one of the chief lessons of the poem—

"Who does not know how these La Roques,
Voltaires, can say and unsay, praise and blame,
Prove black white, white black, play at paradox,
And, when they seem to lose it, win the game?
Care not thou what this badger and that fox,
His fellow in rascality, call 'Fame!'
Fiddlepin's end! Thou hadst it—quack, quack, quack!
Have quietude from geese at Bergerac!

"Quietude! for, be very sure of this,
A twelvemonth hence, and men shall know or care
As much for what to-day they clap or hiss
As for the fashion of the wigs they wear,
Then wonder at. There's fame which, bale or bliss—
Got by no gracious word of great Voltaire,
Or not-so-great La Roque—is taken back
By neither, any more than Bergerac."

The whole poem is full of quiet raillery, while it is marked by great freshness and spontaneity.

In forming a general estimate of this poet we should not lose sight of the fact that he has a genuine art, though at times it is overshadowed and obscured. The workman, cunning in detail, whose finest chiseling escapes the eye of the general observer, possesses as true an art as he whose smoothness of execution and surface excellence are palpable to the untutored eye. That is man's best art which is most natural with him. This is peculiarly the case with the poet, and when he deviates from nature into

artifice he turns backward from the true goal of his art. Whether or not Mr. Browning is a poetic artist, is a question not to be solved, consequently, by reference to the obscurities and irregularities of his style ; nor is it to be settled by the contention that an imitation of his manner would produce grotesque poetic distortions, which would not be the case in founding method upon that of other well-known poets. Mr. Browning's art is perceived in the capacity he exhibits for the creation of real men and women, and the faith he observes in the use of this capacity ; also in his unswerving obedience to the dictates of that spiritual insight which is, perhaps, his greatest endowment, and is certainly quite unparalleled by all other poets of the present and immediately preceding generation. He is an artist despite his eccentricities, just as there are many artists with equivalent defects in the world of painting ; and he would be accounted but a prejudiced judge who awarded the title of artist to a Raffaele and refused it to a Turner.

Mr. Browning has suffered at the hands of some critics by being partially judged. Undoubtedly there are certain qualities so predominant in him as almost to overwhelm others involving real excellence. If we regard closely his greatest gift—that of the capacity to read human nature—we are apt to lose sight of his lyrical power. Yet in many of his lyrics his melody and expression are as rich and intense as those of any living poet. An intensely subjective feeling permeates all his minor efforts, and some of these poems are amongst the strongest, the most beautiful, and the most enduring of his creations. In the dramatic faculty and power of psychological analysis his superiority over his contemporaries is at once perceived ; we need not enlarge, therefore, upon his great analytical and intellectual strength. The aim and purpose of his poetry are not to be gauged from one detached sample of his work. No poet would suffer so deeply as he if thus judged. There is a natural progression in the labors of his life which will be manifest to a close student of the poet, and it is only such a devotee who will be able to perceive his real greatness. Since Byron, Shelley, and Wordsworth sang, we have had no greater imaginative spirit, none with a genius more manly or more robust, than Robert Browning. He is a great human singer, at once the most remarkable and original of living poets.

EXPRESSION OF EMOTIONS ON THE HUMAN COUNTEenance.

FROM our earliest days of conscious life we begin observing the changes which flit over the countenance of those around us. By a kind of unspoken discourse we come to recognize their feelings and to show sympathy or aversion. Many things contribute to the interest we feel in the varying expressions of the face. The photographic art, which multiplies portraits and spreads them in large numbers through our homes, has rendered considerable service in this way. It has deepened in our minds the impression that there is a want of interest to us in a face without expression. An expressionless face, whatever it be in general form and in particular features, does not satisfy. There is a flatness, a deadness about it which disappoints us. On the other hand, the power of any face depends on the vividness and variety of expression constantly passing over it. If, then, we all remark the singular diversity of countenance, we must remember that the wealth of influence belonging to social life depends largely on the light and shade of shifting expression.

As in all such cases, we use the powers in our possession without being aware of the conditions involved in their use. And this unconsciousness of what the face is showing is one great part of the charm of true expression. All the special senses are employed from early life, without any knowledge of the structure we are using. The ear fulfills its functions, and the eye and the tongue, without any knowledge on our part of the manner in which the result is brought about. However long continued our use of these, we do not thereby advance our knowledge of them. Information as to their structure and modes of action must be gathered in some other way. And so it is here. Our face from early life keeps on doing its part in manifesting our feelings, but we do not know exactly *how* this is done, nor even very exactly *what* is being done. The expressions are the almost unobserved accompaniments of the thoughts and feelings within us. So, on the other hand, we are delighted

with the expression on some face, yet can hardly describe what is the charm. It even needs considerable analytic power to distinguish the elements of attraction involved.

Certain characteristics of the structure and position of the human countenance are closely connected with the essential requisites for expression. *The special senses either have their seat in the face or in close relation with it.* With the exception of the organ of touch, which is spread over the entire body, all the organs most sensitive to external influence are gathered about the region of the face. Thus the sensitiveness of the body to the influence of light and to odors floating upon the atmosphere is concentrated on the face. Also in intimate relation with the face are taste and hearing. It is therefore a most natural thing that the face should give very ready indication of the pleasurable or disagreeable experience connected with the use of the senses. Every new and decided impression made on any one of the four senses named must give some indication of the agreeable or disagreeable, an indication all the more marked on account of the sustained observation characteristic of intelligent life. As natural as the act of sneezing on the sudden application of a pungent odor to the nostrils, is the animated look of intelligent interest when some unexpected object is brought within view.

Another consideration deserving to be noted is *the close relation of the face to the nerve center.* The brain is so near that the line of communication from the one to the other is the shortest possible. The brain itself is lying just behind the countenance. The governing power which regulates all the motor activity of the body is quite at hand, affording the utmost mechanical facility for the most rapid succession of changes on the several features.

A third consideration is *the very large number of nerves which pass from the brain to the muscles of the face.* Relating to its size, a larger number of nerves are distributed to the countenance than to any other part of the body. From the forehead to the chin the whole area is occupied with closely packed muscles, controlled by manifold fibers. These are the mechanical arrangements for expression. Around the eye alone, including the eyeball, eyelid, and eyebrow, there are not fewer than ten distinct muscles; while in connection with the cheek and mouth there are no fewer than eleven. Double these figures in order to include arrangements for both sides of the face, and the complexity of muscular and nerve arrangement providing for expression is manifest. The appliances are numerous and involved, but not too complicated, in sight of a benevolent

Creator, for the greatness of the results to be gained in the history of the human race. The smile of affection, the glance of sympathy, the arched brow, expressive of surprise, the firm-set lips, speaking silently of inward determination—how much have these done in the history of men ! Have they not carried their message as clearly as words could have done, and more quickly ; have they not given help in good cheer or decided warning, when words could not well do the same service ; have they not told of unity of interest in human lives far surpassing what has been indicated by more formal utterances ?

The ground element or basis of all expression is seen in the muscular movement attending on sensibility. Wherever there is sensibility there is less or more of tendency to movement in harmony with the experience. We may say that impression has less or more attendant muscular expression. This is the general law which finds its highest and most striking illustration in the countenance. Accordingly, expression is in its earliest manifestation essentially *instinctive*—that is to say, unacquired, quite independent of instruction, and at the same time independent of an exercise of will.

This is amply illustrated by the expression recognized on the face of an infant. At this early stage of human life expression is very restricted in range, more intense in degree, and, beyond risk of mistake, altogether involuntary. The measure of experience is at this point simply the sensibility of the nerve system. There may be variation among children in this respect, inasmuch as some have from the first a finer and more sensitive nerve system than others. And there must be great differences according to the healthy condition of the whole body. The amount of crying that is heard from the child, or the frequency with which the smile flits across its face, will depend upon the extent to which it is suffering or satisfied. There is no deception here, and it would be unreasonable to be angry with the crying child, as if it could either help its uneasiness or check the expression of it. The true value of the expression lies in the fact that it is the index of pain, the language of infant life, when other language is wanting.

And even though this language be inarticulate, there are degrees of expression even here. The cry of acute pain and of mere uneasiness are easily distinguished, and there are proportionate variations on the countenance according to the greater or less relaxation of the muscles.

In like circumstances, a double form of expression *belongs to all*

the higher animals. From the rabbit upward, we are familiar with the expression of pain on the animal's face, and with the sharp cry which tells of acute suffering. I have said, however, that the liability to pain is according to the sensibility of the nerve system. Viewing both experience and expression as they belong to the merely animal system—and they are nothing else at the stage now under consideration—the possibilities of each in any order of life are according to the sensitiveness of the nerve fibers and the action of other correlated nerves on the muscles. Hence, weeping and crying are more frequent with an infant than with the young of any animal. The sensibility of the human frame is greater than that of any other organism known to us. This may be readily illustrated by comparison. For example, Mr. Alfred Russel Wallace, the well-known traveler and naturalist, gives us his observations as to a young orang which he caught when only about a month old. The nerve system of the large, man-like apes, such as the orang, chimpanzee, and gorilla, shows a greater strength of fiber, with much less sensibility. This infant orang as it began to develop was favored with a ladder on which to hang or climb, and from that ladder it had many falls. But "it never seemed hurt by any of its tumbles."¹ Such falls would make a child scream; the mere risk of such a fall, or even a sudden descent in a nurse's arms, would make a child shudder, so much more intense is nerve sensibility in the human infant.

In accordance with this contrast, the expression of feeling on the face of a child is much greater, whether the experience be that of pleasure or pain, than in the case of any of the lower animals. An infant's smile has no analogy among the lower animals. The playfulness of a lamb is quite proverbial amongst us, yet when the animal is most sportive its face is most solemn. If the animal can be said to "laugh," it is to the tail we must attribute that exercise. And so in the experience of the kitten, it is the extreme activity of the animal and the brightness of its eye which we remark—not any approach to laughter. In the wonderful variety of attractive features in the young life of all species, there is nothing to compare with the expression in a child's face. It is a sight altogether by itself, when a child in its mother's arms is attracted by some pleasing object, the eyes beaming, the mouth expanded to a smile, the cheeks dimpled, and arms and legs going through an involuntary and rather irregular performance, in token of delight. There is something diverting in the manifest feebleness of the child, as con-

¹ "Annals of Natural History," 2d Series xviii., p. 29.

trasted with the excessive activity displayed ; but the smile on the face of the staid observer is an expression which began to be practiced in his own case in just such circumstances as those which now occasion him mirth.

Let us pass now to the opposite experience, resulting from the sensitive nerve system which belongs to our race. A child cries far more under pain than any other young creature known to us. And so the child finds more than daily exercise for the voice, which is afterward to prove a vehicle of expression such as no other form of life possesses. But the child's expression under suffering begins with the face, and only passes to the voice when the sense of uneasiness increases in degree. The face is the primary vehicle for the expression of feeling. Wherever the pain be, the center of expression is the countenance. Whether the hurt alight on the foot, the hand, or the back, the communication is equally with the nerve center, in close proximity with the face, and which directly acts upon the muscles of the face. The process which then takes place within that nerve center we can not observe, and it has not yet been interpreted for us by physiological science. But whatever the process within that hidden center of control, we are familiar with the results. The muscles of the face, instead of remaining in repose, as when the nerve system is undisturbed, are all set into motion. The lower muscles of the face are relaxed and tell their own tale—that *pain* is the disturbing cause. The upper muscles are contracted, leading to a closing movement of the eyelids, the tear-supply is affected by the contraction, and the tear-drops begin to chase each other down an outward course, instead of being restrained to a gentler and slower course within the internal canal. "The waters begin to flow," for the fountains are opened. We incline to smile at the thought, if not at the sight ; yet our more mature expressions of trouble had their beginning in just this way. And the difference of mature life, accounting for the smile at the ready tears of infancy, is that control of such feeling is one of the simpler exercises of daily life—a first installment, of larger and grander results of self-control, or, if you choose to put it so, those who are older have too much to think about to give way to such feeling. That is just the difference : the infant has nothing else to think about, or, more properly speaking, has nothing to think about at all. Yet we need to remember that when the infirmity of old age comes—that is, the loss of nerve and muscular power—the difficulty of controlling these tears is once more felt, and that in a more dis-

turbing form, just because there is more to think about, and a larger range of feelings to play on a nerve system not so easily held in tension as it had been. Thus in the case of the child, as the result of the shock which pain communicates to the nerve center, the lower muscles are relaxed, the tear-supply is compressed, and the child takes to the highest and last resort it has for expression of its trouble—crying aloud; for Tennyson is correct in his analogy taken from infant life, to contribute to his well-known poem of human sorrow : ¹

‘ But what am I ?
An infant crying in the night :
An infant crying for the light :
And with no language but a cry.”

In passing now from these lower phases of expression, it is desirable to notice the range of feeling, rather than emotion properly so-called, which they embrace, and the extent to which they indicate provision for what is to appear later in life. What you see in the soft, chubby face of a child, smiles and tears, is just as much as can be seen at that stage of life, with such development of the face as there is, and such development as there is of all that lies behind the face, brain, and mind. For we may say, putting the contrast broadly, that the infant is all head and no mind. The sensitive organism is there, and the nerve center, liable to every shock which may come from the nerve system, and the muscles are there, liable to be affected by any such shock. I also admit that the mind is there, but it is waiting upon brain-development as a prerequisite for mental development. And it is needful to remember that the brain grows with the growth of the head until it attains its full size, which it does about seven or eight years of age. Mental development begins when personal observation begins, and it takes a more formal start when the full size of the brain admits of a regular amount of work being done from day to day bearing upon personal education. Thus in the nerves and muscles of the infant's head there is provision for a larger amount of expression than it is possible for the child to use. There are possibilities of expression lying there which as yet can not be detected. What appears represents the two extremes, pleasure and pain—the two simplest elements of experience belonging to animate existence, and which accordingly man shares with the lower animals. In so far, then, as the agreeable and disagreeable belong to the whole course of human life (and

¹ “ In Memoriam,” Stanza liv.

we know how large a place they fill in the history of every one), there is in the human countenance at the very earliest stages of life evidence of provision for their expression. If these do not appear so much in later days as they do in earlier, it is because a form of control comes to be exercised which is not apparent at first. The life as it advances enters on new phases, and is a wider and richer life than childhood's days represent. And so it happens that each one is more a man or more a woman, in proportion as that early stage of existence is transcended and the person shows a power to govern the common feelings of sentient life.

While, however, pleasure and pain are the *extremes of sentient experience*, their forms of expression do not mark out the limits within which all the varieties of human emotion can be included. The feelings which by and by flow in upon experience, greatly complicating it, are not mere phases of sentient experience. It is true that there are many forms of bodily sensibility, experienced only as bodily life advances to maturity. The infant passing through various phases of comfort and of discomfort has not on that account even the faintest anticipation of the varied forms of pleasure and of suffering which may flow in upon the life through the instrumentality of bodily sensibilities. There are the pleasures of sight, with all the variety of feeling coming from intermingling of form and color, light and shade, size and proportion. There are the pleasures of hearing, with all the intense gratification to be obtained from the complicated musical combinations which the human ear can appreciate. And so with the other forms of sensibility. And over against these we must place the more intense forms of suffering which, though they do not find a place in the experience of all, are nevertheless kinds of pain to which the singularly sensitive organism of man is liable. Taking all these, we may say that the expression of the pleasurable and the painful may include them all.

But there is a region of experience quite beyond these phases of experience, and our interest concentrates on what transcends these. There is an agreeable—and also a disagreeable, which has a greatly wider range—which does not come from the sensibilities of a bodily system, but from the exercise of an intelligent nature. In this higher and wider range of life there are feelings which are more than feelings—which we more properly denominate emotions. They do not, indeed, move in a depth altogether beyond the range of observation; they are not so restricted to an inner circle that there is no stirring of the body without. They have their clearly

recognized bodily indications. But they could not be experienced, and controlled, and utilized, if there were not some part of our nature higher than the body. And here it is we recognize the forms of emotion, which are on the one side the *grandest*, on the other the most *disturbing*, in human expression as in human history. It is where mind expresses itself in the countenance that we have the true measure of the capabilities of the human face. There we see what nerve and muscle can do, aided by that wonderful luminous organ set in the midst of the human face, turning in all directions, reflecting all that lies before it, and shining with a luster which does not come from the sunlight. The eye is no doubt the great central power, but a mere eye to look would tell but little were it not supported by those muscular aids gathering largely around itself, and next around the lower parts of the face. Here we see a double use of a single contrivance. Muscles which provide for the movement of the eyeball at the same time contribute to the expression at one time of doubt, or fear, or grief; at another time of interest, wonder, or delight. Again, taking the lower parts of the face, how much is there in the expression of the mouth! Attendant on the large number of muscles concentrated there, we find manifold forms of expression. Some of these are such as may, indeed, be connected with the lower forms of animal passion, and so give evidence of baser elements having a place in human nature. But far removed from such expressions, there are others appearing in the use of the mouth which disclose a wide and elevated range of power. We may find there at once an expression of gentleness and of great determination. The mouth is not devoted merely to eating and drinking, ministering such pleasure as the palate can give. This organ, as it is the mouthpiece for all that comes from the deepest nature of man, and can find utterance in words, by its constantly changing aspects does much to give visible expression to the emotions swelling within the breast. Thus contempt of all that is mean mantles itself there; and courage to dare and to endure all that duty requires finds outward symbolism which warns the tempter to cease from his endeavor.

Now, in this higher and wider range of expression we still find two remote extremes—for there is a twofold in all that belongs to human life—one which speaks of the strength, another which bears witness to the weakness; one which reveals the dignity, another which tells of baser forms of emotion which may arise within. And all these conflicting modes of expression are so definite and so

well recognized that we do not at all mistake or misinterpret them. They are so sharply marked and so familiar that men can readily imitate the expression ; and even the mere semblance of them depicted on the canvas, or lighting up the face of the man who would illustrate their nature, is enough to wake within observers active sympathy or equally active dislike.

In the study of this subject there is nothing more striking than, on the one hand, the near resemblance of form which gives expression to some of the most diverse feelings ; and on the other, the wide separation in the form of expression natural in other cases. In proportion as excitement becomes great the modes of expression are assimilated. When the contrast is between a calmer emotion and one more disturbing the difference of expression is great.

Sir Charles Bell admirably illustrates this by reference to two pictures at Bologna¹—the St. Cecilia of Raphael, in ecstasy, and the Murder of the Innocents, by Guido Reni. In the one the patron saint of music is represented in an ecstasy of delight ; in the other, mothers bereaved of their children are in an agony of despair. St. Cecilia hears angelic music floating softly downward from the heavens—the face is upturned, the features are composed, and the mouth is just a little relaxed, in quiet expression of delight. In the other picture a mother is on her knees, her dead child lies before her, her face is upturned, and her eye is gazing intently toward heaven. Two most diverse forms of emotion have a singular approximation in expression. The truth which lies there is a revelation at once of human weakness and human strength. Whether on the height of ecstasy or in the depth of dismay, the human soul turns upward, and whether in joy or grief still expresses itself in *trust*. What is grandest on the face—most pleasing or most overawing—is but a faint index of what is grander in mind. The two extremes of expression possible to the human countenance are those of intense *fear*, when self-control is at its lowest, and intense *intellectual interest* when the control of the entire nature is most marked.

When man is the subject of FEAR the eyes become dilated, all the muscles are completely relaxed, and the open mouth tells of loss of decision, the entire *powerlessness* which is the measure of man's weakness, and makes it quite uncertain what course of action a man may adopt, and whether he will not completely succumb.

At the opposite extreme from this, and most strikingly illus-

¹ "Anatomy and Philosophy of Expression," p. 154.

trative of all the best features of the countenance, as of all the nobler emotions and loftiest powers of the mind, is the expression of deep *intellectual interest*. The man has found a theme deserving contemplation and rewarding it; his intellectual power is braced for the work; all his finer sensibilities are awakened and brought into lively exercise. At such a time it is that the highest possibilities of the face are seen; the eye shines with intellectual luster, and no light of baser passion; the whole face is under control, yet excited, suffused with some share of that brightness belonging to the eye, which seems the center of life; the lips are closed and firm, though not compressed, and the whole countenance bears witness to the sway of active intelligence, when fear is unknown and grief is far away, and the whole soul feels moved by a view of higher things which the senses can not perceive.

Only occasionally can even the best faces give full expression to what is grandest in human life. But if we make careful reckoning of what is best in thought and feeling, what is noble in human effort, what is grand in a true moral courage, facing life's trials and profiting by them all, we shall find that the countenance bears its own witness to the greater things of an invisible life. And as these two things—inward expression and outward expression—are naturally harmonized, it belongs to us to be truthful in expression. It is part of our duty to cherish and disclose our contempt of the secretive art akin to deception, which prizes an expressionless face. It belongs to every one who has genuine trust in God, who rules over all, and who bids us walk in fellowship with himself, to move through the world with a face which bears living testimony to the power of a firm faith, spreading calm around, and of a clear hope prophesying better things to come.

THE LITERARY MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND, FRANCE AND GERMANY.

RECENT ENGLISH BOOKS.

THE DUKE DE POMAR'S NOVEL.¹—In this work the Duke de Pomar has not given us so much of the thinly-disguised personal element which somewhat disfigured his previous novels. His sketches of the English aristocracy (whose names could be easily deciphered) carried consternation into the fashionable district of Belgravia. This new story not only departs from the track of former experiments, but is valuable as showing that the duke can write a really clever and entertaining story without depending upon the adventitious aid of personality. The heroine of "A Secret Marriage" is a well and powerfully drawn character, whose sorrows and really noble qualities will touch the heart of every reader. It is true she was not always what she should be, but the author shows the strong substratum of human excellence beneath much that the world condemned. The story conveys a stronger impression of the Duké de Pomar's powers as a novelist than any of its predecessors.

ETHICS AND ÆSTHETICS OF MODERN POETRY.²—Mr. Selkirk is a comparatively new writer, but he manifests a spirit of inquiry and a faculty of independent judgment that augur well for his future as a critic. It is true that some of the opinions put forth in this volume will be traversed by many who have thought as deeply as the author upon the developments of modern poetry. But what we like in Mr. Selkirk is that his criticisms are no parrot-like echo of the deliverances of other writers. He says some noticeable things about Coleridge, Wordsworth, Tennyson, Browning, and others—and these will not always be palatable to readers who have their favorite poet and refuse to see any flaw or defect in any thing that he has written. Mr. Selkirk discusses modern poetry as affected, moulded, or qualified by skepticism, modern creeds, mysticism, culture, art, and morals, etc., and he has a

¹ "A Secret Marriage and its Consequences." By the author of "The Honeymoon," "Fashion and Passion," etc. Chapman & Hall.

² "Ethics and Æsthetics of Modern Poetry." By G. B. Selkirk. London: Smith, Elder & Co.

chapter upon the correlation of the religious and poetical instincts. Whether agreeing or disagreeing with the author, the reader may certainly peruse his work with both pleasure and profit.

NICOLL'S POEMS: NAPIER'S FOLK-LORE.¹—We have here two most entertaining volumes. There is little need at this day to enlarge upon the merits of the young Scotch poet, Robert Nicoll. Charles Kingsley thought he attained a mastery over English, a simplicity and a quiet, which Burns never did; and indeed there are beauties in his poems which well entitle him to be regarded as the worthy successor of the greatest of Scotch lyric poets. In some of his efforts he is little if at all inferior to his master. The touching story of Nicoll's life is here related at length. Folk-lore is a wide term, sometimes including the irresponsible chatter of old wives; but when properly understood it is as valuable in its way as veritable history, throwing a strong light upon the manners and customs of nations and peoples. Mr. Napier's volume is composed of the best kind of folk-lore, dealing with superstitious beliefs prevalent in the west of Scotland upon such topics as birth and childhood, marriage, death, witchcraft, second sight, divining, etc. The book is full of interest.

LORD TEIGNMOUTH'S REMINISCENCES.²—These autobiographical and other records extend as far back as the beginning of the present century. Lord Teignmouth, who still lives, was born at Calcutta in January, 1796, but at two years of age quitted India. In England the author had as school-fellows Wilberforce, Stephen, and others. He afterward went to Cambridge, and interesting sketches are furnished of the life at that university. He subsequently traveled a good deal. Later on he was thrown into the society of most of the distinguished men of his time, and the reader will find here many interesting reminiscences of men who have occupied a prominent position in politics, letters, and society. Of Lord Beaconsfield and his assaults upon Sir Robert Peel, Lord Teignmouth remarks: "The hostility which Peel encountered found full vent in the memorable philippics of Mr. Disraeli, who seems to have justified by his rancor his inheritance of one of the least amiable characteristics of the ancient race in his descent from which he glories; and it was precisely the predominant foible in his victim's temperament which afforded a mark for one so dexterous in the use of his weapons." Of Mr. Gladstone he says that, "though his views might be distasteful or unintelligible to many of his hearers, his integrity was never questioned. The fixed attention of the House was due not only to his transcendent eloquence, but

¹ "Poems and Lyrics by Robert Nicoll." With a Memoir of the Author.—"Folk-Lore." By James Napier, F.R.S.E., etc. Paisley: Alex. Gardner.

² "Reminiscences of Many Years." By Lord Teignmouth. Edinburgh: David Douglas.

to the occasional difficulty of disentangling his meaning." We have not space to quote further from the author's entertaining pages. Lord Teignmouth, as the Hon. Charles John Shore, was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took the degree of M.A. in 1816, and received that of LL.D. in 1835. In 1834 he had been created honorary D.C.L. of Oxford. He represented the borough of Marylebone from 1838 to 1841, and succeeded his father, the first lord, in the peerage in 1834. His present autobiographical work, it may naturally be expected, will be received with a good deal of popular favor. It is well worth reading for its side lights upon history and upon individual character.

ESSAYS IN ROMANCE.¹—We have few essayists worthy of the name, and since the death of "Christopher North" and Lord Lytton there is no one to compare in certain aspects with "Shirley"—or, as he now puts his name to the present volume, Mr. John Skelton. We have political writers and pamphleteers in abundance, but in "Shirley" there is that beautiful, poetic touch which belonged more to a past age and seems to be dying out among us. For illustration of our meaning, let the reader turn to the first essay in, or prelude to, this volume, entitled "A Word for Winter." He will there discover what a passionate admiration "Shirley" has for Nature, as well as perceive that he has a strong power in depicting her moods. He will also find this same love of Nature, as well as a keen, active human sympathy, displayed in the exquisite series of poems given under the title of "Leaves from the Sketch-Book of Philip Evergreen, Painter." The other sketches partake of the nature of stories, and all are well worth reading. This is a work to be singled out of the mass of contemporary literature.

THE FIRST VIOLIN.²—This story, which has been appearing in the pages of *Temple Bar*, is by an anonymous author. Internal evidence shows the writer to be a woman, and she has certainly no need to be ashamed of her work. The writer is a distinct accession to the ranks of our novelists, and betrays no ordinary powers. The scene is laid partly in England and partly in Germany, and the local coloring in each case is faithful and exact. "The First Violin" is a member of a noble German house, who has taken upon himself expatriation and disgrace to save another. He accepts a position in an orchestra indicated by the title of the story, and there are some tender love passages between him and one Miss May Wedderburn, a beautiful English girl, whom Fortune throws across his path. We shall not reveal more of the plot, but the novel is one which, as a whole, justifies the highest expectations as to the future of the author.

¹ "Essays in Romance, and Studies from Life." By John Skelton, author of "The Impeachment of Mary Stuart," etc. William Blackwood & Sons.

² "The First Violin." A Novel. Richard Bentley & Sons.

MR. BLACK'S NEW NOVEL.¹—Admirers of Mr. Black will find this new story equal to his best work. Without being a strikingly original or profound writer, the author of "A Princess of Thule" has many qualities which fully account for his popularity. His power of describing natural scenery, the poetry which breathes in his most eloquent scenes, and his singular success in always conceiving at least one or two characters which shall thoroughly interest his readers, raise his works above the common level of story-writers. All these qualities are present in "Macleod of Dare." In vivid touches Mr. Black depicts the magnificent scenery off the shores of Mull, and this is supplemented by striking delineations of rich Atlantic sunsets, a snow-storm in the Highlands, and a terrible storm at sea. With regard to the characters, however, those which appear to us most successfully drawn are the subordinate ones. Lady Macleod, the father of Sir Keith (the hero of the story), and Carry White, the sister of the heroine, Miss Gertrude White, are more natural than their more prominent relatives. We think also that Mr. Black's treatment of the heroine is somewhat contradictory. No one would imagine early in the story, much as Miss White is enamoured of her profession of the stage, that she would win and accept the heart of Macleod in all apparent good faith, and then prove the perfectly heartless and consummate flirt she develops into at a later stage. Macleod himself is a fine manly fellow. A terrible catastrophe swallows up both hero and heroine, and the novel closes somewhat abruptly. There is lack of proper welding together of the incidents of the novel, and some characters—such as that of Mr. Lemuel—appear to be rather forced upon the stage, and to be as suddenly dropped as they are introduced. But the novel has many powerful passages, and there can be no doubt that it will be as great a favorite as the remarkably successful novels which preceded it from the same hand.

MR. HAMILTON LANG'S "CYPRUS."²—Mr. Lang was well qualified to write this work upon Cyprus, its history, its present resources, and future prospects. Not only was he for some time British Consul in the island, but he has also filled the position of manager of the Imperial Ottoman Bank at Larnica, into which all the customs, salt and excise revenues were paid. The bank, in fact, did all the financial business of the government, and this gave Mr. Lang abundant opportunity for studying the questions of taxation and administration. Moreover, his antiquarian researches and farming occupations brought him into contact with the peasants of Cyprus, whose condition, character, and grievances he has closely studied. The result of his investigations and observations is a strong approval of Lord Beaconsfield's

¹ "Macleod of Dare." By William Black, author of "Madcap Violet," etc. London: Macmillan & Co.

² "Cyprus." By R. Hamilton Lang, late H.M. Consul for the Island. Macmillan & Co.

policy in this latest acquisition to the dominions of the British Empire. Mr. Lang looks with confidence to the future of Cyprus. It needs no prophet, he thinks, to foresee the future prosperity and enviable happiness of both the Mohammedan and Christian populations. This work is admirably gotten up, and is embellished with a series of excellent maps. It may reasonably be expected to enjoy considerable popularity.

LAND AHEAD.¹—In the present novel, Mr. Courteney Grant has surpassed all his previous stories. There is enough in it to furnish half a dozen ordinary fictions. The tone is elevated and refined, and it is long since we came across a story which has interested us so much. And yet in some senses the burden of the book is a sad one. The heroine, Margaret Hoffman, starts life with the noblest ideals before her, and meeting in a very unconventional manner with one Valentin von Broderode, she sees in him almost the perfection of humanity, and it is not long before she is desperately in love with him. If Valentin is not all that her fancy paints him, he is yet far superior to the ordinary mass of humanity. Partly through his own carelessness, however, Margaret (whose deep passion he as warmly returns) is allowed to slip through his hands and become the bride of a much lower being, Sir Dudley Vane. We can not trace the plot, but Margaret finds her ideals shattered, and ultimately discovers happiness where she had at first never thought of looking for it. Mr. Courteney Grant writes in a style far beyond that of the average novelist. He not only has admirable powers of description, but knows how to touch the deep chords of human passion.

MR. VIVIAN'S TOUR IN AMERICA.²—Last year Mr. Vivian, an English M.P., and his wife, accompanied by the Right Hon. Hugh and Mrs. Childers, traveled in North America, taking in their tour Quebec, Saratoga, New York, Pittsburg, Chicago, San Francisco, the Nevada silver mines, St. Louis, Washington, etc. Mr. Vivian made notes of this tour, and they are now published for a philanthropic object in connection with the town of Swansea. The author makes no pretensions to literary excellence, nor does he promise much in the way of adventure; but this modesty makes us enjoy the substance of his work all the more. Mr. Vivian writes an easy and agreeable style, has evidently a very observant eye, and his work contains many passages of economic and social value as regards the United States. As a European, of course he has something to say against America and the Americans, but on the whole he is exceedingly fair and just. He has at any rate written a very interesting record of a journey of nearly seventeen thousand miles.

¹ "Land Ahead." A Novel. By Courteney Grant, author of "Little Lady Lorraine," etc. Chapman & Hall.

² "Notes of a Tour in America." By H. Hussey Vivian, M.P., F.G.S. Edward Stanford.

THE ANNUAL REGISTER.¹—To the statesman, the author, the journalist, and indeed to all classes, this publication is indispensable. It has now been published considerably upward of one hundred years, and, as may be readily imagined, has improved much during its long career. In the hands of Messrs. Rivingtons it seems almost to have attained perfection. We here obtain a comprehensive view of English history for the year 1877; foreign history; remarkable trials; public documents and state papers; while there is also a chronicle of extraordinary occurrences, an obituary of eminent persons (from which no deceased individual of note is absent), and a retrospect of literature, art, and science. Perhaps the only section in which the survey seems to us scarcely full and complete enough is that of literature. But this volume furnishes us with an example and an undertaking of great importance well and carefully executed. As a work of reference it has scarcely an equal, and it is an excellent embodiment of the phrase *multum in parvo*.

MR. PAYN'S NEW NOVEL.²—Mr. Payn has rarely, if ever, done better work than is to be found here. He has obtained a thorough grasp of his characters, and such unconventional heroes as Richard Talbot are not often to be met with. The author demonstrates that the real secret of the novelist's art lies in faithfully reproducing humanity under whatever guises it may be found. In some hands the subject of the present story would have proved an embarrassing one, but Mr. Payn has successfully surmounted the difficulties by which he was surrounded, and produced a thoroughly readable and entertaining work. Lucy Lindon, his heroine, is also an obvious study from nature, while the minor characters of the novel are very carefully elaborated. Pathetic passages and passages containing not a little humor—a very desirable quality in a story-teller—are to be found in the work.

JOHN SMITH.³—Under this singular title, the Hon. Mrs. Cradock has constructed a very interesting story. There is a mystery attaching to the hero to whom she gives so thoroughly English a name, which we shall not reveal. It is carefully preserved till the proper moment arrives for making it known, and then—as is the case with all mysteries—the reader wonders why he never thought of so simple a solution before. Mrs. Cradock does not aim at an ambitious style, but writes her narrative straightforwardly and unaffectedly. Her studies of female character are exceedingly good, and Mary Johnstone is a truly lovable heroine. There is evidence in this work that the author could successfully elaborate a story of far greater scope and pretensions.

¹ "The Annual Register: A Review of Public Events at Home and Abroad, for the year 1877." London: Rivingtons.

² "Less Black than We're Painted." By James Payn, author of "Lost Sir Masingberd," etc. Chatto & Windus.

³ "John Smith." A Novel. By the Hon. Mrs. Cradock. Chapman & Hall.

THE DRAMATIC WORKS OF LESSING.¹—Within the last year or two a very conspicuous interest has been created in England in Lessing and his works. We have not only had Mr. Simes' carefully prepared Life of the great German poet, but Miss Helen Zimmern has also devoted herself to the task of demonstrating Lessing's claims upon us. Messrs. Bell & Sons now, perhaps, render us the best service of all by issuing a translation of Lessing's dramatic works. It appears to be faithfully and spiritedly executed, and the edition is preceded by a short memoir from the pen of Miss Zimmern. The first volume includes the tragedies, "Miss Sara Sampson," "Philotas," "Emilia Galotti," and "Nathan the Wise." The second volume presents us with the comedies, viz., "Damon ; or, True Friendship ;" "The Young Scholar ;" "The Old Maid ;" "The Woman-Hater ;" "The Jews ;" "The Freethinker ;" "The Treasure ;" and "Minna von Barnhelm." Five of these comedies are now given to the English public for the first time. Of the tragedies, "Miss Sara Sampson" and "Philotas" also now appear for the first time in an English dress. For a very small sum any reader may now obtain the works of one whom Heine described as the best and greatest German since Luther.

THE MARQUIS OF BUTE'S HISTORICAL ESSAYS.²—Lord Bute is one of the few English noblemen whose recreations are of an intellectual type. We have here two monographs, each in its way admirable, and both demonstrating the closeness of his lordship's historical studies. The sketch devoted to "The Burning of the Barns of Ayr" shows that the author has studied all the authorities bearing upon his subject, and he is able to correct several prevalent errors. The pamphlet was originally delivered as a lecture early this year, in the town of Ayr. Sir William Wallace is an attractive subject either for the lecturer or the historian. The Marquis, having delivered a lecture upon the early days of this great and noble patriot at Paisley, has now thrown it into the form of a treatise, and issued it to the public. It is well worth reading, and imparts information which will be new to many readers.

THE RETURN OF THE NATIVE.³—After "George Eliot," Mr. Blackmore and Mr. Hardy are the finest of living novelists ; yet it may be doubted whether they will ever be as popular as some others who could be named. Mr. Hardy, who is some ten years younger than Mr. Blackmore I believe, has a great future before him. In his treatment of the characters of every-day life there are points which are suggestive even of the manner of Shakespeare,

¹ "The Dramatic Works of G. E. Lessing." Translated from the German. Edited by Ernest Bell, M.A. With a short Memoir by Helen Zimmern. London : George Bell & Sons.

² "The Burning of the Barns of Ayr ;" and "The Early Days of Sir William Wallace." By John, Marquess of Bute, K.T. Paisley : Alex. Gardner.

³ "The Return of the Native." By Thomas Hardy, author of "Far from the Madding Crowd," etc. London : Smith, Elder & Co.

though in all larger aspects, of course, the genius of the mighty dramatic poet places him beyond comparison with Mr. Hardy and all other writers. But the author of "The Return of the Native" shows that grand impartiality in the delineation of character which is the attribute of our best dramatists. The present story has no one person in it beyond the bucolic rank of life, yet it is impossible not to be struck with the extreme vividness with which the minutest shades of individual character are realized. Then, too, the descriptions of Wessex scenery are most graphic and spirited. As regards plot, Mr. Hardy shows how deep may be the tragedy which is being enacted beneath the surface of the most commonplace lives. Altogether, "The Return of the Native" is one of the most uncommon novels which have been published for a long period, and it is full of genius.

THE WORKS OF ALEXANDER WILSON.¹—This is another of the reprints referred to in the preceding notice. Every one will welcome such a reproduction of the works, in prose and verse, of Alexander Wilson, the ornithologist of America. The task of editing has been committed to the Rev. A. B. Grosart, well known for his labors in this direction in English literature. Mr. Grosart has written a memorial notice of Wilson, furnished a series of notes, and altogether done his work with his accustomed carefulness and success. Wilson has a double claim upon us—as a poet and as an ornithologist. In the former capacity he has written strains charged with a true and strong emotion, and yet withal he has a genuine vein of wit. We now know more than we have hitherto been able to know of the man who extracted the admiration of Michelet and Audubon, and whose character was as simple as his intellectual talents were great.

CANON MOZLEY'S ESSAYS.²—The writer of these essays possessed sterling abilities and extensive erudition; yet it is only of recent years that his great merits as a thinker and writer have met with their due recognition. Mr. Gladstone was amongst the first to perceive the author's powers and his profound knowledge. Canon Mozley was born at Gainsborough, in Lincolnshire, in the year 1813. At thirteen he was able to translate most creditably from Homer. At seventeen he entered Oriel College, Oxford, where his mind was considerably influenced by Harrell Froude, Dr. Pusey, and John Henry Newman. His first original paper, on "Palgrave's Truths and Fictions of the Middle Ages," was published in the *British Critic* for October, 1838. Shortly after taking his degree at Oxford, he obtained the Chancellor's prize for an English essay on the "Influence of Ancient Oracles on Public

¹ "The Verse and Miscellaneous Prose of Alexander Wilson." Edited by the Rev. A. B. Grosart, LL.D. Paisley: Alex. Gardner.

² "Essays Historical and Theological." By J. B. Mozley, D.D., late Canon of Christ Church, etc. London, Oxford, and Cambridge: Rivingtons.

and Private Life." He was elected Fellow of Magdalen in 1840, where he resided until 1856, when on his marriage he accepted the living of Old Shoreham. Mr. Gladstone's first act of patronage was to present Dr. Mozley to a canonry of Worcester in 1869. Two years afterward, on the recommendation of the same distinguished statesman, he was made Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford. Canon Mozley died on the 4th of January, 1878, after a long and painful illness. One who knew him at Oxford writes that they found they had amongst them a man who could handle deep moral and religious themes with the steady eye and large grasp of Butler, and with a richness of imaginative illustration to which Butler could lay no claim. These essays fully demonstrate the truth of this. The topics are—Lord Strafford, Archbishop Laud, Carlyle's Cromwell, Luther, Dr. Arnold, Blanco White, the Book of Job, Maurice's theological essays, and papers upon theological questions. That Dr. Mozley can be a fearless critic is proved by the essay on Carlyle's Cromwell, while his articles upon Laud, Luther, and others testify to the breadth and versatility of his mind. These essays possess a strength, solidity, and eloquence to which few collections of similar compositions can lay claim. Though different in style, they are as admirable in their way as those which first made Macaulay's name famous.

SONNETS OF MICHAEL ANGELO AND CAMPANELLA.¹—Mr. Symonds deserves the thanks of all readers for this undertaking. Something has of course been done in the way of translating Michael Angelo's sonnets before; but Mr. Symonds here takes up these sonnets earnestly, and tells readers unacquainted with the great artist-poet much that they will be grateful for in his introduction and notes. Besides this service, he also introduces us to another name in Italian literature not sufficiently known in England, that of Campanella. Mr. Symonds is a critic with a touch of true sympathy in him.

COUNT MOLTKE'S LETTERS.²—The title of this work is somewhat disappointing. The letters of which it is composed were written by Count Moltke many years ago, when he attended the Crown Prince of Germany at the coronation of the Emperor of Russia. They are the experiences of a very shrewd observer, and some of them, wherein he sketches the present and former capital of Russia, are very interesting. An excellent little memoir of the great German strategist precedes the letters.

LONDON.

¹ "The Sonnets of Michael Angelo Buonarroti and Tommaso Campanella." By John Addington Symonds. Smith, Elder & Co.

² "Field-Marshal Count Moltke's Letters from Russia." Translated by Robina Napier. C. Kegan Paul & Co.

RECENT FRENCH BOOKS.

THE exceptional position occupied by M. Jules Simon for so long a period in the world of philosophy and letters gives an added charm to the volumes in which he recites the history of the Government of M. Thiers, and at the same time that of his own latest political campaign. M. Simon is not only one of the most admirable of French orators, he has not only in marked degree what our lively friends call the "gift of the tribune," but he also writes well. He avoids as if with care the theatrical and lachrymose style adopted by Jules Favre in touching upon the disasters which lately befell the country. One instinctively feels that he is occupied, as was his great chief up to the latest moment of his phenomenal career, in rebuilding rather than in weeping among the ruins. A healthy breeze of liberalism blows through the lucid narrative, in which M. Simon conducts the reader from the foundation of the Republic at Bordeaux up to the moment when Thiers felt himself compelled to step down from the place of power. The philosopher and statesman did not know how to temporize. He called things by their right names, and because, on the 19th of April, 1873, he said that France owed the liberation of its territory and the foundation of the Republic to M. Thiers, the Right called for his head. Jules Simon would willingly have made a greater sacrifice than that of a minister's portfolio for M. Thiers. The young old man and the old young man were passionately attached to each other. M. Thiers wrote to Simon a few days after the latter's retirement as follows: "In my eyes you are the capable man *par excellence*, and only the force of the angry passions of our time could make one dream of doing without you." M. Simon prints this affectionate testimonial in his book, and he is justifiable in doing so. To-day the judgment of M. Thiers with regard to the best qualified to serve the Republic is accepted as infallible.

The work begins with the capitulation of Paris, and the preliminary chapters, three of which are devoted to the sombre episode of the Commune, are as interesting as a romance. The student will find here many facts which will enable him to see the Communal insurrection from a new point of view. As for portraits of M. Thiers, they abound. No man could have done them better, and few, if any, could have contributed so many different points of view. The character of the illustrious president was most singular. At times it was full of sweetness and light, and the man seemed to move under the influence of a fine inspiration;¹ at others it was cribbed, abounding in intrigue, and on all occasions it showed won-

¹ "Le Gouvernement de M. Thiers (8 Février, 1871—24 Mai, 1873)." Par M. Jules Simon. 2 vols. in 8vo. Paris: Calmann Lévy. 1878.

derful sense of detail. During the occupation Thiers was more keenly alive than any one else in France to the dangers of the situation, and M. Simon tells us that the smallest incident frequently assumed in the eyes of the chief an importance which not even the most cautious of his subalterns would have thought of attributing to it. Simon willingly admits that Thiers was conscious of his power and gloried in the exercise of it, and he has no words of condemnation harsh enough for the intolerant and shortsighted majority which drove out of his position the only man who at the time was capable of filling it. Somewhere in one of the volumes the author speaks of Thiers as having been charged in these troublous days "to negotiate and to reign;" and he did both splendidly, until the revolt of ignorance came.

The situation of M. Thiers before the coalized parties who had overturned his government, from his downfall until his death, is the subject of the last and best chapters in this remarkable work. The influence of the example of the "old monarchist turned republican," and the unselfish manner in which he lavished the riches of his experience in endeavoring to keep the country right, even after he was no longer allowed to "negotiate and reign," are brought forth with exquisite skill. M. Simon could not have written these volumes unless he had walked hand in hand with Thiers, unless he had been one of the most laborious coadjutors in the colossal labor of laying the Republic's corner-stone. One of the crowning glories of his reputation will be that he fought and fell side by side with the ablest Frenchman of his time.

The death of M. de Lomenie, the eminent Academician, is so recent that the publication of his incomplete work on "The Mirabeaus"¹ is hardly necessary to revive the memory of his fame, but it is a favor conferred upon all who are interested in the study of the men and manners of the eighteenth century. Before writing the history of the great Mirabeau, whose name is immortal, M. de Lomenie had made careful studies of other members of his family who were renowned before the days of '89. In the two volumes which Dentu has just sent forth we have the result of these observations. The brilliancy of the diction and the hundred evidences of great research displayed in these curious books can only add to the general regret that M. de Lomenie should have had his work cut short in the flower of his age by cruel disease.

The long-promised tomes in which the Duke de Broglie, whose justly-won execration as a politician need not obscure his reputation as an acute and accomplished man of letters, have appeared, and have naturally excited much attention. "The King's Secret" has been thought sufficiently

¹ "Les Mirabeau : Nouvelles Études sur la Société française au dix-huitième siècle." 2 vols. Paris : Dentu. 1878.

interesting to be translated for the English public, and has already appeared in London.¹ The Duke does not draw a flattering picture of Louis the Fifteenth, at whose court his ancestors were conspicuous. Indeed, he shows that "Louis the Well-Beloved" was as despicable as can easily be imagined. Certain critics inclined to pleasantries announce that in these books they find traces of something like an adherence to sentiments which have always been supposed foreign to the nature of the noble duke, and they ask with most insinuating gravity if he has an intention of declaring himself repentant and a convert to republicanism, and coming squarely over to the victorious party? Stranger things than this would be have not been known in French politics. The Count de Broglie, who is so fully described in the "King's Secret," was the great-great-uncle of the present duke, and the archives of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and of War were ransacked for the materials now served up to us.

Among the volumes of the past few weeks to which but passing mention need be accorded are several which will find hosts of readers beyond the limits of France. One of them is M. Henri Bellenger's excellent translation into French of the best extracts from the works of that rare old traveler, Marco Polo. Words and phrases which would be with difficulty understood by modern readers in the original have been altered so as to be made intelligible.² M. Bellenger endeavors, but without positive success, to settle the vexed question whether or not Marco Polo wrote his original text in French, inclining to believe that he did. An enthusiastic volume of studies on the character of Danton,³ by Mr. Lennox, who, although not French, fought in the French army in 1870-71, has been given a kindly welcome by the Parisian public because of its odd history. The author had his work in manuscript in his haversack when taken prisoner at Metz, and he received it again only after it had lain for six years in the pigeon-holes of the Ministry of War in Berlin. When Mr. Lennox got his manuscript he found that some Prussian humorist had amused his leisure by annotating it in a rather amusing manner, and he conceived the novel idea of printing the work thus annotated. The result is a hodge-podge of French and German sentiment, generally differing in every degree, which is in the highest sense instructive and comical. A biography of Garibaldi,⁴ by the General Bordone, who was with him during the Franco-Prussian war, is a cleverly written little book, in which the hero of freedom in Italy is amply glorified. M. Fernand Worms has written an

¹ "Le Secret du Roi." Par le Duc de Broglie. 2 vols. Paris: Calmann Lévy. 1878.

² "Les Récits de Marco Polo sur la Mongolie, la Chine, l'Inde, etc.: Manuscrit du treizième siècle mis en langage moderne." Par Henri Bellenger. Paris: Dreyfous. 1878.

³ "Danton." Par G. Lennox. Paris: Dentu. 1878.

⁴ "Garibaldi, sa Vie, ses Aventures, ses Combats." Par le Général Bordone. Paris: Sandoz & Fischbacher. 1878.

exhaustive treatise on literary property,¹ a subject which is receiving much discussion in France and in many other countries just now, and which will be carefully examined at the Congress in London next summer. The author cites all the lawsuits of importance which have grown out of the loose conceptions now held of the rights of authors and their heirs ; and it may readily be supposed that his work is quite voluminous. The association appointed by the Literary Congress held during the Paris Exhibition is working upon the bases of the arguments which will be presented in London, and is about to issue a bulletin containing the results of its labors. M. Louis Lande contributes to the literature of travel a pleasant volume describing a sojourn among those out-of-the-way people, the Basques and the Navarrese.² The new editions of Philareto Chasles' "L'Angleterre Politique" and of Michelet's "Soldats de la Révolution" furnish these excellent works in more accessible form than heretofore. In history we have Chaveriat's³ "History of the Thirty Years' War," in the preface to which the author sorrowfully admits that he could have done much better if he could have had freer access to the French Record Office, where a system of absurd exclusiveness appears to prevail. M. Frederick Nolte's "History of the United States" is an intelligent work, which seems to be disfigured by no prejudices.⁴ M. Stapfer, one of the professors in the Grenoble Faculty of Letters, sends to the world a painstaking study of "Shakespeare and Antiquity,"⁵ in which bookish men and poets will find some entertainment and many quaint observations.

The annual session of the academies composing the Institut de France brought out several admirable orations, which merit the honors of republication in book form, but have not yet received them. M. Edouard Laboulaye, the Baron de Lesseps, and M. Ernest Legouvé were among the most prominent speakers. M. Charles Blanc has caused to be published his studies on art at the International Exhibition. It is a brilliant and witty book, filled with profound knowledge. The reports of the principal congresses held this last summer and autumn are also shortly forthcoming.

The American public has been afforded an opportunity to judge for itself of the value of two works of fiction which have been received with great kindness in France and in Europe generally. One of them, "Jean

¹ "Études sur la Propriété Littéraire." Par M. Fernand Worms. Paris: Lemerre. 1878.

² "Basques et Navarrais : Souvenirs d'un Voyage." Par Louis Lande. Paris: Didier. 1878.

³ "Histoire de la Guerre de Trente Ans." Par E. Chaveriat. 2 vols. Paris: Plon. 1878.

⁴ "Histoire des États-Unis depuis le temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours." Par M. Frederick Nolte. 2 vols. in 8vo. Paris: Didier. 1878.

⁵ "Shakespeare et l'Antiquité." Par M. Paul Stapfer, Grenoble.

Tétérol's Idea," from the pen of Victor Cherbuliez, who is almost as well known in the New as in the Old World, has none of the repulsive features which have made many French novels and character sketches of talent objectionable for reproduction in English. It is a fascinating story, told with charming simplicity, and natural to such a degree that one involuntarily suspects the author of having drawn his characters directly from life. It illustrates the class prejudices which, despite revolutions and republican traditions, are still deeply rooted in France. Jean Tétérol is a hard-headed young laborer, who, receiving the indignity of a kick one day from a baron in whose service he is, quits his master and goes up to Paris with the fixed idea that he must get rich and one day possess the property on which he has been only an humble and ill-used laborer. After a quarter of a century of toil he becomes a millionaire, and comes back to his native province to consummate the object of his life's struggle. He finds a descendant of the odious baron of other days in possession of the manor which he covets, and after getting him into his power, proposes to him a matrimonial alliance between the baron's daughter and his (Tétérol's) son. The manner in which *bourgeois* greed and ancestral pride both receive a severe check by means of the high and independent spirit of which the children, whose future was thus summarily to be shaped for them, give proof, is told with skill. The novel would make a charming comedy, and one without a single stain. Such works are fast taking the place of the romances of intrigue of which France seems growing more and more ashamed yearly.

"L'Amie,"¹ by the clever woman who calls herself Henry Greville, is possibly one of her earlier works, for it certainly differs very much from those which have lately won her such universal recognition. It is admirably done, and in it there are sketches of two old people living in a quarter of Paris where modern events and opinions do not come to them, which are exceedingly life-like. This author's books are now so popular that the publisher can not supply them fast enough, and as many as seven editions of a single story have been ordered in advance.

Edmond and Jules de Goncourt continue their studies of French *bourgeoisie*, and have recently published a volume containing a remarkable monograph of Madame de Pompadour, whose relations to Louis the Fifteenth and his court are too well known to need comment here. They sum her up as a "rare example of moral ugliness," and leave it much to be wondered at how so bad a woman could have had such a host of brilliant friends.² Their volume is a valuable compendium of anecdotes of the time, and

¹ "L'Amie." Par Henry Greville. Paris: Plon. 1878.

² "Madame de Pompadour." Par Emile et Jules de Goncourt. Paris: Charpentier. 1878.

reputations are handled by them with a freedom only exceeded by the license which contemporary writers permitted themselves. It is astonishing that a society so rotten as that of France was in Pompadour's time should be capable of showing any signs of vitality whatsoever to-day.

The power to write well in numerous languages is so uncommon, that the reader will feel some astonishment at learning that Professor Angelo de Gubernatis has written in French a book on the "Mythology of Plants,"¹ which may serve as a companion to his work on the Animal Kingdom's Mythology, published some time since. The latter was written in Italian, and translated by M. Reynaud; but the professor feels strong enough in French to address Frenchmen directly in his succeeding studies. A second volume is promised. Professor Gubernatis writes most attractively and learnedly on a subject than which none could be more curious and fascinating.

The second edition of the academician Boissier's charming and erudite work on "The Roman Religion"² has just been issued by the Hachettes, and in its present form will be found exceedingly convenient for the use of scholars. M. Gaston Boissier describes in the most fascinating manner the slow and steady march of ancient society toward a form of religion superior to paganism. The eminent critic Gatirel says of M. Boissier "that he has pursued the religious sentiment in all its manifestations, from the touching aspirations of a Virgil, the political designs of an Augustus, the stoical theories of a Seneca, the delicate curiosities and repugnances of Roman society, the vague unrest of the feminine mind, the torments of philosophers, the sufferings of poets, even to those obscure signs which, breaking out in the lower social regions, show us the popular classes and the slaves themselves tormented by the noble instinct of an unsatisfied ideal." M. Boissier is both moralist and painter in the highest sense; his book seems likely to have a good future in America. Messrs. Germer Baillière & Co., the eminent publishers, have just issued M. Guyau's "Morale d'Epicure,"³ a work recently crowned by the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences. The author enthusiastically pursues the ideas of Epicurus down through the ages, consecrating special chapters to Hobbes and Gassendi, to La Rochefoucauld, to Spinoza, to Helvetius. He is now preparing a second volume in which he proposes to analyze the English successors of Epicurus. The Academy, in its verdict upon this

¹ "Mythologie des Plantes; ou, Les Legendes du Règne Végétal." Par Angelo de Gubernatis. Tome I. Paris: Reinwald. 1878.

² "La Religion Romaine, d'Auguste aux Antonins." Par Gaston Boissier. 2^{me} édition. Paris: Hachette. 1878.

³ "La Morale d'Epicure et ses Rapports avec des Doctrines Contemporaines." Par M. Guyau. 1 vol. in 8vo. Paris: Germer Baillière & Co. 1878.

book, remarks that the "Epicurus of this memoir may not be the veritable one ; but it is certainly an Epicurus reproduced with force and hardihood of interpretation in a degree that we have rarely witnessed."

"Dodona and its Ruins"¹ is the title of a charming book from the pen of M. Constantin, Carapanos. After twenty centuries of silence, the famous oracle speaks anew, through the lips of the able and sprightly Greek who had the courage and industry to conduct excavations in Epirus until the ancient temple was found. It was not until after great fatigue and a vast number of severe disappointments that he succeeded in finding the ruins which he has now so well described

PARIS.

RECENT GERMAN BOOKS.

THE attempt has often been made to present the history of mediæval and modern art ; but we think that few attempts have been so successful as the one now making under the superintendency of Dr. Robert Dohme,² which endeavors to combine so far as possible a pleasing form with a fullness and freshness of matter that leaves nothing to be wished for, either by the general reader or by the special student. Bode, Eisenmann, Wessely, and Lemcke, among others, prepare careful monographs upon distinguished artists or upon groups of artists. In the first volume the seventh essay is "Albrecht Dürer," by Wilhelm Schmidt ; the thirteenth is "Lucas Cranach," by Eisenmann ; Wessely writes upon Holbein, and Lemcke on Rubens and Van Dyck. We have said enough to characterize the literary merit of the work : let us turn to the artistic side. The fine paper and type, Latin type, are a matter of course for the office of Seemann. The wood-cuts stand out in clear relief from the wide margins, and are usually of a high order. Take, for example, in the first volume, Alwin Schultz's "German Cathedral Builders of the Middle Ages," and look at Strasburg Cathedral through its vista of narrow streets, at the outside of

¹ "Dodone et ses Ruines." Par M. Constantin Carapanos. 1 vol. de texte et un vol. de planche. Paris : Hachette. 1878.

² Dohme, "Kunst und Künstler aus der Neuzeit. Biographien und Charakteristiken." Leipzig : Seemann. Vols. i. and ii. 1877. (436 and 463 pp. large 4to.) 25 and 24 Marks, or \$6.25 and \$6.

the choir at Cologne, at the Regensburg (Ratisbon) and Ulm interiors, and at St. Stephen's in Vienna, which last cut is a trifle coarse and dark, detracting especially from the delicacy and lightness of the spire. In the cuts from Rubens' picture, again, we observe alike that boldness of stroke which many require from the wood-engraver, and yet again the faithfulness to the originals that puts Rubens as clearly before us as could be desired. The second volume opens with "Rembrandt," by Lemcke, in an essay of fifty-six pages with six full-page cuts, besides smaller ones. Bergau's accounts of Veit Stoss, Adam Kraft, and Peter Vischer will call forth the admiration of the friends of Nuremberg. Who does not know the old art town?

The third volume of the above large work is not yet ready, though it probably will be completed before these words are printed, but the fourth lies before us, and has a charm and a unity that are peculiar to itself. It is a book to follow and supplement Grimm's Michel Angelo, only we must not regard the notion of "supplementing" as doing detriment to the book in hand. Anton Springer, now the favorite lecturer upon painting at Leipzig, has in this massive volume placed before the public the results of his years of study, so far as regards "Raphael and Michel Angelo;" it is just twenty-five years since Springer began to lecture upon Raphael at the University of Bonn. By necessity the life of Michel Angelo forms the background, if we may so speak, for the life of Raphael, and the whole is divided into two parts: (*a*), from the birth of Michel Angelo to the death of Julius II.; and (*b*), from the beginning of the reign of Leo X. to the death of Michel Angelo. In the preface the author declares his principle in teaching, namely, that the constant visible reference to the drawings and sketches of the masters discussed is the only proper way to treat the history of art. It is true that it is not possible for him yet to illustrate in a work like this so richly as he desires, but he declares that the time will come when the student everywhere shall have access to reliable copies of all sketches from master hands, and thus be able to construct history and to develop art for himself. The reader will find many a pencil sketch of Raphael's in these pages. Whether we view this volume by itself, or as the most striking part of the general history of which it forms one division, we can not but regard it as a masterpiece. In Grimm's book we had the man and his time, in Springer's we have the artist and his greatest art contemporary, yet not isolated from the history of the time. Some sixty pages of documents and notes in fine print close the book.

¹Springer, "Raffael und Michelangelo." Leipzig: Seemann. 1878. (xii, 524 pp. large 4to.) 25 Marks, or \$6.25. Covers in green or red cloth for 2.50 Marks, or \$0.63. and in genuine parchment or red morocco at 9 Marks, or \$2.25. This also stands under the title, Dohme, "Kunst und Künstler," vol. iv.

In Lau's "Greek Vases,"¹ we have a work to be commended not merely to persons of good taste, but also and in especial to art teachers, to those engaged in schools of design. In the plates the student finds carefully depicted the whole effect of the vases, the constructive form, and the ornaments. In most cases one half of the full picture is devoted to the complete exterior, the other half to the display of the form of construction. The coloring is rich and accurate, and upon need peculiarities of structure or details of ornament are brought to view in enlarged sections. Plate XXI. is devoted to thirty-one border-ornaments. Plate XXXV. is a general view of a magnificent amphora, with a scene from the underworld. Professor Brunn has written the historical introduction. The explanatory notes were to have been written by Professor Krell, but he could not go beyond the sixth plate, hence Brunn completed them. It may be observed that the whole work is from Munich, Lau being the Custos of the royal collection in which the vases are found, Brunn a university professor, and Krell an art-trade school professor at Munich; and the chromo-lithographic plates having been prepared by the well-known color-printers, Brückner & Company, of the same city.

Art, however, is many-sided, and speaks not merely to the artist, art-collector, and student of design, but also to the multitude. It is the duty of the day, with its new facilities for reproduction of pictures, to place a pictured history of art within the reach of all. This is the aim of Mr. Seemann in issuing the "Picture Sheets for the History of Art."² No one who has been in Germany has failed to observe the comical picture broadsides called "Bilderbogen;" these are the example for the art sheets now published. It will be seen how well this fits into Professor Springer's view as to art history, and he has hailed these sheets with delight and approbation, declaring that "Seemann has hit upon Columbus's egg." The first half of the whole project includes nine subjects from Greek and Roman architecture and sculpture, through Egyptian, early Christian, Mohammedan, mediæval, and renaissance to the Italian sculpture down as far as Michel Angelo. Singly, each sheet costs twenty pfennigs or \$0.05, and is forty-one by twenty-nine centimeters; each collection of twenty-four sheets costs two Marks, or \$0.50. The popularity and success of the undertaking is shown by the fact that the first half, consisting of five "collections," has been printed twice—indeed, the third collection three times. Every school should secure a copy, and thus be able to lay

¹ Lau, "Die griechischen Vasen, ihr Formen- und Decorations-System. XLIV Tafeln." Leipzig: Seemann. 1877. (Text, 38 pp. fol., plates 27 x 38 centimetres.) Price of the two halves, in strong portfolios, 56 Marks, or \$14.

² "Kunsthistorische Bilderbogen." Erste Hälfte. Zweiter Abdruck. Leipzig: Seemann. 1878. (120 sheets, fol.) 10 Marks, or \$2.50; bound in cloth, 13.50 Marks, or \$3.38.

before its scholars at pleasure, now an antique statue, now a pillar, now a series of German, French, English, or Italian churches. The sixth, seventh, and eighth collections of the second half are already out, and the ninth and tenth, which close the series, are expected soon to be ready. At the end the publishers are to give a brief descriptive text from some witting hand, and an alphabetical index.

Professor Eber's "Egypt in Picture and Word"¹ (see September number, 1877) advances rapidly. The numbers lately sent contain thirteen full-page and sixty-two small pictures, carrying us through Goshen, and displaying to us Memphis and the Pyramids.

Frankfort-on-the-Main, the city of the empire, still retains a great value in the eyes of the traveler who is historically inclined, and many a Rhine tourist or Wiesbaden visitor calls at the old town to look at the crooked imperial hall.

A bachelor banker who died in 1816, one of the many art-collectors of the city, left his extraordinary collections and a large endowment to form a public institute. The picture gallery of this institute, containing some gems by old masters, is made to unfold them to us in thirty-two etchings by Johann Eissenhardt.²

Dr. Veit Valentin prefaces the etchings with nineteen pages of description, wherein, we regret to say, his account of the beginning of the gallery is extremely awkward. The main part is the large etchings, among which we would remark particularly the picture of a man by Hals, the parable of the vineyard by Rembrandt, and moonlight on a canal by Van der Neer. These delicate copies will attract alike those who know the gallery by sight, and those who read of it, and thus look at it in their arm-chairs in distant lands.

A fit companion for the young student of painting will be found in the "History of Painting,"³ by Alfred Woltmann. Dr. Karl Woermann takes upon himself the description of the painting of antiquity, while Woltmann will supply that of mediæval and modern painting. The first book treats in thirty pages of early Eastern painting, Egyptian and Assyrian. Book second turns to Greece and Italy, viewing them first in the light of the written accounts (pages 37-68), and then as represented by remains, whether vases, bronzes, mosaics, stones, manuscripts, or walls.

¹ Ebers, "Aegypten in Bild und Wort." Stuttgart and Leipzig : Hallberger. 1878. Heft 6-9 (pp. 99-176, fol.). 2 Marks, or \$0.50 per Heft.

² Eissenhardt, "Die Städel'sche Galerie zu Frankfurt am Main in ihren Meisterwerken älterer Malerei." Leipzig : E. A. Seemann. 1877. (19 pp., 32 etchings, large 4to.) 24 Marks, or \$6 ; bound, 28.50 Marks, or \$7.13. Artist's proofs, in portfolio, 100 Marks, or \$25.

³ Woltmann, "Geschichte der Malerei." Leipzig : E. A. Seemann. 1878. First number (pages 1-112, large 8vo). 3 Marks, or \$0.75. To be complete in nine or ten similar numbers, at the same price, forming two volumes.

The method is clear, the style is attractive, and the numerous illustrations explain and are in turn explained by the text. The technical decorations upon mirror backs, upon marble plates, or upon walls, offer many striking thoughts for designs. In all there will be about four hundred wood-cuts.

Our readers will remember that the "Annual of Artistic Science" ceased to appear upon the death of Von Zahn. To supply its place and to provide for the speedy and convenient publication of such articles as may be too large for the "Journal for Creative Art," the publishers have begun the issue of "Contributions to Art History," which are to consist of brief works based upon special research. There is no restriction as to the time of publication of the numbers, and as to size, each number is to be of at least three sheets.

Dr. Hermann Lücke edits the "Contributions." The first number lies before us in Alwin Schultz's "Legends of the Life of the Virgin Mary,"¹ a fit scientific companion for the popular works upon the Virgin in art. Pages 1-34 give in concise form the legends touching the Virgin from birth to death and glorification; the most detailed account was in each legend made the basis, and the notes state the sources and give any variations found in other accounts; the variations are usually in the original old German or Latin. These legends are followed, pages 35-80, by the iconography, a list, at times with a note, at times with a full description, of the mediæval representations of the different scenes in the Virgin's life. The author repeatedly cites Mrs. Jameson, now to praise, now to correct her book.

Dr. Sepp publishes the results of his expedition to Tyre in search of the grave of Barbarossa in the cathedral at Tyre.² There are numerous wood-cuts in the text, and three heliotypes. The ten pages devoted to dedication are somewhat fulsome, so that the reader will not be surprised to find in the preface a large amount of self-praise on the part of the author. He modestly says with regard to the late discoveries in Greece: "*we*, with Curtius and architect Adler," undertook "the successful excavations at Olympia." Often a most ludicrous parenthetical clause is used to indicate his relation toward some distinguished man who has been drawn into the account. Yet, aside from the amusement which this preface will afford discerning readers, the account of the expedition will doubtless prove both entertaining and instructive.

Pastor Hasemann, having occupied himself for years with the collection of materials for the statistics and history of the Roman Catholic

¹ Schultz, "Die Legende vom Leben der Jungfrau Maria." Leipzig: E. A. Seemann. 1878. (80 pp. large 8vo.) 3 Marks, or \$0.75. The general title is "Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte. I."

² Sepp, "Expedition nach Tyrus zur Ausgrabung der Kathedrale mit Barbarossa's Grab." Leipzig: Seemann. 1878. (24 sheets, 8vo.) 10 Marks, or \$2.50.

Church, has in his "Pope Pius the Ninth"¹ put together the notes which bear upon the late pope. He refers to Gregory XVI., and then hastily reviews the life of Pius IX. After this he discusses point by point every notable feature of the infallible pope's mind and action. The precision of the statements, and the number as well as apparent accuracy of the dates given render this an extremely valuable monograph.

If any one in Germany speaks about making a special study of the Hebrew accents, he is likely to be asked whether or not he will go to Biebrich and study with Baer. This circumstance will of itself make it clear that Dr. Baer would be a valuable editor of the Old Testament text. Having already published Genesis, Isaiah, the Psalms, and Job, he now offers to us the minor prophets.² Professor Franz Delitzsch in the preface refers to the new material used in preparing the text. We are glad to observe that Baer used the four codices belonging to Dr. Samuel Ives Curtiss, Jr., now Professor in the Congregational Theological Seminary at Chicago. It is much to be desired that the publishers cause Dr. Baer to complete an edition of the whole Old Testament. The Hebrew text occupies fifty-eight pages, the remaining being devoted to the critical and masoretical notes.

Though Germany has long needed a Bible dictionary, it has not been because she could not command the first scholars in the field. Professor Riehm, of Halle, the Old Testament professor, undertakes to furnish a "Hand Lexicon of Biblical Antiquity,"³ and the names of his assistants, ranging from Beyschlag to Schürer and Kamphausen, show that he is to supply the best material without regard to ecclesiastical tendencies. While intended for the educated classes in general, special students will find in it the results of the latest investigations. The work is richly illustrated with wood-cuts in the text, with full-page cuts, and with delicately-finished colored prints and maps. For example, opposite page 330 of volume first is found a copy of an Egyptian picture from a tomb; it portrays a Semitic family demanding permission to enter Egypt, and it furnishes a striking example both of the curious notions then prevalent as to the delineation of the human form, and of the Egyptian style of coloring. It is much to be desired that the editor, without regard to an unimportant uniformity, should in later numbers subscribe the articles with the names

¹ Hasemann, "Papst Pius IX. Ein Bild seiner Persönlichkeit, seines Lebens und seiner Kirchenleitung." Leipzig: L. Fernau. 1878. (v, 73 pp. 8vo.)

² Baer, "Liber duodecim prophetarum. Textum masoreticum accuratissime expressit, e fontibus masorae varie illustravit, notis criticis confirmavit. Praefatus est edendi operis auctor Franciscus Delitzsch." Leipzig: Tauchnitz. 1878. (x, 102 p. 8vo.)

³ Riehm, "Handwörterbuch des biblischen Alterthums." Bielefeld and Leipzig: Velhagen and Klasing. Vol. i., 1877 (iv, 576 pp. 8vo). Vol. ii., numbers 7-9, 1878 (pages 577-864). Vol. i. costs 9.60 Marks, or \$2.40. Each number costs 1.60 Marks, or \$0.40.

of the contributors, instead of with signs which must be referred to a table. It makes little difference to the compositor whether he prints a "Wolff" or a "W," a "Beyschlag" or a "Bg," and it is a convenience, especially for lay readers, to have the full name.

By this time our readers have read Dr. Schaff's "Through Bible Lands," and will desire to continue their Oriental travels by taking up Professor Orelli's "Through the Holy Land."¹ The author collects here the diary-like letters written in the East. There really seems to be a peculiar attraction in the East for Swiss hearts: witness the late Tobler and Pastor Bovet, as if the mountaineer reveled most easily in the thought of arid sand and brazen sky; indeed, Orelli seems to have followed Bovet in just such fancies. The letters before us are delightfully fresh and full and vivid, while the writer's learning interweaves with the beautiful thoughts much that is instructive. He often prefaces the sections with bright little poems or hymns.

When a man has a new philosophical system, "a new view of the universe," to propound, and offers us "Eight Essays in Defense of Human Reason,"² which are gently to lift the corner of the veil, it is perhaps hardly fair to criticise the fragment. Judging, however, from the part, we feel little desire for the whole. Varnbüler has the number three on the brain, and is sure that with it he has solved the most weighty questions with regard to God and man, heaven and earth. Calm thinkers may not be so confident in the results offered, and may even see in this little book the product of diseased philosophical and mystical fancy. No one will be surprised to learn that Varnbüler has likewise come to the rescue of society with his "Socialistic Ideal,"³ which is based upon his "entirely new, well-established and long-thought-out philosophical view of the universe," and therefore will, he thinks, contain something new. We fear that what is new in it will be the least valuable part.

LEIPZIG.

¹ Orelli, "Durch's Heilige Land." Basel: C. F. Spittler. 1878. (viii, 340 pp. 8vo.) 3.20 Marks, or \$0.80.

² Varnbüler, "Acht Aufsätze zur Apologie der menschlichen Vernunft." Leipzig: T. O. Weigel. 1878. (vii, 109 pp. 8vo.) 1.80 Marks, or \$0.45.

³ Varnbüler, "Ein socialistisches Ideal im Widerspruche gegen die Socialisten." Leipzig: T. O. Weigel. 1878. (vii, 40 pp. 8vo.) 0.75 Marks, or \$0.19.

THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW

MARCH, 1879.

THE ADMINISTRATION AND CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM.

IT is not unlike jesting with a serious subject to speak of the prospects of civil-service reform after the shocks which the reform has received from the hands of its avowed friends, the members of the present Administration. Prospects, in the sense of hopes, shine, in this connection, by their absence ; and the public may well be excused for weariness and indifference as to a subject which has gone so far on its way to dusty death in the pigeon-holes of Mr. Hayes's Cabinet. The sense of tired disgust is the more irresistible because less than three years ago the country was led to expect great things from Mr. Hayes and the men who supported him. During the Presidential campaign of 1876 he was the acknowledged representative of reform. His nomination at Cincinnati by the Republican party was largely due to the belief that he was negatively if not positively friendly to the reform movement. After his letter of acceptance this belief was changed to one more strong, and those who had watched with pain the last flickering gleam of reform purpose die out in the mind of President Grant, accepted with delight the declarations which Mr. Hayes voluntarily made. Mr. Schurz's prompt entrance upon the canvass with his usual energy, directness, and frankness confirmed these hopes, and they ripened into confidence when the newly-elected President proclaimed in his inaugural address principles of the most satisfactory character. " I ask the attention of

the public," he said, on that memorable occasion, "to the paramount necessity of reform in our civil service—a reform not merely as to certain abuses and practices of so-called official patronage, which have come to have the sanction of usage, in the several departments of the government, but a change in the system of appointment itself—a reform that shall be thorough, radical, and complete—a return to the principles and practices of the founders of the government. They neither expected nor desired from public officers any partisan service. They meant that public officers should owe their whole service to the government and to the people. They meant that the officer should be secure in his tenure as long as his personal character remained untarnished and the performance of his duties satisfactory. They held that appointments to office were not to be made nor expected merely as rewards for partisan services, nor merely on the nomination of members of Congress as being entitled in any respect to the control of such appointments."

These were brave words indeed. Nothing like them had ever been heard from the lips of a President of the United States. They seemed to show that Mr. Hayes knew what was wanted, and how it was to be had. There was no evasion, no equivocation, in them. He brushed aside as unworthy of any thing but exposure the hollow pretence of piecemeal reform by means of isolated good appointments. He threw down the flimsy barrier behind which President Grant had sought to screen his abandonment of the policy, and gave notice to members of Congress that the reform might be helped by them, but that they had no right to interfere with it, and that their interference would not be tolerated. Then, with an emphasis which at the time seemed as significant and serious as it now, in the light of after events, seems ridiculous, he gave notice that his reliance was not upon politicians, but upon the people; that "both political parties were virtually pledged to give their unreserved support" to the principles which he had announced; and that "the united voice and will of the whole country" was in favor of the reform. In direct proportion to the clearness and completeness of Mr. Hayes' avowals as to his reform purposes have been the disappointment and discouragement which have been produced by his entire neglect to carry them out. "Or ere those shoes were old" with which he mounted the steps of the Capitol to make proclamation of his high resolve he seems to have forgotten that he had formed or published it. It were questioning too nicely to ask whether or not he was sincere in what he

said. The solution of that problem would be no consolation to the country and no kindness to him. Nothing could be passed to his credit for sincerity that must not be charged against him for weakness, irresolution, and utter incapacity to understand his opportunities and his duties. If we doubt his good intention and take the other horn of the dilemma, we must be at a loss to understand what he expected to gain by professions which, if they were not sincere, were so soon to be ignored. For a few weeks after Mr. Hayes' inauguration there were frequent despatches from Washington to the effect that the Cabinet was sitting in consultation on the subject of reform; that all the members were heartily in sympathy with the Executive; finally, that Mr. Schurz and Mr. Evarts (who was credited with being an ardent reformer, mainly because his frequent protestations had never been put to the test of action) were engaged in drawing up a set of rules which would be carefully matured, and then would be firmly and uniformly applied to carry out the principles laid down in the inaugural. It is not generally known how much truth there was in these statements. If there were such consultations, and if Mr. Schurz spent much of his valuable time in conferring with Mr. Evarts on the subject, nothing, or less than nothing, came of it. The only "rule" promulgated was the famous one concerning the part officers of the civil service should take in politics, and this was peculiarly illustrative of the President's frame of mind, since no officer knew what it meant, and the President would never tell. Naturally, in practice, it was worthless.

Of the heads of departments at Washington, it is not to be disputed that the Secretary of the Interior is the only one who has any clear conception of, or strong attachment to, systematic reform. It is in his department alone that action has been taken according to any ascertained principles or with any consistent motive. It would be trying to the modesty of the other Cabinet officers to give them credit for merits which they do not profess to have, and it is only too well known that none of them do profess to have the merit of following any specific system of reform in the administration of their offices. From Mr. Key, who was avowedly placed in charge of the postal service, not as a civil-service reformer, but as a representative of the President's Southern policy—as a hostage, so to speak, to secure the confidence of the South—to Mr. Sherman, who is as firm a partisan as he is wavering as a financier, none of the Cabinet, so far as the public is aware, claims to have any precisely-

defined plan of permanent reform by which to guide his action with reference to appointments and promotions. None of them, so far as the public knows, has done any thing which would make it more difficult for a successor, whether Democrat, Republican, or nondescript, to dispense patronage as a reward for political services. Mr. Schurz modestly, but with great perseverance and fidelity, has certainly done his best to apply the ground principles of reform, and to establish them so firmly that they shall be respected to some degree at least by any one who may come after him. And it is precisely because he has done so that the actual and immediate improvement in his office is conceded.

While Mr. Hayes has done nothing for lasting reform, he has done much to hinder it. The public have a clearer idea of what reform must be, but they are greatly disheartened as to ever getting it. The President appeared to understand the principles of reform, and he had the power to apply them if he would. He was mistaken in saying that the "united voice and will of the whole country" demanded reform, though there was a reform sentiment strong enough to sustain him had he thrown himself upon it. But he did not. There was nothing for reformers to do but to swallow their grief and humiliation as best they might. Had the President made an issue with Congress he would have won. The controlling portion of public opinion would have sustained him. But public opinion can not act in a vacuum. It remains to be seen whether there is energy and virtue enough to force a solution of the problem of reform through the President or independently of him.

It must be confessed that the enterprise has something of the hopelessness of the puzzle how to lift one's self by one's bootstraps. The place for the fulcrum is not easy to see. The object of the movement must be primarily to separate office-holders, as such, from politics or at least to stop the distribution of offices as political rewards. This can only be done through an Executive or through a Congress, or both, who are deeply indebted to the system to be abolished, and who are ready to perpetuate it for their own profit. This presents the most important phase of the problem. Inefficiency and corruption in the public service are not the only or even the chief reasons for the destruction of the patronage system; though undoubtedly it produces those effects. No man who is familiar with the details of administration at Washington or elsewhere under the Federal Government can pretend that work is generally done by the Federal officers as thoroughly, carefully, or even

as honestly as similar work is done in private establishments. But it might be admitted that the Federal work is done on the whole as well as we can hope to get it done—for it will never be done as well as private work—and that it is done better than similar work under other governments, which in some departments is true. Yet even after this admission, it would still be of the utmost importance to the country that the system should be changed, that the public employment should cease to be the spoils of the victors in electoral struggles. It is not so much the fact that politics demoralize the service, though they actually do so, and in a degree little understood by those who have not examined the matter closely, as it is that the present system utterly demoralizes politics, which makes it necessary to have reform. Universal suffrage is at best a clumsy instrument of government, and must always be so; but a good many of its worst difficulties might be removed by what is now generally accepted as a thorough system of civil-service reform. We shall always have ignorance, popular passion, demagogism, and unscrupulous ambition to contend with under any possible form of popular rule. But these evils are aggravated and added to by the present civil-service system, which makes many thousand non-elective offices directly or indirectly prizes to be contended for at every election, and thus creates professional politicians and makes the existence of such a class inevitable. Even if reckless and unprincipled men were incited to enter politics only for the honor, the direct profit, or the opportunities of fraudulent gain offered by the offices actually elective, there would still be enough of them to render honest and efficient government in a country like ours very hard to get. But when to these incentives we add the possession or distribution of vast numbers of purely administrative posts, each with a desirable salary, and clothed with the curious attraction which hangs about a public employment, we make not only possible but certain the enlistment of a great body of mercenaries on one side or the other in every political contest. We supply the motive-power, besides inviting the construction, of the "political machine," which is to-day the most threatening element in our future. It can hardly be necessary to cite specific instances of the influence of patronage upon the sincerity, the sobriety, and the purity of our politics. It is painfully apparent to any observer. Professions of principle tend to become mere counters in the game; they are put forward, retired, changed, just as it strikes the parties in interest that they will most readily serve to secure the real object in view, which is

the control of the patronage. And before the stage of public professions is reached in the process of selecting delegates to conventions or men to manage the necessary mechanism of party action in a State, a district, a ward, the influence of patronage upon the fears or hopes of office-holders and office-seekers supplies the motive-power for the enlistment and control of a vast body of interested workers, who care little or nothing for principle, and care a great deal for what they may make or lose by their management of the "machine." In proportion as party action, at its very source, is thrown into the hands of men of this stamp, better men are crowded out. It is all very well to exhort every respectable citizen to "do his duty at the primaries." He will not do it, and can not afford to try to do it, when it involves a tedious and vain struggle with professional politicians. His own interest is not sufficiently direct, immediate, or considerable to repay the expenditure of the time and labor necessary to even a show of victory. He may make the effort on occasions when things have come to a head, and some great object is to be attained, as during the war, or pending the struggle with the Tweed ring in New York in 1871 and 1872. But ordinarily he has nothing but pride in his country or State, and a remote interest in the amount of taxation, to sustain him in a contest with men whose bread and butter depend upon their overcoming him. Before we can "rally" the "honest citizen" in American politics, we must exclude the mercenary, and to exclude him we must deprive him of the hope of gain which now animates him; we must stop the distribution of the minor offices of the civil service as rewards for political services.

Obviously the task is not an easy one. The way to its performance seems to lie about a vicious circle. To rid our politics of demoralization by the spoils system, we must abolish the latter; to abolish the spoils system, we must use political instrumentalities. But it must be remembered that our politics are not absolutely demoralized; that a considerable number of determined men, resolved upon a definite aim and pursuing it patiently and industriously, can still exercise an influence which even partisans can not ignore. We have passed the first stage. We have a pretty clear understanding of the object of the reform and of its methods. It remains to adopt every practical means to reach that object, to advance step by step wherever an opportunity offers, and remembering that progress is always in the line of the least resistance, to be prepared to move upon every weak point in the enemy's works. The

first opportunity is undoubtedly offered in connection with the civil service as it now exists. When a vacancy occurs in a post-office, in a revenue office, or in the administrative force of the Federal courts, let the friends of civil-service reform in the district, petition the appointing power to fill such vacancy by the promotion of such subordinate as, on reasonable evidence, shall be shown to be most fit for the duties required. If the appointment is made, let like action be taken with reference to confirmation, if confirmation be necessary. This is a comparatively small matter, but it is important, because it relates to the thin edge of the wedge. As soon as that is inserted the instrument may be driven home. In the next place, let the friends of civil-service reform organize to affect all future nominations, and especially the Congressional nominations, and the nominations to such legislatures as are to choose United States Senators. Let it be distinctly understood that such organizations will, other things being equal, support the candidates who are deemed most favorable to the reform, and that where neither party nominates a man willing to take an advanced position on this question, the organizations reserve the right to an independent nomination. Especially let it be clearly felt that the sacred right of "bolting" will be firmly and freely applied, and that, unless more important issues—as, for instance, the financial one—are directly involved, the friends of civil-service reform will not only support its advocates, but punish its enemies. This is a simple, and must necessarily be a slow, plan of operations. It will require patience and caution on the one hand, courage and firmness on the other. But it is the only one which can now be adopted, and it is one which would undoubtedly accomplish much were it wisely and zealously pursued. Its great advantage lies in the fact that, while capable of extensive application, it may be entered on at once in any town or district where any number of earnest men choose to begin the work. And as much may be done in this way, and nothing in any other; as we must either begin by lopping away the rottenness of our political system wherever we can reach it, or must wait till the trunk is decayed throughout, and the tree falls, to be wholly replaced by a growth whose nature no one can foresee—it is certainly worth while to do our best, though it be little, and to do it at once.

SLEEP AND DREAMS.

NEXT to life itself, sleep is the most mysterious of all the familiar facts of nature. Common as are the facts of sleep in man and the higher animals, science has as yet done little to explain its phenomena. We have learned, it is true, something of the history of its development among animals, and a good deal concerning the methods of its action upon the machinery of the body ; but its relations to the machinery of the mind are hidden from us by the suspension, during slumber, of the very function of the mind which must act in making observations. As yet little effort has been made to contrive means of getting beyond the difficulties which beset observation in this field ; it seems uncertain whether much can be done to break through the strong though shadowy barriers which fence our understanding from that world into which we so often enter. In coming within its realms man must put aside his arms of sense and understanding with which he conquers the fields of day.

It seems to me, however, that the doctrine of inheritance throws a little light into the darkness of sleep, and that it is worth our while to try how far with its aid we can help ourselves to a theory of its conditions.

Let us take the outlines of the history of sleep in animals and plants, and see how far this helps us to a better understanding of the sleep of man. In the first place we perceive, in looking over this broad field, that organic sleep is a very common feature in nature. Very many if not most plants have two periods of definite rest, which correspond to meteorological changes—their functions are more or less suspended during the night-time and are awakened during the day ; there is also another suspension during part of the year, when the temperature is lowest or the light least. The suspension seems to be in part an immediate effect of loss of the stimulus of light and heat. In the regions of long northern summer days most plants grow nearly continuously ; the night sleep is very brief, while the winter rest is very long. In southern regions the

period of rest seems to be less a matter of temperature, and the winter sleep of the plant takes place at a temperature at which plants in more northern countries grow very rapidly. We are thus pointed by plants to the conclusion that there are two natural periods of rest dependent upon peculiar physical conditions: the rest of night, which we will call sleep; and the rest of certain seasons, which we may term hibernation, although it is not, as that word indicates, a rest coming necessarily in the winter season—it may come in the summer as well. The occurrence of these periods of rest in a group where there is nothing clearly corresponding to mental activity shows that such suspensions of activity must have their source in purely physical economies; we may safely seek the origin of these periods of repose in the necessities arising from the environment of organisms, although it is by no means clear just how the habit is brought about. It is worth while perhaps to notice the fact that every organism requires the expenditure of force; that this force, aside from reproduction, has two principal modes of application: in part it is applied to acquiring the materials which are to be built into the body, and in bringing these materials to the point where they are to be used; and in part it is applied to the actual work of building with these materials to replace decay. Appropriation and nutrition, or getting food and carrying it into a system of circulation, and actual construction and replacement of decay, go on as distinct functions; the possibility of working in order to procure subsistence is with most organic creations limited to the time of light, or at least can only be effectively carried on at such times. Moreover, the energy of this work of procuring food is such that the needs of the organization can be fully supplied by the labor of the daylight time of the day. On the other hand, the work of nutrition—the process of rebuilding the cell-structure of the body—must be continuous as long as there is any vital activity whatever; the result is the invention of a system of pauses in that part of bodily activity which is appropriated to the external life, while the internal activity remains to a greater or less extent continuous; the result is to save that power which we term the vital or nervous force by its concentration into periods of activity separated by periods of repose. In other words, sleep is a device for saving the force which is expended in the external activities of the body at times when their activities would bring less profit than the expenditure would entail loss. There can not be much doubt that the phenomena of sleep have originated

independently in animals and plants, and this alone would prove the far-reaching nature of the causes which have led to the origination of this habit. There is no doubt that the habit would rapidly become inherited in an organic sense, and that it would become in time established as an absolute need. The phenomena of hibernation, though connected with sleep, differ essentially from it. In hibernation there is a more or less complete suspension of the internal as well as external functions. Something of this suspension of internal activity is observable in sleep ; but sleep through inheritance has become limited to short periods, and the lowering of the internal vitality is much less considerable than in hibernation. The fact that hibernation occurs in animals as well as in plants, though only rarely in the former, shows that both these organic groups have met a common need in much the same way.

We could note another form of organic repose which is unlike either sleep or hibernation, viz., the strange rest which comes over insects in their periods of metamorphoses. This is the state in which the external functions are more or less suspended, often quite annihilated, while the internal changes take on increased activity ; but this more resembles the activity of the embryo in the egg or the womb than the sleep of a complete being ; and though interesting, we may pass it by.

In the lower animals sleep is obscurely separated from waking, and the night is not regularly its time of coming. The organic rest is taken at any time when a stimulus is not acting on the body. As we rise higher we see the process gradually becoming more and more specialized, until in the warm-blooded animals it is regular, and perhaps the most fixed of the acquired bodily habits.

Thus we see that sleep is an inheritance which man brings with him to his high estate from the very starting-point of the organic series. We see also that it is one of the pauses in the external activity which has been contrived by nature to economize the expenditure of force, and thereby to intensify it during its period of activity. This is but one of the many cases in which nature has limited the period of functional activity in order to intensify the energy of the work sought to be accomplished. Intensity is one of the conditions of successful activity in a world where a throng of other beings are seeking to gain the advantages to be derived from the particular activity. So in the exercise of that assemblage of activities which make up the external life of an animal, much is

gained by concentrating the work into a period which lies between times of profound rest. These times of rest are clearly times in which force is stored away to be used in the periods of energy. The force available during the active periods is measured by the completeness and duration of the periods of rest. In most of the warm-blooded—*i.e.*, the very active—animals this period of complete rest occupies on the average one half of the lifetime of the creature. Among the lower or cold-blooded vertebrates sleep is so indistinctly defined that we can not establish the duration of the rest periods in the same clear way. Moreover, their conditions are so widely different from those of man, that they do not give us any valuable suggestions concerning the laws of sleep in human beings. These must be taken from the animals nearer akin to man in the nature of their bodily functions. Judged by this test, we should say that the normal period of sleep in man was one half the term of his days. Many things have conspired to reduce the actual period of sleep in man to much less than this quantity. The provocations to activity are far greater in his case than among his kindred, the brutes; and with each step of advancing civilization he becomes habituated to less and less sleep, until at present, among civilized adult men, the period of sleep does not much, if at all, exceed seven hours per diem. It needs no argument to show the probability that this considerable change would be accompanied by a certain loss of vigor unless there was some compensation in the change of structure and function which has taken place in lifting man to his present estate. Is it likely that any such compensation has been brought about by the changes attendant on the elevation of man? It seems to me that there is nothing to support such a conclusion. Man is the most wasteful of animals in his use of force. His body in walking or sitting, the positions of his active life, demand proportionately more force for its support than do the bodies of quadrupeds in their waking time. His brain expends in thought many times the amount of energy that is given to the life of the lower animals. It may be suggested that the nervous system is a much more effective machine for the production of force than exists in the lower animals; but this mechanism of the nervous system receives its supplies through the nutritive system, and draws upon the vitality even as much as muscular activity. Its gain in power is a reason for an increase rather than for a decrease of the rest time. Regarding sleep as the complement of the activity of body and mind, we should expect to find in man that the meas-

ure of sleep was either more prolonged or that it was more complete, or both.

It is clear that sleep is much more complete in man than in the lower animals. In the brutes sleep rarely goes to the point of completely benumbing the sense of hearing. It seems probable that among savages the ordinary sleep is not deep, but that they are easily awakened by sound or touch. But in civilized man there is a great change of habit; sleep is far deeper in him than in his lower kindred. In most men the bodily functions during sleep sink to a lower level of activity than it would be safe to have them go among animals where the watchfulness that guards life must be always awake. This increased intensity of sleep in man may be a small compensation for the diminished time given to slumber and the increased need of rest arising from the extreme expenditure of force which his waking time demands. But this compensation can not be very effective. The difference between the degree of saving of force in the deepest sleep of man and the ordinary sleep of the higher animals probably does not outweigh the great diminution of the duration of sleep, and the vast increase of the need of the restoration that comes with complete rest, arising from man's activity. It is therefore no improbable supposition that the term of sleep in man is being dangerously shortened by the habits of civilization, which tend more and more to trench upon this period of inactivity. Of course it will be answered that the acceptance by the body of this diminished supply of rest indicates that no danger is to be expected from it. Most people do not find it easy to extend the time of slumber beyond the limit of from six to eight hours, and this may readily lead to the conclusion that a longer period is unnecessary and wasteful of the precious time of activity. But it must be remembered that injurious physical habits may be inherited as well as beneficial ones, and that any continuous strain on the vitality will become accepted by the body, even though it be contrary to its best interests. The races of men show us very many cases of inherited habits of body as regards food, labor, and other forms of activity. If man for a hundred or more generations has subjected himself to an injurious diminution in the amount of sleep, the body would have in a measure reconciled itself to the condition even at the cost of its welfare.

The question will naturally be asked: Are there any physical troubles encountered by man which are to be explained through this reduction in the amount of sleep. The question may be

partly answered by reference to the testimony of many physicians who have found the effect of too little sleep in the thousand cases where this evil brings trouble to the body. But apart from these particular instances we should expect to find some more general effect upon the whole race, and one commensurate with the generality that belongs to the cause. It seems to me that we have some reasons for suspecting a general effect upon the life of men which may fairly be attributed to this cause.

It is a fact that has been observed by many naturalists, that the life of man is relatively shorter than that of most of the lower warm-blooded animals. Eliminating the deaths by accident, and the active diseases which are in their nature accidental, and taking only those deaths which come from the exhaustion of the bodily powers, the term of human life is now probably somewhere near eighty years—rather less than more. It is a well-known fact that the human body grows until the twenty-fifth year or later, so that the term of human life is only a little over thrice the period of growth. In the higher mammals, where the facts have been observed, the term of life is certainly as much as five times the period of adolescence. Leaving all the leeway for errors of observation, there is no reasonable doubt that there has been a considerable reduction in the term of life in man as compared with his kindred among the lower animals. The only explanation of this that can be offered is that there has been some new tax laid upon the vital force in man that was not borne by the lower animals. When we consider that the selective forces at work upon animals must operate to prolong rather than to shorten the natural life of the individuals of any species, it is not possible to believe that this narrowing of the horizon of human life can be due to any trifling cause. It must be due to some influences of a very powerful kind. It would perhaps be unreasonable to assume that the diminished longevity of man was due to any single cause; but among the many causes which may have been operative, I am inclined to believe that there is no one so potent as this robbery of rest to which the life of man so strongly tends.

Something might be said in favor of the view that inasmuch as sleep is a time of unconsciousness, it would be hardly worth while to lengthen our lives by the sum of the additional hours we might give to slumber. The actual, completely vitalized life is limited to our waking time; why should we then try to increase the number of days alone? This might be urged by many arguments; yet the human instincts as well as a little reflection convey the answer. If

we could increase the restorative effects of sleep, the times of waking would certainly be more rich in possible activity than they now are : fatigue lowers the quality of every human work in a melancholy way. Few who have passed the first flush of youth, knowing what labor is, would not say that more and fresher days would be cheaply bought at the cost of their living somewhat fewer hours. The only definite conclusion to which we are brought by these considerations is, that there is ground for apprehending that man is acquiring through civilization a dangerous habit of limiting the time of sleep to narrower bounds than the best use of his body will permit.

We turn now from the naturalist's view of sleep to the consideration of the intellectual phenomena of sleep—to that remnant of mental work which slumber permits the brain to perform.

In the first place, we may notice that among the lower animals sleep is an indistinctly bounded function, the senses remaining much more awake than among the warm-blooded animals. Moreover, among the lower animals mental activity is but obscurely manifested, there being little in the way of grimace or cries to indicate that the mental machinery is in action. It is only among the birds and the other higher animals that there are outward signs of slumber of an unmistakable kind ; it is only here that there are definite attitudes of repose distinctly different from those of activity. As soon as animals become warm-blooded—in other words, as soon as they become great expenders of force—they at once specialize sleep so that its phenomena become unmistakable. The body then is laid in attitudes of complete repose ; often there is some means of shutting up the mechanism of sense. Birds cover the head beneath the wing ; many mammals bury the head under the hair of the body ; all seek darkened places. Sleep in many is foretold by cries which show a change in the condition of the thoughts or emotions, and when the extinction of thought comes, it is as immediate and complete as in man.

In all this group of complete sleepers the phenomena of dreams are traceable. Birds of many kinds cry out in their sleep ; and their cries have that slumbrous character which we recognize as dreamy. Whoever has watched in the woods at night knows the sounds of sleeping birds as the faint shadow of their waking calls ; all our larger mammalia show the same evidence of dreaming.

It is clearest and commonest in the active companions of man, such as the horse or dog. I have myself observed it in cats, pigs,

horned cattle, and sheep. And there is no reason to doubt that it exists among many other animals.

Although dreams are the common property of higher animals, they are very much more defined in man than among his lower kindred. In animals the dream seems momentary and little continuous, and the fancy not intense ; in man it often is sufficiently powerful to sway the will and produce somnambulism—a phenomenon apparently unknown in the lower animals. But, after all, the difference is one of degree only.

The various fancies which possess the mind of man during sleep are singularly little seized upon by the memory. This is probably due in man to the very indistinctness of the impression. We might attribute the forgetfulness of dreams to this cause altogether, but for the fact that even after the waking mind has caught the sleeping fancy in the nets of memory it will afterwards elude its grip. All persons must have remarked that after having at waking vividly recalled some dream, so that all its details have been clear to the mind, the memory of it would utterly fade within a few hours. This makes it very difficult to get a store of accurate records of dreams for comparison with the daytime work of the mind. Unless the impressions are rapidly recorded they will be overlaid by stronger impressions which our waking hours bring to us. Even if this record is made with care, it is very difficult to keep the quality of the dream ; it is almost sure to be colored more or less by the waking senses. Its vagueness is taken out of it by the reason, and the faint memory fails to supply the curious shading that originally belonged to it, so that the record of the dream is generally of a rather false quality. Another hindrance to our getting a good idea of dreams is that with the advance in life beyond the time of childhood dreams generally become less intense. It is not easy to say to what this is due, but it is in part to be explained by the neglect of the sleeping impressions, owing to the greater intensity of the waking ones, and to a certain carelessness of the mind to impressions which in the moment of the dream are more or less recognized as immaterial and unreal. Among educated people the dream takes far less hold upon the waking mind than among the uneducated classes. Among children and savages the dream often holds its place into the waking life, and becomes the seed of hallucination ; among some educated people it is summarily dismissed by the habit of the mind. For a proper inquiry into the psychology of dreams, we should have a mass of careful records which should

set forth the nature of the waking thoughts of the person as well as the sleeping fancies. It is easy to see how difficult it would be to make such a record ; yet until it has been carefully done by persons who bring to the work the spirit of research, we can not expect to have a basis for tracing the laws of the operations of the mind during slumber. There are a few facts concerning dreams which I have been enabled to bring into something like order ; and though they rest upon a very narrow foundation of observation, I believe that they are sufficiently well established to be taken as the basis of further inquiry. It will be observed that they do not go to the deeper-lying phenomena of dreams, and that they are of a nature to profit by the criticism which each observer can apply to them. They will be discussed here in the order of their generality.

When we fall asleep we are conscious that the first step onwards toward the abyss is marked by the loss of will. This will—this power to order the actions of mind and body—slowly floats away from us as a vapor before the wind, and leaves the powers of the mind and body, though still active, less and less under our command. As the shadow deepens the doors of the chambers of thought are closed one by one, until the busy house of the mind becomes silent. The first faculties of the mind to be stilled are those which have been last acquired by the mind. Our special trainings go first. The philosopher can no longer consider deeply ; the jurist can not find his way to conclusions ; the mechanic no longer labors at his work—in short, all the specializations of life disappear even before sleep has fairly begun. For a time the man is no longer the individual man ; he is simply a member of the common species man. What he retains are the common properties of the race. As sleep deepens even that which is human disappears, and only the animal passions have their hold : blind, uninformed rage and desires are at times quite awake after the other faculties are altogether slumbering. Even beyond and below that stage where the body is sunk into a state when it is likeliest to death, fear, the deepest lying of all instincts, may control the soul and manifest itself in the phenomena of nightmare.

I am inclined to believe that the most natural classification of dreams can be made on the stage in slumber at which they arrive, further subdividing them according to the particular faculties which are their factors. In this way we make three more groups of dreams, as follows, viz.: 1st. Half-waking dreams, in which the memory is still rather active, and presents the mind with images of

its work done during the waking time ; 2d. Fanciful dreams, when the memory contributes few images, and these but little related to the waking life, the fancy or imagination entirely meeting the conception which may come to it ; 3d. Nightmares, which differ much more widely from the preceding dreams than either one from the other. This last group of dreams is characterized by the combination of the emotion of fear and the sense of powerlessness. They always come, except perhaps to diseased states of the mind, with the deeper stages of sleep, when the circulation of the body, the deep, oppressed breathing, and other symptoms show that the load of sleep is the heaviest.

If for purposes of classification we are disposed to go deeper into this question of grouping dreams, we may divide them still further according to the character of the faculties embodied in them, for dreams have the peculiarity that more than waking thoughts they are the product of particular faculties acting without co-operation with their fellows of the mind. Such a precise classification, however, would not advance our present purpose.

The most important fact that is brought out by a study of the working of the mind during slumber is that the faculties of the mind fade away under the influence of sleep in inverse order to their acquisition. The faculties proper to the individual seem to go first, next the general faculties of man ; then the mind contains only the more animal powers, and the deepest level to which we fall in sleep is that of the blind fear which comes with nightmares. It seems to me that the existence of this singular sense of fear at the very bottom of consciousness is a matter of peculiar importance. It is not alone in dreams that we find it, for however insensible to ordinary physical fear or superior to it the mind may be, it is sure at times, when surprised by some accident that cuts through the envelopes of habit and reason, to feel this sense of mysterious fear which clamors from the dark recesses of the mind, where it usually dwells unnoticed. It seems to me that we may find the explanation of this strange depth and power of fear in the history of the mental structure which man has inherited. All through the succession of life since the mind rose to the low level of fear its daily living has been full of terror. The real terror which we feel in the dreadful moments of nightmare was the spur to flight in the endless pursuit to which our ancestors, man and brute, have been subjected. All other sensations of their lives must be regarded as less powerful than that impulse which gave wings to flight. Every

exercise of this frenzied passion must have served to fix it yet deeper in the mind, making its transmission to the offspring the surer. In this way fear has become the deepest and strongest of all the passions among animals—the one that oftenest overrules the others. In man this fear is being steadily overmastered by his higher qualities, and by long exercise in courage, with a selective advantage in favor of those tribes or peoples who have gained the most of that very human acquirement, reason ; and clearer perceptions have served to push this panic sense further and further into the background of our lives, until courageous men seem hardly to possess it at all. But sleep, likewise a truth-teller, holds up the mirror of our old existence to us—the existence we have passed in other beings, and shows us how that life has been driven on in dreadful flight by fear. When this mask of newer and lighter powers and impulses has fallen into unconsciousness, fear, because it has been the deeper stamped upon the mind, holds sole possession, and betrays itself in a shapeless sense of terror, the more dreadful because it is unshapen.

Looking upon the qualities of the mind as in a certain sense as much the result of inheritance as the parts of the body, I have been driven to speculate as to whether the hereditaments of the mind are necessarily limited to vague potentialities and impulses, or may not include concrete facts of memory. Knowing so much to be inherited, it does not seem unreasonable to venture the hypothesis, tentatively at least, that, since part of our dreams may arise from the shadowy inheritances which come across the bridge of organic succession from our ancestors, some acts of our fathers survive in indistinct shadows within ourselves, and, combining with our own experience, make those strange compounds which we find in our dreams. We well know that mental habits, scarcely separable from distinct memories, are inherited ; for instance, in the case described by Mr. Darwin, who tells us that a gentleman acquired in his youth a curious habit of expressing pleasure by lifting his opened hands to the sides of the head and swinging them rapidly to and fro ; this habit he rigorously suppressed in his maturer years, and had ceased to indulge in it when a child was born to him : but this child resorted to the same curious habit of expressing pleasure. I will not claim that the recurrence of this habit rests upon any distinct act of memory, but a law of transmission which could pass this peculiar impulse from parent to child would do nothing more inconceivable in causing a condition of parts which should give birth to an idea. There seems to me about

- the same difficulty in the transmission by inheritance of instincts that there would be in the transmission of ideas or memories. The inherited instinct must depend upon a growth of a certain mental machinery in a certain shape, and we can not conceive a physical record of memory to rest upon any other than such physical foundation. It would extend the task of inheritance in no essential way to suppose that it gave us obscure memories, as well as sharply defined instincts.

I offer this suggestion concerning the inheritance of memories not as a mere vague speculation, but because a careful analysis of my own experience has compelled me to the hypothesis. I am convinced that there is so much in our dreams that has no reference to our own experience or previous thought, that some such explanation seems most necessary. It is to be hoped that all those who are interested in this question will avail themselves of every opportunity to ascertain any cases where dreams are hereditary in families, or where the dreams of one generation are connected with the acts of an ancestor. The subject is one which lies within the field of research, though I confess that the difficulties which beset it almost make me doubtful of any satisfactory result. But such important consequences would depend upon the proof of an inheritance of memory that it is worth while to undertake this inquiry despite its difficulties.

If the inheritance of mental qualities is becoming in the higher organic forms, so to speak, more inherited; if the power of transmitting mental capacities is gaining in strength in the organic series to which man belongs, may it not be that it will in the end arrive at the point where the mind will not only take the habits and instincts of the ancestry, but the thought as well? We may dream of this as the solution of the dreadful problem of the length, the growing length, of knowledge, and the brevity of life. The child receiving not only the vague training of powers arising from the labor of the ancestor, might receive thought as it now does the eye or ear by direct inheritance. In this way inheriting all the thoughts of the ancestry that were great enough to be fixed in inheritance, this creature man—still man in appearance—would become a being as different from ourselves as we are from the lower life of the earth. With it the problem of immortality would find *one* solution.

The reader will probably say that these speculations are the very stuff that dreams are made of; but if he will but consider the

infinite mystery of inheritance he will in time come to believe that nothing is too wonderful to be its work.

It is worth our while to consider the waste of power involved in dreaming. There can be no doubt that any considerable activity of the mind during slumber is a hindrance to the rest which it is the purpose of sleep to bring about. It is hardly probable that there is any distinct advantage arising from dreams. When the mind acts in sleep it acts much as it has been accustomed to in the lower stages of life, although it acts without the control of reason or the will. It seems to me that much dreaming must serve to weaken the co-ordination of the mental powers which has been slowly gained by civilization. Nor is it likely that dreaming affords many counterbalancing advantages to the mind. The imagination may receive a certain stimulus through dreams in persons in whom the faculty has little other excitation, and may thus be kept alive, but the work of the mental powers during sleep is too feeble to have any considerable value as a means of stimulating their growth.

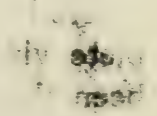
To sum up this discursive essay, we may note the following conclusions, viz.:

Sleep, considered as a rest of the external life, is a device common to all organic forms. As we ascend the organic series, this process of rest becomes more and more specialized, and brought into closer relation to the time of night. Hibernation—which is a specialization of rest with reference to seasons of scanty food, as sleep is a specialization of rest with reference to the darkness of night—has a large place among the lower animals, but is only observable among a very few of the higher warm-blooded animals; it is not traceable among men, or their immediate physical kindred. Among men sleep occupies a less time than among the other mammalia, having been reduced from the normal one half to a little over one fourth of the day. It seems likely that this reduction is due to the peculiar temptations to the external life which have come with man's higher intellectual development, and that it has been brought about by the gradual accustoming of the body to less and less periods of sleep. This change is obviously menacing to the strength of man, and to it is possibly to be attributed the peculiar brevity of man's life as compared with that of the other mammalia.

Dreams are not peculiar to man, though most evident in him. They probably occur in the other mammalia, and in birds as well. From them we see that the faculties of man appear to sink to rest in the inverse order of their development; gradually unmasking, as

they die away, the passion of fear, which has been buried beneath the recent mental acquisitions of humanity. Lastly, the phenomena of dreams lead us to the question whether some of our dreams are not derived by inheritance from our ancestors. To this we can as yet give no certain answer.

In taking leave of this matter it is worth while to call attention to the extreme importance of all the phenomena of sleep, in connection with the question of the development of the intellectual powers. It is only by studying the behavior of the mind during the coming and going of sleep that we can hope to understand the peculiar relations of the will to the rest of the mental capacities. It is only in that part of our lives that we can expect to trace, however dimly, the development of those powers with which we find ourselves possessed. There only can we hope to see with our own eyes the long perspective of our mental history.



THE CURRENCY AND THE BANKS.

THE Resumption Act of January 14, 1875, which went into operation on January 1, 1879, without the slightest financial disturbance, has restored the United States once more to the category of specie-paying nations. So wide a gap as has for seventeen years, to a greater or less degree, existed between the forced paper currency of the country and the precious metals, has never before been closed up in the history of the world. With the complete vindication of her political power, the United States has been able also to preserve her financial solvency.

The deep impression made on Europe is manifested by the tone of the foreign press and by the avowals of public men, as well as by the strong disposition evinced among the commercial classes to have a stake in this country. The late article of Mr. Gladstone in the *North American Review*, and the still more recently published lecture of Mr. Leonard Courtney in the *Fortnightly*, are public examples of the feeling concerning this country, which likewise gives tone to private letters received from England.

Not less remarkable is the impression which the resumption of specie payments has made upon the nation itself. This is evinced by the confident feeling which pervades all business circles, by the political quiet which prevails in Congress, and by the unprecedented subscriptions made, since January 1, to the new four per cent loan. Writing about the beginning of February we find that these subscriptions have amounted to the large sum of one hundred and seventy millions since the year began ; that an equal amount of six per cent bonds have been called in for redemption, and that the saving of annual interest already realized is nearly three and a half millions.

Thus it appears that the most difficult of our financial problems has already been solved ; but others still remain which transcend in importance any other subjects of national legislation or of political action. The fiscal policy of the Government is worthy of the most serious attention, not with a view to sudden or extreme changes,

but to those adaptations to circumstances which the altered conditions of our foreign trade require. We have hitherto pursued a policy intended to build up the nation and put it on a self-reliant footing, by varying its industries and opening up all its many sources of wealth to a healthy development. We might possibly have accumulated greater wealth by a policy somewhat nearer to free trade, though this is a point fairly open to dispute ; but we should have done so, if at all, at the expense of our present independence of other nations. Hitherto our domestic trade has been the paramount consideration ; hereafter we shall enter more freely into foreign competition, and with a view to it our tariff laws will undoubtedly need revision.

Of more immediate importance, however, than the tariff is the settlement of currency and banking questions. The enemies of resumption have turned upon the national banking system as the best object of attack ; and many of those who have always been among its friends hold unsettled opinions as between a government and a bank currency. In order to discuss intelligently the merits of the national banking system, it is well to begin with that part of the subject which relates to the currency, leaving for later consideration what pertains to the other banking functions.

The United States has now a mixed currency consisting of gold and silver, of Government notes and of bank notes. In respect of its quality, this currency is, without doubt, the best which the country ever enjoyed. The total amount is estimated at \$1,042,000,000, and it is composed of United States notes, or greenbacks, \$346,000,000 ; of United States fractional currency, \$16,000,000 (much of which is supposed to have been destroyed) ; of national bank notes, \$322,000,000 ; and of gold and silver coin, \$358,000,000. The gold is supposed to amount to \$259,000,000, and the silver to \$99,000,000. These are the estimates of Dr. Linderman, the late Director of the Mint, made up to September 30, 1878. The metallic stock ought now to be somewhat greater, as there has been little or no exportation, and a considerable sum derived from domestic production. There is much uncertainty as to the whereabouts of this estimated supply of the precious metals, since the amount held in the Treasury on January 1, 1879, was only \$225,000,000, and the amount in banks only about \$30,000,000. Probably a large amount is hoarded, especially at the South and South-west and on the Pacific Coast. Gold was the currency of Texas, and railway accounts in that State were kept in that currency until a very

recent period. The almost total disappearance of gold and silver from the circulation of France during the earlier part of the seven years' suspension of specie payments, which ended a year ago, shows how possible it is, even in a country rich in metallic money, to lose sight of it altogether, when its obligatory money functions are suspended. Assuming Dr. Linderman's estimate of the metallic stock to be correct, the proportion of it to the whole circulating medium is 34 per cent, and that of paper money 66 per cent; we have substantially, therefore, one-third coin to two-thirds paper.

Two things are apparent from this statement of the existing currency of the United States: first, that its volume is too large, and next, that the paper, or credit, element of it is excessive. What amount of money is necessary in any country at a given time can only be proved by experience. The generally accepted test is such an amount as can be kept convertible into coin without reducing the metallic portion of the whole circulation. Any excess of credit money will expel the real money, because that is the only kind which can be exported, paper money being only of local origin and convertibility, and, therefore, only of local value. The United States has been without the means of applying the test of convertibility for seventeen years past, during which time the conditions of the country have so far changed as to make the experience of the ante-war period somewhat unreliable. There is, however, no other guide to a just conclusion than such experience as is to be gathered from our own history and that of contemporary nations.

In 1860 the metallic and paper circulation of the United States did not exceed \$480,000,000. Mr. Fawcett, in his recently published and valuable American Hand-Book of Finance, entitled "Gold and Debt," estimates the amount of coin in the country in 1860 at \$275,000,000, and the notes of the State banks at \$207,000,000. This gives a total of \$482,000,000. There was no other kind of money. The population in 1860 was thirty-one millions; it is now estimated at forty-eight millions. The exports and imports in 1860 were \$750,000,000; they are now \$1,100,000,000. Predicated upon the former amount of currency *per capita*, we should now require only \$743,000,000; predicated upon the increase of foreign trade, we should require still less, or only \$587,000,000.

But there are probably several reasons why we require considerably more than either of these figures. The first reason lies in the changed condition of the South. The overthrow of slavery has made the negro population, for the first time, users of

money, and they use it in such a way as to absorb a greater quantity than any other agricultural population in the country. Except land and domestic animals, money is the negro's only kind of property. Having been denied the possession of it in his period of bondage, it is to him not only the form of property most coveted in his state of freedom, but it is also peculiarly the symbol of his enfranchisement. Even more than the peasantry of France, the negroes delight in the possession and in the hoarding of money. The present condition of the South is, in other respects, favorable to a large absorption of money, and to its sluggish movement. Rapidity of movement is an essential factor to be considered, in determining the quantity of money called for in a particular country. Its amount multiplied by its rate of movement gives the product of its monetary efficiency. It is largely to the difference of rapidity with which money circulates, as well as to the different degrees in which credit substitutes are employed, that the great excess in quantity of the French over the English circulation is owing.

The South has a widely, but thinly, diffused population, engaged in the production of agricultural staples, chiefly cotton and tobacco, which cannot be consumed on the spot, but which are sent to foreign countries or to distant sections of our own. These staples are principally paid for in cash, and when the very limited wants of a population unaccustomed to luxuries have been supplied out of the proceeds, a surplus of cash remains, for which there are no convenient means of investment at hand. Every thrifty household will, therefore, be in possession of more or less ready money; whereas a much wealthier family, in the Northern or Middle States, would spend its surplus in the acquisition of comforts or luxuries of living, or would invest it in some kind of property, or deposit it in a savings bank. The old systems of planting and factorage, which prevailed under slavery, gave the planter very little use for money. All his living supplies, not raised on the plantation, he drew in kind from his New Orleans or Savannah factor, and to him he consigned his entire crops. He paid no wages, and the few country stores were patronized only by the poorer whites. Now, however, both whites and blacks alike buy and sell for cash, and give far less employment than formerly to factors and middlemen. The South will, therefore, require considerably more circulating money than can be measured by the number of the emancipated slaves.

Taking the country as a whole, the increased area of occupied land and the greater diversity of industries will probably require a greater circulation *per capita*, than when the population was less scattered and the production less diversified. The class which lives on wages is much enlarged by the growth and spread of mining and manufacturing interests. Such a class needs more money than an agricultural population of equal numbers. It is paid periodically in cash, and, in turn, pays cash periodically for the necessities of life. The farmer, on the contrary, lives mostly on his own products, buying only the groceries, clothing, and luxuries which his surplus crops enable him to afford. His purchases are irregular and infrequent, and he parts with cash almost as soon as he receives it.

A still further reason for the probable absorption of a larger relative circulation than the country ever had before, is the solidity of our paper money. Its very excellence will make it lethargic. Greenbacks were hoarded at a time when their ultimate redemption in coin was a matter of dispute : they will be much more liable to hoarding now that they are exchangeable for gold. The old State bank notes circulated rapidly because of uncertainty as to their value, and by reason of competition between banks for certain fields of circulation. It was a part of the regular business of banks to gather up the notes of other banks and send them home for redemption. The motives for such competition have ceased to exist among the banks, and the grounds of distrust are equally at an end among the people. Both the notes of the Government and the notes of the banks enjoy the highest measure of popular confidence ; and as both rest upon foundations seemingly impregnable, they are not likely to lose it.

It is this very solidity of our paper money, coupled with a favorable balance of foreign trade, which made it safe to resume specie payments with what would otherwise have been a very inadequate supply of the precious metals. If the paper money had been in the least doubtful, there would have been a rush to the Treasury for gold, as soon as its doors were opened on January 1. But in the absence of that distrust, the habit of handling and carrying paper rather than gold, and its greater convenience, have prevailed to turn the metallic tide into the Treasury and the banks, rather than out of them, and the stock of gold is, therefore, accumulating.

After all allowances have been made, however, for the increased use of money, there can be little doubt that the present volume is

excessive by two or three hundred millions. How, then, shall it be reduced, and what part of it shall be withdrawn? Certainly not the metallic part. We have already much less coin compared with paper money than either of the great countries of Europe with which we maintain a commercial rivalry. We must endeavor, in all future changes, to assimilate our money more nearly to theirs.

According to Mr. Ernest Seyd (Journal of the Statistical Society, March, 1878), the circulation of Great Britain is £166,300,000 (\$831,500,000), divided into Bank of England notes, \$137,500,000; country bank notes, \$79,000,000; gold coin and bullion, \$525,000,000; and silver coin and bullion, \$90,000,000. The proportion of coin and bullion to paper is, therefore, as 74 to 26.

The circulating money of France is more conjectural than that of England, in consequence of the wide difference which exists between the estimates of authorities, regarded as equally competent, as to the amount of metallic money in that country. These estimates range from \$1,000,000,000 to \$1,700,000,000. Mr. Seyd, in his testimony before the English Silver Committee in 1876 (Questions 1186 to 1200), placed the total of gold and silver in France in 1870 at £344,000,000 (\$1,720,000,000). A recent writer in the *Economiste Français* adopts almost as high a figure. Professor Soetbeer in a recent estimate puts it at £320,000,000 (\$1,600,000,000). In spite of Mr. Seyd's high standing as a monetary statistician, we must believe this estimate to be far above the truth. In support of this opinion we may venture to mention a conversation had at Paris in 1869 with MM. Walowski and Levasseur, both writers of the highest authority in France, on the precious metals, in which they agreed in pronouncing the popular estimates of the French metallic stock to be very much exaggerated. They did not, at that time, place it higher than \$700,000,000 or \$800,000,000. They also expressed the opinion that Roswag's estimate, made in 1865, of about \$600,000,000 (*métaux précieux*) was proximately correct.

There has, however, without doubt, been a large accumulation of metallic money in France within the last ten years, and we are disposed to consider \$1,300,000,000 as a fair estimate of the existing stock.¹ Adding to this the outstanding notes of the Bank of

¹ M. Léon Say, the present Finance Minister, stated at the International Monetary Conference last August that the French stock of silver was 900 millions of francs in the Bank of France, and about 1500 millions outside, or say 2500 millions (\$500,000,000) in all. A "census of coin" taken on the 14th of August, by 19,500 Treasury agents, of the coins in their possession, showed the proportions to be 26½ per cent of silver

France (the only paper money), 2,210,000,000 francs (\$442,000,000), and the total circulating medium of France is \$1,742,000,000; 74 per cent of this is metallic, and 26 per cent paper, being exactly the proportion which was shown to exist in Great Britain. There is, however, a somewhat larger proportion of coin and bullion held by the Bank of France than by the Bank of England, the former institution holding at present \$416,000,000 as against a note issue of \$442,000,000, leaving only \$26,000,000 uncovered, while the Bank of England holds only \$113,000,000, against notes outstanding in the hands of the public of \$157,500,000, leaving \$44,500,000 uncovered.

We thus see that the metallic portion of the circulation in the United States is only 34 per cent, or about one-third, while in England and France it is three-quarters. The comparison is not satisfactory. An abundant supply of the best money is one of the essential conditions of enduring commercial prosperity; any disturbance of the ordinary money supply is highly detrimental to business, and intensifies, if it does not directly cause, commercial distress. The condition of England to-day illustrates our proposition. Under the Bank Act of 1844, the Bank of England was made the guardian of the national money. Its general banking duties were subordinated to this newly imposed obligation. It holds nearly the entire metallic reserve of Great Britain, of its merchants, of its other corporate banks and private bankers, and of its government. A vast superstructure of credit, consisting chiefly of bank deposits, has been built up on this metallic foundation—an inverted pyramid of obligations to pay money, standing on a slender apex of money with which to pay. In the twenty years from 1856 to 1876, the deposits of the English joint stock banks grew from £33,000,000 to £93,000,000, while those of the Bank of England increased only about £5,000,000. The coin and bullion in the Bank of England between 1844 and 1878 increased only £6,600,000—namely, from £16,322,000 to £22,922,000. Thus the increase of direct and indirect liability for deposits alone increased, in twenty years, by £65,000,000, while the metallic stock in thirty-four years increased only £6,500,000, or probably not more than one-fifteenth as fast.

To protect this very inadequate metallic reserve, in the interest

coins to 73½ per cent of gold coins. The metallic stock of the Bank of France at nearly the same date was, however, about in the proportion of six of gold to five of silver. If, therefore, M. Say's estimate of silver (\$500,000,000) was correct, it seems safe to suppose that the gold must have equalled as much as \$800,000,000.

of the public safety, has, therefore, become, more and more, the paramount duty of the Bank of England, a duty which is every day growing more and more arduous. The method of doing it, long since adopted, is to raise the rate of discount so as to prevent all outflow of gold. When this measure succeeds and the drain is checked, the rate of discount falls, only to be raised again when another drain sets in. Thus has British trade, to the prosperity of which nothing else is so essential as an unchanging price for money, been in a state of alternate fever and ague for many years. In the last twenty years the rate of discount fixed by the Bank of England has changed, on an average, once in five weeks ; and in 1873 it changed twenty-four times, or about once a fortnight.¹

When gold was made the standard money of Germany, a drain of it began in London of a sort quite different from any which had preceded it. No currency change of equal importance to other countries has probably ever taken place. Being essentially unlike the ordinary commercial drains, it defied the usual banking remedies. Raising the rate of discount stops a flow of gold, where the exporters are bankers, dependent on the price of money for a profitable outcome of their adventure. But when a government like Germany draws gold from London against a deposit held with its London agents, to raise the rate of discount in its face has about as much efficacy as to issue papal bulls against the comet. So the Bank of England has found it for the last two years. While France, with a favorable current of commercial dealings constantly flowing towards it from Germany, has drawn gold from Berlin, the Paris bank rate being only two per cent, England, with a rate of five per cent, has utterly failed to prevent the export of gold from London to Berlin. In this ineffectual struggle the traditional usages of the London money market have broken down, and the Bank of England minimum, once the unfailing guide for all money rates in Great Britain, has been formally abandoned, leaving the City like a ship at sea without a rudder. The bank rate is predicated upon the state of the reserve ; the rate in the open market upon the demand for capital in proportion to the supply. With the abnormal causes lately acting upon the reserve, there has been no logical

¹ The *Economist* of January 4th, 1879, says : " Our practice as a country is to keep habitually a reserve of unused money which is far too small ; when we want to increase it we have to raise our rates to a point which will attract money from abroad. The rates charged here during the last few months have been high ; but the high rates have not resulted from any mercantile demand for money."

connection between the two. There can be no manner of doubt that the prevailing distress in England has been intensified by the unnatural position of the Bank.

If an old and established commercial country like England is thus capable of being shaken to its centre by a disturbance of its metallic supply, how much greater would be the peril of the United States, at this dawning hour of its prosperity, if any domestic or foreign causes should put at hazard the maintenance of specie payments. The new position which we are taking as a trading nation makes it necessary that our currency should be as impregnable as the currencies of our commercial rivals. It is, in fact, intrinsically far less so. A favorable balance of trade has enabled us to resume on a smaller basis of metallic money than would have sufficed under different circumstances. But these favorable conditions may be materially changed within a few years, and we should take advantage of the present opportunity to put as large a measure as possible of the precious metals into our circulation. How can we do it? There is no other way than by the habitual maintenance of large metallic reserves in the public treasury and in the banks, and by the suppression of small notes. The growth of a healthier public sentiment is necessary to the accomplishment of either of these reforms. Let the business men and the masses of the people become fully convinced that a strong currency is the cheapest, because the most stable, and nothing could be easier. But at present there is a constant fear of idle gold; a fear evinced as much by the bankers as by the people. They read the weekly statements of gold and silver piled up in bank and treasury vaults, and they begin to calculate how much this money would earn if it were put at interest. They forget the crises of 1837 and 1857, in which a vitiated currency played so large a part. They have never calculated how much the use of any but the best money costs a nation. They fail to consider how very small a sum is the interest on the entire circulating medium compared with the losses by a few disastrous failures. The failure of the City of Glasgow Bank cost Great Britain nearly \$30,000,000; the interest on the whole paper currency of the United States now outstanding is, at four per cent, less than \$27,000,000.

A metallic reserve which keeps the representative paper money strong in quality and even in quantity is not, therefore, a tax on national profits; it is, on the contrary, a kind of insurance fund which makes the acquisition of profits more secure. In respect to

the suppression of small notes, it is already provided, by Section 5175 of the Revised Statutes, that after specie payments are resumed no bank shall be furnished with notes of a less denomination than five dollars. The small bank notes—ones and twos—will, therefore, go out of circulation as soon as those now in use are worn out and sent to the Treasury for redemption. These, however, amount only to the trifling sum of \$6,866,000. The greenbacks of the same denominations amount to \$40,701,000. Even if all these were withdrawn, there would still remain \$92,539,000 of national bank notes and \$55,576,000 of United States notes of the denomination of five dollars, making the amount of paper money under the denomination of ten dollars, now outstanding, \$195,683,000. England has no notes under five pounds (\$25). In France they are calling in all notes under 100 francs (\$20), smaller denominations having been temporarily issued by the Bank of France during the suspension of specie payments. In Germany the smallest denomination is twenty marks (\$23.80). The experience of Europe conclusively shows us that a currency cannot be kept strong in its metallic element without making the use of gold and silver obligatory in small payments. The suppression of notes under ten dollars would not be a popular measure in this country, and it can only be gradually accomplished, if accomplished at all. But the suppression of small notes is not a new thing in this country. In many of the States, before the war, the circulation of notes under five dollars was prohibited, and in the Pacific and South-western States scarcely any paper money was in circulation. Let the question of the currency be taken out of politics, and the leading men of both parties come to an agreement to support conservative measures, and the necessary reform could be accomplished in a very few years.

We come now to the most difficult part of our subject, so far as it relates to the currency : to the question whether both the existing classes of notes should continue to be used, and, if not, which of them ought to be withdrawn. We do not hesitate to avow our unwillingness to see the present United States notes made a permanent part of the circulation. There are several objections to them which we will proceed to consider. They are issued directly by the Government on its general credit and without specific security. Except that they have no fixed day of payment, but are payable on demand of the holder, in constitutional money—gold and silver—they do not differ from the funded debt of the nation. National bank notes are also issued by the Government and from

the Treasury Department, but instead of having on their face, like United States notes, the direct promise of the Government to pay the amount expressed thereon, they bear the promise of the bank to which they are issued, and also a certificate under seal of the Treasury, and the signatures of two of its principal officers, that they are secured by Federal bonds deposited with the Treasurer. Both classes are strictly notes of the Government, since it issues both and is equally obliged to pay both in constitutional money. The obligation to pay the so-called bank note is not quite so direct, but it is just as absolute, and it has the advantage of a specific fund, out of which the payment is either to come or to be reimbursed ; while the greenback must be paid out of the general balance in the Treasury. One is a secured debt, and the other is a general debt. The bank note has an intermediate party—the bank—between the holder and the Treasury, on whom demand of payment must first be made ; but if the bank fails to pay the Treasury is obliged to pay on presentation and proof of the bank's refusal. The bank is not, it is true, obliged to pay in gold or silver : as the law now stands it may still redeem its notes in greenbacks, but as the greenbacks may, since resumption, be readily turned into gold and silver, this does not create any appreciable difference in value between the two kinds of notes. There is a single restriction on the redemption of legal tender notes which should be noted. The Resumption Act requires them to be redeemed only at the office of the Assistant Treasurer in New York. But this is not an important restriction : it is dictated by considerations of general convenience, such as may properly govern the regulation of currencies. In England, in like manner, country bank notes are lawfully redeemable in notes of the Bank of England ; and the latter can only be converted into gold and silver at the counter of the Bank. It is equally a matter of convenience and safety that the redemption fund of the precious metals should be concentrated in one place, or, at most, in a few of the most important centres of a country. The great settling points of commerce are the natural centres in which coin and bullion should be concentrated. It is illogical, therefore, to transport the precious metals to the Treasury at Washington for redemption purposes so long as the city of New York is the final point of liquidation for the whole country, and the place at which the money balances resulting from liquidation have to be used.

A superiority of the bank note is that it is specifically secured

by bonds, and the bonds are taken at a price considerably below their face value. The bank note has never created any additional public debt ; it merely pledges a portion of the existing absolute debt for the privilege of receiving back from the Government a smaller amount of debt, for which the nation is only contingently liable, in the form of circulating notes. If the Government is ever obliged to meet this contingent liability, it cancels an equivalent portion of the bonds pledged, or sells them and gets its money back.

Substituting bank notes for the still remaining greenbacks means, therefore, the reduction of the public debt by the amount of \$346,000,000 ; substituting greenbacks for bank notes, on the contrary, means an increase of the public debt by \$322,000,000—difference to the tax-payer, \$668,000,000, or considerably more than the reduction which has been accomplished by twelve years of burdensome taxation.

There are also other qualities inherent in the bank note which makes it much the better kind of money. It is an instrument of credit, the amount of which is constantly measured by the demand for credit in this form. All forms of credit vary in amount under different circumstances, in different years, and at different seasons of the same year. Thus discountable paper is constantly varying with the volume of trade and of exchanges ; so too of bank deposits, another form of credit. Bank notes are just as strictly instruments of credit as either of these, and they depend on the same laws. They are, in fact, merely a reflection of discounts. The proceeds of a discount are either deposits in account current, drafts on some other bank, or circulating notes ; very little specie is used or called for in discount business. The paper discounted is paid at maturity in precisely the same way ; by checks on the bank receiving payment (which are merely transfers of deposits from A to B), by checks or drafts on other banks, or in bank notes. So it is that bank notes come out and go in by the regular course of banking business. The higher the discount line, the more notes will be out ; the lower the line, the more notes will be in. If a national bank finds its notes coming in too rapidly, through the redemption bureau, and tending to accumulate in its vaults, it has the remedy in its own hands : it has only to surrender a part of its notes for cancellation and take up its bonds. If the present low rates of interest should prevail, and the present low prices of commodities, banks will be likely to reduce their circulation for two reasons : the margin of profit on it above taxes will be inappreciable, and the demand for loanable cap-

ital—discounts—will be reduced, because business can be carried on with so much less means than when higher prices prevailed.

United States notes are entirely wanting in the elasticity which we have shown to belong to bank notes. A new amount of them would come into circulation in a very different way, and when once in circulation they would not be obedient to the same laws. The issue would not be the representation of a temporary loan, but the substance of a permanent payment. The same notes might be used to pay debts to the Government at a subsequent time, but the two uses would have no relation to each other. The Government disburses money only for the legitimate objects of public expenditure, and it receives it only in taxes of one sort or another. If it were to assume to be the sole issuer of paper money—be the amount great or small—its operations would more often run against the currents of trade than with them. When most money is coming into the Treasury in customs duties and other forms of indirect taxes, it is because business is active and the banks are discounting very heavily, and the volume of currency is large. These counter currents would necessarily produce stringency, as they would cause a contraction of credit, when there ought to be an expansion.

Again, if the revenues are to continue steadily in excess of the expenditures, what will prevent the volume of the currency from declining, and how will the excess of notes paid in taxes be got out again without corresponding payments? Not certainly by paying off the funded or maturing debt; for the reissue of demand notes would not be payment, but substitution of one form of debt for another. If the Southern war claims are to be paid, or if the new Pension bill is to call for the disbursement of fifty or a hundred millions, this obstacle, we admit, might easily be removed for a time.

In short, if the whole circulation were to-day in the hands of the Government, and every bank note retired, the business of the country would speedily come to a deadlock, unless the banks were used as instruments for regulating the currency, precisely as they regulate it now. The notes of the Government, on some terms or other, would have to be loaned to them exactly as they are loaned now, and on the same security; for the Government could not take any thing less safe than its own obligations. Granting, therefore, all that the advocates of a permanent Government currency demand, we shall come to the same substantial result at last, which is that instruments of credit can only be handled and regulated by institutions of credit, and that governments are not within that category.

If, then, the banks must circulate the notes, and primarily redeem them—that is, take them out of circulation when they are not needed—why should there be two kinds of notes performing the same office? We readily admit that there is no particular advantage in ear-marking the bank note circulation, as is now done, except to enable the Government to enforce the liability of each bank to redeem and take care of the amount of notes which belongs to it. It would be more symmetrical and more in accordance with the real character of this kind of circulation, if the notes simply bore upon their face the designation “national bank currency;” a little ingenuity would probably devise a plan by which this uniformity in appearance might be obtained without relieving the banks, in any manner, from their individual obligations. Without the local designations which are now on the notes, they could not, it is true, be presented for redemption at the bank’s counter, but since the passage of the act of June 20th, 1874, which allows all bank notes to be sent directly to the Treasury for redemption, and which requires the reserve on circulation to be kept there, and not in the bank’s vaults, local redemption is seldom, if ever, resorted to, and has come to be of no consequence.

We have thus far stated only such objections to a government circulation as are inherent in its nature, and as result from the limited functions with which governments are clothed. There is another, which is even more imperative, namely, the difficulty, if not impossibility, of keeping the amount of such paper money within proper limits. We have shown that bank notes are limited by business demand, and that their redundancy is kept in check by the falling off of that demand, and by the obligation to redeem in the money of the world. We have, also, shown that government notes are not capable of being created by or subject to the same laws, unless indeed the regulation of them is intrusted to banks, in which case, however entitled, they cease to be government notes in fact, and become bank notes. Now, the further danger to which such notes are subject is, that they may be issued in excess of any mercantile demand, on the mere volition of a majority in Congress, whenever it is supposed, as many believe at the present moment—though in defiance of the plainest facts—that more paper money in circulation would revive industries, stimulate the price of property, and make things easy for debtors. Such a power to tamper with prices and to unsettle values can never be safely entrusted to any legislative body, nor to any government. The wisest statesmen of

this country and of Europe have condemned it over and over again within the last century ; and it has never stood the ordeal of a public discussion. Hamilton, at the inception of the Republic, and Chase, on the eve of a gigantic and formidable civil war, alike rejected it. Two eminent European statesmen of modern times, Sir Robert Peel in England, and Achille Fould in France, adopted precisely the same line of objection. It was strongly urged in 1844 that the English Government should take the issue of paper money into its own hands, instead of leaving it with the Bank of England ; but Sir Robert Peel said No, and emphatically declared "that the effect of the State having the complete control of the circulating medium in its own hands would be most mischievous."

Congress has decreed that United States notes shall not be retired and cancelled below the existing circulation of \$346,000,000 ; but it has also decreed that they shall be redeemed in coin. How are the two obligations to be reconciled ? The act of May 31st, 1878, says, "When any of said notes may be redeemed, or be received into the Treasury under any law, from any source whatever, and shall belong to the United States, they shall not be retired, cancelled or destroyed, but they shall be reissued and paid out again and kept in circulation." This certainly implies that the public creditor shall be obliged to receive them ; but the Resumption Act equally provides that he shall not be obliged to keep them, for he may instantly insist on redemption in coin in New York. The Government may persist in paying the notes out, but as it can only pay when it has payments to make, and must redeem in coin at all times on demand, how is the obligation to keep the legal tenders in circulation to be obeyed ?

What, then, is the great advantage to be gained by an exclusive government circulation, which has made the demand for it so general throughout certain sections of this country ? The supposed advantage is cheapness, and coupled with it is a jealous desire to deprive the banks of a profit, whether such deprivation works a corresponding benefit to the people or not. Will it then be cheaper, and can the anticipated savings of interest on the \$322,000,000 of bank notes now outstanding be realized ? The Comptroller of the Currency shows conclusively, in his last report, that no such economy can be effected. At the outside the profit on circulation cannot exceed two and a half per cent, say \$8,000,000 on \$322,000,000 ; we should put it considerably lower. Now the Government has received from the national banks in taxes on circulation, deposits, and capital, on

an average during the last seven years, \$7,000,000 a year. Out of this alliance, therefore, the Government has made as much as the banks. Suppose it were to take the right of circulation away ; the banks would retire from the national system and cease to pay the \$7,000,000 of taxes. How much more than this loss could the Government make out of the \$322,000,000 circulation appropriated ? The notes, as a non-interest bearing debt, are worth no more to it than the rate at which it can borrow on its funded debt—namely, four per cent. Four per cent on \$322,000,000 is \$12,880,000. Deducting the \$7,000,000 of taxes leaves a profit of only \$5,880,000 ; but this is too much, for a specie redemption fund of at least one-third must be kept at all times in the Treasury. This is the smallest reserve which prudent bankers consider admissible for the purpose of protecting an unsecured circulation. The interest on that third (\$107,000,000) is at four per cent, \$4,280,000, which deducted from the \$5,880,000, leaves the pitiful sum of \$1,600,000 as the outcome of this great national reform !

We have devoted so much space to the consideration of the currency that we have not much left in which to treat of the national banking system in its other aspects. These are, however, hardly less important. A well arranged and well conducted banking system is essential to every commercial country. Production and commerce rest on credit, and banks are credit organized. The national banking system sprang out of a great and sudden emergency, and even its learned and experienced author, Mr. Secretary Chase, had a very inadequate conception of the good which it was destined to accomplish. " He builded better than he knew." To make a market for his bonds, to create safe depositaries for money raised by inland taxes, and to substitute a uniform currency as safe as the credit of the Government could make it in place of the issues of the State banks were Mr. Chase's objects. But his measure has accomplished far more than that. It has given us uniformity of banking, and thrown around the business such safeguards as had before existed only to a very limited extent. Before the adoption of this system there were some fifteen hundred banks in operation, organized under the legislation of nearly thirty States. The laws creating and governing them differed very widely, but the privileges which they enjoyed and the functions which they exercised were essentially the same. All of them were corporations with limited liability of stockholders, and all of them issued circulating notes. These notes were generally issued without any specific

pledge or security, though in a few of the States some such pledge was required. The quality, however, of the security pledged varied as widely as the credit of the States requiring it. As the stream cannot rise higher than its fountain, so the basis of banking could not be made more solid than the public debt of the State under which banks were organized. There was also no uniformity in the method of redeeming bills. In the New England States a voluntary arrangement, known as the "Suffolk Bank System," required the banks to redeem their notes daily in Boston at par. This was not sanctioned by any legislation, but it had the support of long usage and of public opinion, which are often more inexorable than the statute law. It had the effect to keep the bank note currency of the Eastern States in a generally healthy condition. Partial systems of redemption existed, also, in the States of New York, Ohio, and perhaps some others; but they never attained the coercive power of the Suffolk Bank system. Equally dissimilar were the laws and usages respecting the maintenance of specie reserves. Such laws as existed grew mainly out of the suspension of specie payments in 1857. A notable exception to the general looseness in respect to such reserves was the admirable banking act of Louisiana, passed in 1842, which remained in full operation till after the beginning of the war. The writer gave a full account of this statute in the *Banker's Magazine* for November, 1877. It required a specie reserve to be kept at all times equal to one-third of the combined circulation and deposits, and the remaining two-thirds to be invested in strictly commercial paper, having not more than three months to run, and not renewable at maturity. It is necessary only to state the provisions of this law to make a banker understand the great strength of the system which it inaugurated. Experience fully justified the financial wisdom of its projector, who is understood to have been the late Edmund J. Forristall, of New Orleans, for many years the agent in that city of Baring Brothers & Co., of London.

Still another difference existed in respect to the supervision exercised by the several States respectively over the banks of their creation. In some States a very strict control and oversight was maintained, and experienced and well-paid officers were employed; but in most there were no such safeguards. Laws sufficiently stringent were passed, but only to be evaded. Banks in the Western and Southern States were established in out-of-the-way places, whence they emitted bills, often without restriction as to the

amount, under a general obligation to redeem them in specie on demand. The greatest natural and artificial obstacles were interposed between the bill-holder and the bank, so as to prevent him from making the demand necessary to sustain a notarial protest. A characteristic story has lately appeared in the papers *apropos* of the death of an old Kentucky banker. He had selected a particularly inaccessible village among the mountains for the home of his "institution." From this stronghold he flooded the country with bank notes, and generally managed to avoid redeeming them. A determined rival, whose field of circulation he had invaded, resolved at last to bring him to bay. Gathering a substantial bagful of the obnoxious notes he proceeded to the mountains. But the wary bank president was on the watch, and in despair of any other remedy broke into the office of the only village notary in his absence, and stole his official seal. The notes were duly presented and payment refused, but without the missing seal no legal protest of them was possible.

Such was the heterogeneous system of State banks which Mr. Chase's National Bank act superseded. Bad as it was, and burdensome as it was, the jealousy of the States would never have permitted the Federal Government to interfere with it at any other time than in the throes of a revolution, when patriotic feeling ran high, and States and individuals alike yielded anything which the nation demanded as the price of its perpetuity.

The excellence of the new system is incontrovertibly established by its passing unscathed through the recent prolonged crisis. It is impossible to conceive a severer test. While thousands of prudent men have been ruined by the fall of prices and the stoppage of production and trade, the banks have only in a few instances had to succumb. Out of more than two thousand banks which have been organized under the national system since it was established sixteen years ago, only sixty-nine have failed, involving an estimated loss to creditors of only six and a half millions of dollars. The failure of the City of Glasgow Bank, last October, as already mentioned, involved losses to the amount of nearly thirty millions. Without any civil war, without any irredeemable paper money, without any crushing burden of taxation, the joint stock banks of Great Britain are, by the common confession of Englishmen, in a far worse condition to-day than the storm-beaten banks of the United States.

Yet in the face of this honorable history, of this unquestioned solvency and adaptation to the growing need of organized credit,

a large political party calling itself national, and doubtless a considerable number of people of all parties and of all sections are denouncing the national banks, and compassing their overthrow. The motives of this campaign are various. Jealousy of the banks themselves and of the money they have honorably accumulated is probably the strongest among them. People who have lost fortunes, more often those who have failed to make them by hazardous speculations, feel themselves wronged by a prudent bank or capitalist who has so conducted his affairs as to make money while they have lost it. Such people are entirely regardless of the greater ruin which would involve the country if the banks had shared the common wreck. There would now be no organized capital ready to start the machinery of production, upon the movements of which the rehabilitation of the unfortunate and the future prosperity of all classes so much depend. A motive which is said to prevail largely at the South is the desire to start banks in that section, under State laws, without the capital which a purchase of United States bonds requires. The people of the South, who have suffered so much from wild-cat banking in the past, should beware of this movement. It is not undertaken in the interest of the many but of the few. It looks to the revival of a system under which the profits went into the pockets of officers and stockholders, and the losses were borne by the holders of broken bills; under which there was no effective supervision by the State, but a secrecy of management which made the commission of great wrongs possible. There is a demand for the repeal of the law which imposes a tax of ten per cent on the notes of any State bank or banking association. The plea is that these notes might safely be issued for local circulation; that the people of the States would be satisfied with them, and that they would have so little currency outside the State boundaries that they could do no harm, and would not seriously impugn the integrity of the national system. This is a stupid fallacy. There is no such thing as exclusive local trade. Commerce in the United States knows no boundaries. It is coextensive with the Union. A local currency, if used at all, is used to pay debts at home; but these debts are not all due to neighbors and citizens of the State. The largest of them are often due to citizens of other States, the legitimate profits of whose business depend on getting paid for their merchandise in good money. The depreciated bank notes of Illinois, Missouri, Wisconsin, and Minnesota in 1862 did not entail losses on the citizens of those States

alone, but also on the merchants of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. One of the greatest benefits conferred by the national system is the great reduction in the rates of exchange between sections of the country distant from each other. These rates, which grew chiefly out of the depreciated currency of the West and South, were often very high. The Comptroller of the Currency estimates that the amount saved by the national banks in exchange alone is fifty or sixty millions a year.

The integrity of the national banking system can only be maintained, and its great advantages to the people secured, by making it exclusive of all others. The whole current of opinion in Europe has for years been running in the direction of unitary systems of banking and paper money. Diversity is now generally recognized as discord. Such a unity we have attained at the price of great attendant sacrifices ; let us hold fast to it against all assailants.

THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY.

I.

FROM the first permanent organization of the navy until the outbreak of the civil war it was the fixed policy of the Government to maintain a fleet which, though small, should be composed of ships of the very best types in their respective classes. The services on which the navy was employed never required many vessels. For police duty on the seas, the protection of commerce, voyages of exploration, in hydrographic research and surveys, the suppression of piracy and the slave trade, and occasionally for the settlement of international questions, the country required, not a large fleet of line-of-battle ships such as England and France were forced to maintain, but small squadrons or single ships, of the class of frigates or sloops-of-war, of a superior character in sailing qualities and armament. American vessels were acknowledged by all nations to be models of speed and efficiency. It is hardly necessary to refer here to the brilliant frigate duels of the war of 1812 in order to show the superiority of our frigates over those of England. At a later date larger ships were built, which though rated as seventy-fours were a match for any foreign first-rate. The only three-decker ever built in this country was in her time the most formidable ship of war afloat, and our lighter ships, the sloops-of-war, were remarkable among war vessels of all nations for their excellent sailing qualities and general efficiency.

The general introduction of steam in navigation did not change the policy of the Government. Our country was the first to recognize the importance of this new auxiliary, and we again led the world in our screw frigates and screw sloops, which, in their respective classes, were never excelled. Our ships were not only fast and stanch, but they were also well armed. They carried the heaviest ordnance of the day, guns made on the most modern and improved principles, and the navy so conducted furnished a most admirable school

for a class of officers equal, if not superior, in professional attainments to those of any naval service in the world.

A great revolution, however, has recently taken place in naval architecture, and in the race for superiority we have not merely fallen behind, we have utterly ceased to compete. Where we once led we now do not even follow, and our war vessels cannot be compared with the armed ships of other nations. Almost coincident with the introduction of broadside ironclads into the navies of England and France came our civil war, which rendered necessary an enormous increase in the fleet, but did little to improve the quality of the ships. Certain services were exacted from the navy, such as the blockade of the whole Southern coast, the capture of Southern ports, opening the Mississippi River, and the destruction of rebel rams and cruisers. For these purposes vessels of special types were required, and such vessels were furnished, and the work was performed, as any work set for the navy to do always has been performed, thoroughly well. But in recalling the successes of the war it should not be forgotten that we were not contending with a naval power. There were no general naval engagements, if we except the battles of the gunboats on the rivers, during the whole war, and but one sea fight, that of the *Kearsarge* and the *Alabama*. An examination of the state of the fleet in 1865 shows that by far the greater part of the 687 ships on the navy list were vessels hastily constructed or purchased, and not men-of-war in the strict sense. It is true that the steam frigates and sloops formed the nucleus of our force in every squadron, but added to these we had "ninety-day" gunboats (so called because the contract under which they were built stipulated for the their completion in ninety days); purchased steamers, merchantmen fast enough for the blockade and strong enough to mount a few guns; side-wheel steamers specially adapted to river and coast service; captured blockade runners; a few new steam sloops; and lastly the monitors, which though admirable vessels, for the purposes for which they were built, were not cruising ships, and could hardly be compared, in that respect at least, with the broadside ironclads of England and France. These were the various classes of ships which then composed our navy. On the rivers there were ironclads of light draft, intended only for river service and not fit to go to sea.

At the close of the war it was still at least our declared policy to keep a fleet of superior ships of their class. Vessels were built with a special view to preying on an enemy's commerce, and while

the Alabama question was fresh the moral effect of these ships was good, though they were really failures. None ever performed sea service. Other ships, too, were built, both frigates and sloops-of-war, of new models, and designed especially for speed under steam. Some of these are still unfinished and not worth completing. Others were launched and did service for a time on foreign stations; but being built of unseasoned timber they deteriorated very fast. Many of them have since been broken up or sold, and only those that were built with live-oak frames remain fit for service.

By the Register for July, 1878, it appears that there are in all one hundred and forty-three ships in the navy. Of this number twenty-eight are tugs and twenty-two are wooden sailing vessels, the remnant of the old navy, and these may be counted out at once in reckoning the effective strength of the fleet. Of the remaining ninety-three, twenty-two are ironclads of the monitor type, the only class of ironclad ships in the navy, and some of these are still on the stocks, while two are torpedo boats. These ships do not and cannot go to sea. They may make passages from port to port with a tender, or under tow. They may serve as harbor defences, but they belong to a past epoch. They are the relics of the monitor fleets that served in the reduction of the Southern ports during the civil war, and no improvements have been made in their strength of armor or in their armament since that time. In comparison with the modern English ironclads our navy has absolutely nothing to show. The remaining sixty-seven ships on the list, after deducting the tugs, old sailing ships, and monitors, are wooden steamers, form the real effective strength of the navy for foreign service, and are classed as first, second, third, and fourth rates, according to their tonnage. There are only five first-rates, and these are the screw frigates built before the war. They are in reality sailing ships with auxiliary steam power, and their best speed under steam is about eight knots. They are antiquated and expensive, and none are in commission except as receiving and training ships at the various naval stations, although their condition is such that they could be speedily prepared for sea in case of emergency. Of the twenty-seven second-rates that appear on the list, four are still on the stocks and will probably never be launched; ten are laid up or in ordinary, and would need almost entire rebuilding in order to fit them for service, some of them being too far gone even for this, while one is an antiquated paddle-wheel vessel. Of the twelve that remain five only are comparatively new ships, built since the war,

but even these are not provided with modern engines. The other second-rates are fast wearing out, as they are kept continuously in commission on foreign stations, and three of them come in the same category as the frigates, that is they are sailing ships with auxiliary steam power. The six fourth-rates are insignificant. They are merely despatch vessels, some of them captured blockade runners, and they have been constantly employed since the war. The real strength of the navy seems to lie in the twenty-nine third-rates. These do nearly all the cruising service. Some of them are new, having been built within a few years, and others have been entirely rebuilt. But they are small ships, ranging from four hundred to nine hundred tons, while the heaviest carries only eight guns. Moreover of these twenty-nine, seven are laid up and probably not worth repairing, and one is a paddle-wheel steamer on the lakes.

Thus the grand total of one hundred and forty-three ships is reduced on examination to twelve second-rates and twenty-one third-rates, fit for actual service abroad, besides five frigates which might be made use of in an emergency. Of this number not one would be counted by England in reckoning her naval strength, or would be esteemed of sufficient power to take a position in line of battle. All these figures just given are taken from the official Navy Register for July, 1878, and can be easily verified.

In the matter of ordnance we are as far behind the great naval powers as we are in ships. While we have nothing to show against the ships of the English navy, either ironclads, rams, belted cruisers, or fast unarmored steamers, so we have nothing to compare with their heavy rifled ordnance, the only class of gun which is effective against heavy ironclad vessels. Our Navy Department has done what it could in this direction with the very limited means at its command, and has converted some of the cast-iron shell guns of heavy calibre into rifles of smaller calibre, but our ships are still mainly armed with Dahlgren guns.

The time has come when some reform is necessary. We cannot stand still and live. If we are not advancing we are retrograding, in this matter as in all others. The fact is patent that our navy has been steadily declining in strength and efficiency during the last ten years, as the most casual examination of the lists of ships in the navy registers of succeeding years will show. For instance, in 1868, the foreign squadrons were composed of forty-three ships in commission, four of which were first-rates, then very efficient ships, and

some of them new ; nine were second-rates, nearly new and in good condition ; the remainder were smaller vessels, but active cruisers, and a sufficient force was in reserve on the home station and at the various navy-yards for an emergency or for the relief of ships abroad. In 1878 there are in the same squadrons seventeen ships, of which none are first-rates, and only five are second-rates, while the other ships of our effective force are almost all employed in active duty on the home station or upon special duty. The condition of the navy is well illustrated by the fact that the most available ship to carry the goods for exhibition at the Paris fair was the historical frigate *Constitution*, built in 1794.

Many arguments have been made in defence of this pitiful condition. Although it is admitted on all hands that our navy is worthless in comparison with that of England, it is urged with truth that we have not the same need for a great fleet ; that many of the English ships have been costly failures, or costly experiments ; that the uncertainty in regard to the best model for a ship of war is so great, while the changes and improvements are so rapid, that we are, as mere spectators, as well able to profit by England's experiments and failures as the English themselves ; and lastly we are accustomed to place vast faith in our wealth of resources and of invention to furnish us with just what we need at a moment's notice.

These arguments may be sound enough. It is certainly true that we have no need of a large fleet of costly ironclads which would perhaps be failures when completed. We had in the old navy no need for a large fleet of line-of-battle ships. We always depended on our frigates and lighter ships, though we did build some excellent ships of the line. But while these arguments may be sound, they are no excuse for the present state of things. The small and inefficient force we actually have is dropping to pieces. The old and true policy of keeping the best ships of their class has been abandoned, and at the present rate not many years will elapse before we have no navy at all.

The question is, what kind of ships are now required as best suited to the services the navy has, or may have, to perform. An adherence to the old policy would indicate that we need fast cruising ships as much now as we did formerly. These ships should be of the various classes of first, second, and third rates, and a constant force, unvarying in strength, should be maintained on every station, in addition to a sufficient force in reserve for relief or emergency. These ships should be superior vessels for strength, speed,

and durability. They should be iron-framed ships, with wooden planking, because iron is unquestionably the strongest and most enduring material for the frame of a ship. They should have compound engines, because the superiority of this class of engines has been established beyond dispute. They should be designed especially for speed, and fitted with sufficient sail power to cruise under sail and to work well, because they can thereby economize in fuel, and can always carry enough coal in the bunkers for exigencies when speed is required. They should be armed partly with heavy rifles and partly with smooth-bore guns. A ship of sufficient speed, with heavy rifled guns, need not avoid an engagement with an enemy's ironclad, which she can outmanœuvre, and against a wooden ship or land fortification smooth-bore guns are more destructive, and have the advantage derived from ricochet fire. Finally there should be no experiments tried, either in design, machinery, or building, in these ships. The plans should be prepared according to known wants, and the work done at the Government navy yards. All this need not be done at once. If a fixed policy were adopted of adding a few ships to the navy every year, at a very small addition to the naval appropriation, the old ones would be gradually replaced by modern ships and could be sold; for we ought to have no force on paper which has no existence in fact; and thus our navy would gradually resume its superiority. As we must begin at the beginning, so we might in time, or from time to time, add a few first-rate ironclad ships to our effective force, just as in the old navy we built line-of-battle ships.

This brief examination of the present condition of the fleet naturally leads to the equally important consideration of the service at large, that is of the officers and men who compose the navy. It has been said that the old navy was a good school for officers; and so it was. Fine ships naturally incite officers to zeal and men to activity, and the discipline of the crews and the efficiency of the officers was in perfect keeping with the excellence of the ships. A sailor is proud of his ship if she is a fine one, and any improvement in the fleet must have a good effect on the *personnel* of the service. The present system of education, however, is necessarily so entirely different from the old one, that a comparison between the two would be useless. In old times a naval officer began his practical sea life almost a child, and was a sailor before everything. Ships were then pretty much the same the world over, guns were simple weapons compared with those of to-day, and if the naval

officer could handle his ship well under sail and navigate her across the ocean, it was about all that was requisite. But in these days of steam and invention an officer's education must be much more comprehensive. The range of study pursued at the Naval School is a very wide one, and if one adds what the officer may afterwards acquire at the Torpedo School, the amount of purely theoretical knowledge which every lieutenant in the navy is supposed to possess is very great. At the same time the necessity for training afloat exists in the same force that it did before. A good officer must be practical, and the introduction of steam has not lessened in the slightest degree the value of experience at sea. An officer must still be a sailor, not indeed in the narrow sense, with his usefulness confined to tacks and sheets and marlinspike seamanship, but a seaman in the broadest sense, a man of practical experience at sea, capable of getting the utmost out of any kind of craft, an ironplated monitor with revolving turrets, a side-wheel steamer, or a sailing ship. It is a great mistake to suppose that there is no longer any need of sailors in the navy. The navy requires the best kind of sailors, the most experienced and practical, and this part of the education can only be acquired by actual service afloat and in good ships.

A young man who receives an appointment to the Naval School must be between the ages of fourteen and seventeen. He is nominated by the member of Congress of his district, and appointed by the Secretary of the Navy, and from the date of his appointment he becomes an officer in the navy and receives pay, though the law provides that the first six years of his service shall be passed at the Naval School. During the first four years of this term of probation he is supposed to be instructed in the theoretical knowledge requisite for his profession, and also to some slight extent in the practical branches, since he goes to sea occasionally for short cruises on board the practice ships, and exercises with the batteries of great guns and boat guns, and with small arms. He is subjected to a pretty severe examination twice every year during this four years' course, and a failure to pass at any one of these half yearly examinations is a sufficient cause for his dismissal from the service. He may, however, on failure to pass an examination, be turned back into the next lower class, and thereby lose the advantages of one year of service. His conduct, too, is a subject of frequent examination. The discipline of the school is severe, and wilful or repeated infringement of the rules generally leads to dismissal. The large class that

enters is thus weeded out during the four years' course, so that usually not more than half the number of original members graduate. At the end of the four years' course at the school, providing he successfully passes all the examinations, the cadet enters upon a course of two years' actual service at sea, at the end of which time he appears before the examining board at Annapolis for his final examination. If he passes this he is entitled to the appointment of midshipman. If he fails he may either be dropped from the list or sent to sea again and given another chance with the class of the succeeding year. A new class enters the school every year, and as there is always one cadet from each Congressional district in the service, the classes are necessarily pretty large, and the number that graduates each year is larger than the requirements of the service demand. There is thus a constant supply of fresh material for officers flowing in at the bottom of the navy. This material is in a very crude form, but it has passed the first test and is in a fit condition to be moulded by experience and practice in the active duties of the profession. In the mean time, in order to make room for this constant stream at the bottom there must be some outlet at the top, and as the number of officers in each grade is fixed by law the midshipman must remain a midshipman, even if he has passed his final examination, until there is a vacancy for him on the list of ensigns, the next higher grade and the lowest grade of commissioned officers, for the midshipman, appointed by the Secretary of the Navy, holds no commission. There is of course the natural outlet of death, and there is also the retiring law, which obliges every officer to retire on reaching the age of sixty-two, or after forty-five years' service. The law also allows any officer to retire voluntarily after forty years of service. The number of grades in the navy is large, and if the retirements and vacancies occurred every year in the same proportion as the admissions, promotion would be regular. But this is not the case, and the course of promotion has been further impeded by legislation reducing the number of officers in several grades, so that no promotion could take place to those grades until death or promotions above had brought the number down to the new standard. This was the case with the grade of lieutenant-commander, which was, in 1870, reduced from one hundred and eighty to eighty, so that for eight years no promotion was made from the grade of lieutenant, and the officer who stood at the head of the lieutenants' list in 1870, when the act was passed, retained his position as senior lieutenant, without hope of promotion, for eight

years. As the grades now stand there are one admiral and one vice-admiral (grades which remain vacant at the death of the present incumbents), nine rear-admirals, twenty-five commodores, fifty captains, ninety commanders, eighty lieutenant-commanders, two hundred and eighty lieutenants, one hundred masters, and eighty-three ensigns. The number of midshipmen is not fixed by law. Promotion goes entirely by seniority, so that when the oldest admiral retires or dies the commodore at the head of the list becomes an admiral, the senior captain a commodore, and so on down the list. The number of grades is large, but the present arrangement was made in order to assimilate the grades in the navy with those of the army, the rank of admiral corresponding with that of general, and the rank of ensign with that of second lieutenant. The large number of grades also serves the purpose of making promotion more rapid. There is another law which ought to aid in accelerating promotion, requiring every officer to pass an examination before a board, composed of officers higher than himself in rank, as to his physical and professional fitness for his duties, before he can be promoted to a higher grade. The action of this law is important and will be noticed later.

The system thus described was carefully devised, and ought, if properly administered, to make the rate of promotion pretty steady. It may not be uninteresting to examine its actual working. A youth who enters the Naval School at the age of fourteen, the lowest age at which he can enter, will, if he succeeds in passing all his examinations, be entitled to and will receive his midshipman's appointment in six years, or at the age of twenty. He now begins his regular course as an officer, and as the number of midshipmen is not fixed by law it may be supposed that if he is exceptionally fortunate, and has graduated at the head of his class, he becomes an ensign in a very short time, perhaps before his twenty-first year. He has finished the theoretical part of his education and has had two years' experience at sea in the subordinate grade of midshipman, and he is now in a condition to assume responsible duties on board ship and to begin to profit by the experience which the exercise of such duties alone can give. This experience, however, he cannot get. He finds the positions involving it already occupied by men who may be many years his seniors, and so he must wait, not only for promotion, but for the very experience necessary to qualify him for promotion. He continues in the most subordinate and irresponsible position on board ship, losing valuable time at an age especially fitted for the most advantageous

exercise in duties for which he is clearly qualified by education and examination.

Some explanation of the duties of officers on board ship will elucidate the foregoing paragraph. The ship is, according to her size, commanded by a captain or commander who alone is responsible to the commander-in-chief for the efficient state of his command. The other officers perform the functions of lieutenants and are of the grades of lieutenant-commander, lieutenant, master, and ensign. The next in rank to the commander is the executive officer, or first lieutenant as he was formerly called. His duties are many and various, and he has general charge of the discipline of the ship. Next to the executive is the navigating officer, who navigates the ship, and next in rank to him are the watch officers. These are generally four in number, and they stand watch on deck in regular rotation day and night, both at sea and in port, so that the deck is never left without a responsible commissioned officer in charge. The officer of the watch is the direct medium of communication between the captain and the ship's company. His authority is indisputable, and any order he issues must be regarded as emanating from the commander of the ship. The responsibility of the watch officer is great. During his watch he is in charge of the ship and responsible for her safety and proper management. He makes all alterations in the disposition of the sails, under the captain's directions, sees that the proper course is steered, performs all necessary evolutions, and in a word directs the whole working of the ship. The watch officers also have command of the several divisions of guns, and are responsible for the proper efficiency of their men in drill and exercise. It is in the performance of this duty of watch-keeping that the young officer gains the experience and practical knowledge that fit him for the exercise of higher responsibilities, and these duties he should begin to perform as soon as he has passed his final examination, having already had two years' experience as midshipman. As a watch officer he is learning his profession in the only way in which it can be learned thoroughly, in the school of practical experience, and if young and in a smart ship, he applies himself to these duties with a zeal which comes naturally from the early assumption of responsibility.

The duties of midshipmen are not specially defined by regulation. Old custom, dating from the time when midshipmen were mere children, has assigned to them a class of duties of the most trivial and sometimes of a menial character. They keep regular

watch, sometimes on the fore-castle, in charge, under the officer of the watch, of the head yards and sails, sometimes on the quarter deck to run messages or to call the relieving officer at night. Their duties in this respect are provided because something must be found for them to do. They are sent on errands to other ships and to the shore, and are put in charge of the boats to see that the men do not run away or get drunk at the landing-place. They have nominal charge of the lower decks or hold. In the language of the regulation, "They are to perform such duties as may be assigned to them by their commanding officer." It is this class of service that the ensign is also generally required to perform, and it is only in exceptional cases in small ships that ensigns are given the duties of watch officers. At an age when he would best profit by the experience of responsible duties, and when he is as well qualified to begin those duties as he can ever be, the ensign is still occupying a subordinate position. No amount of zeal or efficiency will do him any good or advance his promotion. He must wait his regular turn, and this state of affairs is at least discouraging to the young officer if not contrary to the best interests of the service.

It has been supposed that the ensign is particularly fortunate in reaching that grade at the age of twenty. Very few in fact become ensigns at that age. Very few enter the Academy so young as fourteen, and the majority are at least twenty-two on reaching the grade of ensign. The lieutenants who perform watch duty are men of middle age, some of them having been in the service ten or fifteen years. A comparison of the navy registers for succeeding years shows the advance made by each officer from year to year, and by an examination of these lists the average advance in each grade can be determined. The junior ensign in the service in January, 1870, had in January, 1875, gained eighty-four numbers, an average of 16.8 numbers a year. This may be taken as a fair example of the rate of advance in the first five years after reaching the grade of ensign, and because there were no promotions to the grade of lieutenant-commander during those five years it may be assumed that with the lists full and promotions progressing regularly this would be the rate of advance up to the grade of lieutenant-commander. The junior lieutenant-commander in 1870 had in 1875 advanced seventy-nine numbers, an average of 15.8 a year. By a further comparison of the relative positions of officers on the lists for 1870 and 1875, it may be shown that in the second five years after reaching the grade of lieutenant-commander the advance

was seventy-seven, or 15.4 numbers a year, in the third five years fifty-eight, or 11.6 a year, and in the fourth five years forty-two, or 8.4 a year.

Taking these numbers as a fair average, which is perfectly just, as the vacancies occurred with the usual frequency during these five years, and although there were no promotions to the grade of lieutenant-commander, yet advance continued both above and below that grade, it will be seen that the young man who is so exceptionally fortunate as to become an ensign at twenty will be a master at twenty-five, a lieutenant at thirty-one, and a lieutenant-commander at forty-seven. It will take him five years to pass through the eighty numbers on this grade, which will make him a commander at fifty-two. This is the lowest grade in which he can command a ship. He will be a captain at fifty-eight, and in this rank he must retire at the age of sixty-two. This is the condition, and these are the prospects of those who are now entering the navy and filling the subordinate grades. No zeal in the performance of their duties, no conspicuous merit or excellence in any special branch of their profession can alter their positions on the list by a single number, or increase their chance for promotion, the only reward for ambition that the service can offer. They take rank in their own class according to their standing at the final examination, and this relative rank they maintain through life. There is no such thing as emulation or competition after this. All are supposed to be equal in excellence. Each one, as he reaches the top of his grade, appears before the examining board for promotion, and each one must wait for his turn. A war would increase the chance of promotion, not only by the casualties incident to war, but because the law allows an officer to be advanced thirty numbers on the list as a reward for conspicuous war service. But on the other hand there is always the chance of promotion greater than that of war being further hampered by legislation reducing the numbers on the list, or in different grades.

A perfectly pertinent question here presents itself. If no one can ever hope to reach the higher grades, how can they exist, and who are those who occupy them? Those who fill the higher grades are the officers who benefited by the late war. They are living proof that the system is a bad one, for at the outbreak of the war these officers were in the subordinate grades, with even less hope of advance than now exists. They benefited first by promotions made to fill vacancies caused by the resignation of the whole body of Southern

officers ; secondly, by the operation of the retiring law, which swept a lot of obsolete lumber from the head of the list ; thirdly, by the increased activity of promotion which always attends a war ; and lastly, by the fact that when there was a real need for efficient men an officer's fitness to command was determined, not by his position on the navy list, but by his known character and record. Young officers were advanced with rapidity and intrusted with important commands. It is true they were not at once promoted, for that could only come with seniority, and so it was no uncommon thing to see a lieutenant performing a commodore's duty in command of a division of ships, while a commander, with the style and title of " Acting Rear-Admiral," was conducting the operations of a large fleet against the enemy. The real *bona fide* flag officers being too old for sea service, were kept in command of naval stations on shore, and were retired as fast as possible.

There is need of efficient officers in time of peace as well as in time of war. With no hope of promotion, with no incentive to zeal or great exertion or proficiency, with no reward for emulation or competition or ambition, what wonder if the officers of the navy should sink into a state of listless mediocrity. Such is the unquestionable tendency of the present system, while the country is losing the best services of a whole generation of naval officers. Decatur was in command of a frigate at the age of twenty-five, Perry was a post-captain at twenty-eight, and the elder Rogers at twenty-six. Farragut was No. 37 on the captains' list in 1861, and D. D. Porter was a lieutenant. The demand for efficient men brought these officers forward, and gave them the commands to which they were clearly entitled. In all professions everybody cannot succeed ; there must be some who go to the wall, to let the energetic, the able and ambitious pass. Such a common sense law as this cannot be disregarded in the navy without detriment to the service, and if the country relies on a man simply because so many years of aimless service have brought him to a certain number on the navy list, it is adopting a test which would be recognized as absurd when applied to any other calling.

Some remedy for this state of things may be found in the laws as they actually exist. As time goes on the number of officers who retire every year will become gradually larger, as the larger classes come to the head of the list, and great relief could be obtained by a rigid and merciless enforcement of the examination law. In too many notorious cases the examination for promotion is a mere farce,

and those who are incompetent or disqualified from habits of intemperance have been passed, almost without question. In other cases, where the board has refused to pass an officer, a second trial, backed by sufficient political influence, has restored him to his old position over the heads of those who have proved themselves his superiors in every professional qualification. Officers who have been on the retired list for years suddenly appear again in their old places on the active list, endued with new life by virtue of an act of Congress, while others who have been dismissed the service by sentence of a court-martial, or who have voluntarily resigned their commissions, have only to get enough political interest, and an act of Congress will restore them also to their positions. It would be impossible, under our form of government, to institute a successful system of promotions by selection. Such a system would probably degenerate into a scramble, and there is too much political influence in the service already, and its effects are too injurious, as examples for young officers, to make any further increase of it desirable. Promotion by seniority is the safeguard of the service, but let the existing examinations mean something. Invest the examining board, in all its proceedings, with the solemnity of a court, and let it conduct the examinations, at least, for the higher grades not by asking the aspirant for promotion a few questions in international law or spherical trigonometry, but by a most rigid and searching examination of his record. This the board is empowered to do under the existing law. Let the board be composed of officers of conspicuous ability. Let them hold their places for a long term, and be as far as possible chosen from those who, after long and faithful service, have retired from active duty, and will never appear before an examining board themselves. Let the action of the board, with the approval of the President, be final and irrevocable, and let it be incumbent on every officer clearly to establish his claim for promotion by a record of efficiency in the discharge of his duties. Make also the approved sentences of courts-martial final. Thus some impediments to promotion will be removed. Promotion by seniority must necessarily be slow, and even a rigid enforcement of the examining law would not make it rapid. There are many individual cases where no specific charge of incompetency could be brought, but which would be passed over in the selection of officers for important and responsible duties. The English, in their admirable naval system, provide for such cases by laws obliging officers of any grade to retire after remaining unemployed for a certain

length of time. With the large number of officers in their service employment is eagerly sought, and none but those whose services are of value obtain it. The incompetent and the doubtful have to retire from inability to get employment. Such a system as this is probably out of the question in our country. Like promotion by selection it would soon degenerate into a scramble in which political influence and not merit would be the test for employment. A system of voluntary retirements might afford a substitute for this plan. If, for instance, any officer had the privilege of retiring on half pay after say twenty years' service, subject to a call in case of war, many might avail themselves of the permission, although very few retire voluntarily under the present law. After a man has been forty years in the service he is thoroughly identified with the navy, has passed through the subordinate grades, and is too old to find new interests, but younger men could find other employment, notably in the merchant service. American commerce is increasing. We are beginning to build iron steamships in this country as cheaply as the English, and a general European war involving England would perhaps throw the carrying trade of the world into our hands. If we are to compete with England in the great steamship lines, if we are to do our own carrying in home-built ships, there will surely be a demand for efficient officers for these new lines. A law enabling naval officers to retire in their prime would furnish efficient men for these places. Our merchant ships, being thus partly officered from the navy, would afford a good school of practical experience, and in case of war not only the officers would be subject to recall but the ships might be made available as many merchantmen were during the late rebellion. It might be objected that naval officers in accepting these positions would compete unfairly with the regular class of merchant-ship officers, but as there are few American steamship lines now in existence, so there are few competent officers to meet the demands of extending commerce.

Nor would all the best officers be drawn from the service by such a plan of voluntary retirements. In time of peace there is plenty of work of a high character for the navy to do. The constant improvements in ordnance, and the demand for intelligence and ingenuity in the perfection of torpedo warfare, would always draw a large part of the best ability of the service to special studies and pursuits in this most important branch of the profession; while the vast field open for the navy in hydrographic research, the surveys of unfrequented oceans and coasts, the accurate determination

of geographical positions, and kindred enterprises, would give further employment to officers specially adapted and trained and ships specially suited to this kind of work.

In regard to promotion, a better state of things may come with time, always provided that the course of promotion is not hampered by legislation. Nothing is really gained by this constant interference on the part of Congress with the navy list. The amount actually saved in money is so small, and the laws reducing the list operate so slowly, that it is surely a question worth considering whether the advantage to the country would not be greater by letting things alone. Whether there are a few officers, more or less, on the active list, is a matter of very trivial importance ; but whether the country shall be served by officers stimulated to a wholesome activity by the certainty that promotion will, in the natural order of events, follow steady application to duty, is another question. It is the nature of mankind to strive for advancement, and emulation is the life of every profession. A naval officer should (like all other public servants) be actuated in the performance of his duties by that pure patriotism which scorns reward, but practically the same rule that holds good in other professions will be found true in this. The question must be regarded, not in the light best suited to the interests of the officers themselves, but as involving the highest efficiency of the navy. Take from the naval officer the hope of promotion, the natural and healthy stimulus to exertion, and you reduce his efficiency ; and when a legislator talks of stopping all promotion in the navy without injuring it, he is obviously talking nonsense. It is not so much reward, properly so called, that is sought, as it is the just recognition of faithfulness and ability, and such recognition every man of spirit must desire.

A FORGOTTEN ENGLISH POET.

IT is not only from our environment in space that our thoughts and tastes take on that illogical bent called provincialism. There is a parallel process whereby our minds become unreasonably prejudiced against things which are foreign, not to our country, but to our era, and from which we estimate our distance in years rather than in miles. Every wise traveler knows how, upon reaching a new country, he is compelled to make a thorough readjustment of himself in order to arrive at sound conclusions with regard to many matters which are apt to seem outrageous simply because they are unfamiliar. In the same way he who journeys back through time to read a poem written long ago, must make quite sure that he seems no more grotesque to the poem than the poem seems to him. There is a provincialism of the period as well as of the parish ; and it is interesting to observe that those who have thoroughly emancipated themselves from the latter are often found to betray unmistakable symptoms of the former. It is curious to note how different is the influence which the civilization of steam has exerted upon the provincialism of the parish from the influence which it has exerted on the provincialism of the period. It may be said of the civilized world in general that the "outlandish" is a much less potent factor in opinion since we have learned to be shy of pronouncing all things absolutely grotesque which are only relatively unfamiliar. But this very enlargement from the restraint of the parish boundary which has come to us along with an increased facility of travel has plumped us into the middle of the new with such suddenness that we seem immeasurably removed from the prelocomotive past. Thus, while we have ceased to find amusement or offence in that which is foreign, many of us are still in the bonds of a very rigid provincialism as to that which is old. Steam has carried us nearer to our brethren, but farther from our ancestors.

The necessity of struggling against this state of mind, and of resolutely chasing from our door that stupid Cerberus of prepossession which scares so many pleasures away from narrow souls, is partic-

ularly strong when the reader of to-day is first appealed to by the English sonnet of the sixteenth century. The sonnet itself, at the outset, simply as a form of verse, comes at a disadvantage : it seems too rigidly specialized to a mind which rejoices in a general sense of possession of the whole universe and is constitutionally averse to precise patterns and methods. Further, as to the substance of these old English sonnets, most readers have a vague preconception that they are a sort of thing really hardly worth the attention of an earnest person, a mass of strained device and a string of toys, altogether too idle for this realistic generation. It can not be denied that such a preconception legitimately arises from the perusal of many of the current slim octavo manuals of English literature which so many of us dutifully study at our schools, and thereafter pass through life with a certain comfortable sense of being well acquainted with the movement of the English mind since Cædmon. The work of the English sonnet-makers of the sixteenth century—a work which is the glory of our tongue and the endless delight of those who really know it—is too often perfunctorily dismissed in these ill-assorted collections and imperfect treatises as little more than a bundle of conceits, or at best as a kind of formal old garden of ideas clipped into shapes of impossible griffins and absurd lovers.

“Conceits,” of course, abound ; but they must be handled very carefully. All poetry is made up of “conceits,” in the good sense of the phrase ; and the boundary-line between the good sense and the bad sense must be pushed energetically and liberally outward by the reader in bringing the artistic work of a period three hundred years past into a fair relation with our own time. What would be intolerably fantastic now was not so then, and will not be so to him who largely makes his *now* a *then*, in order to get at the heart of all this beauty. Shakespeare in trunk hose and slashed doublet would cut a very preposterous figure sauntering down Broadway these frosty mornings, yet not more so than one of our merchants in surtout and overshoes walking soberly along the Fleet in the days of Elizabeth.

It behoves us to remember and to appreciate that these sonnet-makers belong to, and many of them are important characters in a time of superlatively energetic and daring men ; a time of good honest flesh and of very red blood ; a time that ventured forth over the unknown seas, dared the cannibal, searched the four corners of the earth, colonized, conquered, thought profoundly, fought gallantly,

and in many ways furnished the world with strong fibre. These were not the men to create a dandy time nor to pet a dandy poetry. Sonnets which pleased Raleigh and Essex, Burleigh and Bacon can not be despised as a trifling collection of "conceits."

The sonnets may be clipped shrubs, and of grotesque shapes, if so please the provincialism of the nineteenth century; but would you only stay a minute you will hear a bird in every bush.

No figure could better describe that particular sonneteer whom the present paper will occupy itself with bringing before the reader. Bartholomew Griffin is in fact only a name which we connect with a certain sweet song that comes to us, like that of a hidden bird, out of the very thickest clump of obscurity. A single copy of his original work exists in the Bodleian Library. The title-page is inscribed to

" FIDESSA, MORE
CHASTE THEN
KINDE

..

..

By B. GRIFFIN, GENT.

*Printed by the
widdow Orwin for
Matthew Lownes
1596."*

and the dedication

"To the Most Kinde and Vertuous gentleman, Mr. William Essex of Lamebourne in the countie of Barke Esquire"—consists of a few modest and simple sentences, deprecating its liberty, and finally saying: "Daign (Sweete Sir) to pardon the matter, judge favorably of the manner, and accept both: so shall I ever rest yours in all dewtifull affection.

" Yours ever,

" B. GRIFFIN."

Several years ago, Dr. Phillip Bliss—a man held in loving remembrance by all students of English poetry—laid the world under obligation by printing a hundred copies of this Bodleian volume; and recently the Rev. A. J. Grosart has given forth an edition of fifty copies, to subscribers only, in which some errors of the former edition are corrected and several critical notes are added. But in spite of many assiduous inquiries set on foot by Bliss and Grosart, absolutely nothing can be learned of our poet's personal history. Who he was, and who Fidessa was, except that the latter is referred to in one of the sonnets as

" Sweet modell of thy far-renowned Sire,"

is all blank. From an old local chronicle there does emerge the meagre circumstance that on the 3d of April, 1582, a certain Bartholomew Griffin obtained a license from John, Bishop of Worcester, to eat meat in Lent ; but this can not be considered satisfactory to the loving searcher, even if we had any assurance that the luxury of this dispensation was enjoyed by our sonneteer. After all this research, therefore, it must be acknowledged that the one hundred and fifty-one copies just specified, each containing its sixty-two sonnets to Fidessa, constitute at present the entire acquaintance existing between the world and Bartholomew Griffin.

Yet if it be indeed worth while to be remembered in one's personal history by future generations, a different fate from that which has befallen him was deserved by young Griffin—since young he evidently was when he wrote. For in him there certainly were many qualities precious even when single, much more so in combination, and which abundantly entitle his pathetic praises of Fidessa to take their place in our regard beside the *Amoretti* of Spenser, the *Idcas* of Drayton, the Sonnets of Daniel to Delia, of Sidney to Stella, of William Drummond to his short-lived lady, of Raleigh and of Constable, not to speak of Nicholas Breton, the Vauxs, the Fletchers, Warner, Peele, Greene, Watson, Lodge, Barnfield, Nicholson, and that ilk, all of whom may be found duly named, at least, in many of the current histories of English literature which yet omit all mention of Griffin.

It is now proper to give the reader some taste of the qualities thus generally referred to. In the first place, no unbiassed reader can fail to be struck, at first view of Griffin's handiwork, by the remarkable ease with which our English idioms run into the mould of the sonnet.¹ A very general, but also very vague impression is abroad that our language is somehow incompatible with the sonnet, which is regarded as at best a form of poetry imported and alien, a sort of *tour de force* or exercise of technical skill. Such an impression is certainly a naïve proof of our singular lack of acquaintance, at first hand, with the work of our poets. Every one is familiar with the process by which, when we hear day after day the name of some one whom we have never seen, we unconsciously construct a physiognomy and general shape in our minds with which we associate the

¹ The "English" sonnet—as distinguished from the stricter form now generally called the Italian, or Legitimate, sonnet—is here meant ; though the remark may be sustained as to both forms without difficulty.

name ; and every one knows how it always happens that when the individual thus bodied forth by our fancy comes to be actually beheld, the first exclamation is, How different you are from what I had pictured ! It is much in this way that many of us believe ourselves to be familiar with English literature, because our manuals have made us familiar with certain well-known names. But if, at any time, good fortune leads us actually to read the works of these writers, we are at once amazed at the completeness of our previous ignorance and enchanted by the depth of our new delight. To our astonishment, we may then discover that the sonnet, instead of being a verbal toy, is the very primitive art-form of the modern Englishman ; and if we pursue the subject we presently know that, for the last three hundred years, whenever an English poet has had any peculiarly holy, private, and personal emotion to give forth in the poetic way, he has usually chosen the sonnet form for this purpose. After Cædmon wrote Saxon English, and Chaucer, Norman English, when we come to Wyatt and Surrey and the stricter Elizabethans, we see modern English poetry springing into being in the form of the sonnet. It is of no great moment that the form had existed before in Italy. The notion that sonnets are foreign and merely *dilettante* forms of English poetry is a mere argument of the neglect with which many of the most artistic users of our tongue have been treated. We can understand and forgive Ben Jonson, when he declared in his big, frank, blundering way to William Drummond that the sonnet was a procrustean bed for ideas. Jonson spoke from small experience, not then being able to look—as we can—from the vanishing standpoint which commands these last wonderful three hundred years. Had he even fully known the very man to whom he was talking, he could not have said what he did. Some of Drummond's sonnets are—one *must* use the word—simply adorable ; and if this sounds extravagant there are “ Be as thou wast, my Lute,” and “ Dear Quirister who from these shadows sends,” and twenty more, to speak for themselves in such wise as no man may gainsay. We can only forgive Jonson because he knew them not ; but the ignorance, which was a good plea in his mouth, will not avail in face of the sweet irresistible multitude of English sonnets which have been printed since 1590. What, for example—before proceeding to specify other qualities peculiar to Griffin's work—could be more simple, more direct, more like thoughts uttering themselves without the aid of culture and without the sense of criticism, than the following sonnet to Fidessa ? The poor young lover,

fearful of being consumed in an unrewarded passion, speaks his fear with as little circumlocution as a child asking for water or a plowman calling to his horse. In every word, collocation, turn of phrase, sentence, and idiom, the English ear will recognize its own; it is so straightforward as to form a communication, unobjectionable from the scriptural point of view, being but *yca, yca*, and *nay, nay*, yet it is, though by no means Griffin's best, very good music, and makes one think of a blue-eyed child singing about death:

“ The sillie bird that hasts unto the net
 And flutters to and fro till she be taken
 Doth looke some foode or succour there to get,
 But looseth life, so much is she mistaken;
 The foolish flie that flieth to the flame
 With ceaseless hovering, and with restless flight,
 Is burnèd straight to ashes in the same
 And finds her death where was her most delight;
 The proud aspiring boye that needs would prie
 Into the secrets of the highest seate
 And some conceite to gain contente thereby,
 Or else his follie sure was wondrous great,
 There did through follie perish all and die,
 And (though I know it) even so doe I.”

No experienced craftsman in words will fail to perceive that the limpid transparency of these sentences is not a happy accident, but an achievement of deliberate art; for it is supported by too many other beauties which would also have to be considered results of accident, namely, by the exquisite variations in the sequences of vowel sounds, the perfect anastomosis of terminal letter with initial letter, the light and delicate use of alliteration, not only to mottle the prevalent rhythm, but to intensify a logical antithesis and other technical particulars.

Again, in Griffin's sonnets, the beginning has always an eye to the end. Each intermediate circumstance, too, has a convergent direction by which, at last, all meet, substantially, in a keen and effective point, like the incidents which form the plot of every well-conducted story or drama. Indeed every good sonnet *is* a drama; and the critical reader need desire no more perfect test for the hidden art of a sonnet than the completeness with which it answers to the requirements of dramatic unity. True, the whole sonnet is but a short soliloquy; nevertheless it must have its due beginning, its convergent plot, and its crisis in the last lines. In the following sonnet, for instance, the general dramatic type is artfully varied by

keeping in suspense the nature of the crisis through a number of incidental particulars bearing on it only in the one point of time :

“ So soone as peeping Lucifer, Aurora’s starre,¹
 The skie with golden percings doth spangle,
 So soone as Phœbus gives us light from farre,
 So soone as fowler doth the bird untangle,
 Soone as the watchfull birde (clocke of the morne)
 Gives intimation of the dayes appearing,
 Soone as the jollie Hunter windes his horne,
 His speech and voyce with customs Eccho clearing,
 Soone as the hungrie Lion seekes his praie,
 In solitary range of pathles mountaines,
 Soone as the passenger sets on his waie,
 So soone as beastes resort unto the fountaines ;
 So soone mine eyes their office are discharging,
 And I my griefes with greater griefes enlarging.”

Or, note the same suspension carried on through thirteen lines, with the quaint intensification of pathetic hoplessness wrought by the “and I not be,” of the thirteenth, to the last line, which, by a perfect feeling for art, is made, together with the thirteenth, a foot shorter than the others.

“ When never-speaking silence proves a wonder,
 When ever-flying fame at home remaineth,
 When all-concealing night keepes darknes under,
 When men-devouring wrong true glorie gaineth,
 When soule-tormenting grieve agrees with joy,
 When Lucifer forerunneth baleful night,
 When Venus doth forsake her little boye,
 When her untoward boye attaineth sight,
 When Sysiphus doth cease to roule his stone,
 When Othes shaketh off his heavie chaines,
 When Beautie Queene of pleasure is alone,
 When Love and Vertue quiet peace disdaines,
 When these shall be, and I not be,
 Then will Fidessa pitie me.”

Again, besides this faculty of rounding the sonnet into a dramatic whole, Griffin has a certain bright vivacity which is constantly presenting the reader with charming surprises by suddenly changing the statuesque *dramatis personæ* of a demure tableau into actual and active people. For example, in this sonnet on Sleep—to which the read-

¹ It is difficult to tell whether the redundancy of syllables in this line is an oversight, or intended to be made up by such a rapid utterance of the word “Lucifer” as to give all three of its syllables the value of one short in the iambus with “Au.” It is most probably the oversight of an evidently young writer.

er's attention is asked on other accounts which will be specified presently—the sudden and vivid introduction of the figures of Fidessa and of Sleep, in active underplay, cuts delightfully in upon the drowsy sonnet, and gives real character to the last line, which is as artless as the earnest quest of the child asking its mother when will Santa Claus come again.

“ Care-charmer sleepe, Sweete ease in restlesse miserie,¹
 The captive's libertie and his freedome's song ;
 Balm of the bruised heart, man's chief felicitie ;
 Brother of quiet death, when life is too, too long ;
 A Comedie it is, and now an Historie.
 What is not sleepe unto the feeble minde ?
 It easeth him that toyles and him that's sorrie ;
 It makes the deafe to hear, to see the blinde.
 Ungentle sleepe, thou helpest all but me,
 For when I sleepe my soule is vexèd most.
 It is Fidessa that doth master thee ;
 If she approach (alas) thy power is lost.
 But here she is : see how he runnnes amaine ;
 I fear at night he will not come againe.”

The treatment of the same subject by several authors always affords an interesting method of bringing their individual characteristics into clear relief. This is particularly the case when they have not only treated the same subject, but treated it in the same special form. It so happens that three of Griffin's contemporaries—Daniel, Drummond, and Sir Philip Sidney—also wrote sonnets on sleep, and it will therefore help the reader toward a distinct idea of our poet's mental personality to repeat here the sonnets of these three for the sake of comparison.

Consider first Sir Philip Sidney's, which, take it for all in all, is much the best specimen of his poetic handiwork now in existence. Note—and truly who that has ever spent a sleepless night can fail to note?—the keeping and harmonious collocation of the smooth pillows, the sweetest bed, the chamber deaf to noise and blind to light, the rosy garland, and the weary head. Then the turn of thought in which he attempts to bribe Sleep, other inducements failing, by promising him, if he will come, to show him the best picture of Stella that ever was taken, to wit, the picture graven in his own

¹ It is impossible not to believe that this line, and the three immediately succeeding the next, were purposely made Alexandrines for the sake of length and drowsiness ; as the two last lines of the sonnet just previously quoted were shortened in order to gain a certain abrupt strength and point.

lover's heart—with the necessarily-inferred compliment that no god can hold out against that heavenly prospect—is altogether cunning and graceful. In these respects, and in the pith and point of the introductory items, it is finer than Griffin's; while the latter, on the other hand, greatly excels in musical flow and in dramatic vivacity.

" Come sleep, O sleep, the certain knot of peace,
 The baiting-place of wit, the balm of woe,
 The poor man's wealth, the prisoner's release,
 The indifferent judge between the high and low
 With shield of proof shield me from out the prease¹
 Of those fierce darts Despair at me doth throw :
 Oh make in me those civil wars to cease :
 I will good tribute pay, if thou do so.
 Take thou of me smooth pillows, sweetest bed,
 A chamber deaf to noise and blind to light,
 A rosy garland and a weary head :
 And if these things, as being thine by right,
 Move not thy heavy grace, thou shalt in me
 Livelier than elsewhere Stella's image see."

Sidney appears to have written under the disadvantage of a notable lack of the musical sense. Many of his sonnets, filled with exquisite conceptions, nevertheless come as gratingly upon the ear—to use a favorite simile among musicians—as broken crockery falling down-stairs. Thus, as was said, his sonnet is inferior to Griffin's in all that makes music. But compare the two with the following, also on Sleep, by Samuel Daniel. In a certain tender swing of movement, attained by great art in the selection of words presenting sounds upon which the tongue and ear can linger, and which at the same time suavely melt into each other with the true liquid flow of genuine poetic sequences, Daniel must be esteemed the greatest English artist. While the following sonnet does not show him at his best in this respect—not so well, for example, as "Let others sing of Knights and Palladines," which is well-nigh the best music ever made with English words—it is yet sufficiently beautiful, and serves well to individualize him in the reader's mind, as distinguished from Griffin and Sidney.

" Care-charmer Sleepe, Sonne of the sable night,
 Brother to death, in silent darkness born,
 Relieve my languish and restore the light ;
 With dark forgetting of my care, returne,

¹ *i.e.*, press, throng.

And let the day be time enough to mourne
 The shipwracke of my ill-adventred youth :
 Let waking eyes suffice to waile their scorn
 Without the torment of the night's untruth.
 Cease dreames, the Images of day desires
 To modell forth the famous of to-morrow :
 Never let rising sunne approve you liers,
 To add more griefe to aggravate my sorrow.
 Still let me sleepe, imbracing clouds in vaine,
 And never wake to feel the day's disdaine."

Here one immediately perceives a cast of thought still beautiful but strikingly different from that of either Sidney or Griffin. The absolute agreement between the conception and its embodiment—between idea and word—is finer than in either of the two latter. No man ever more completely identified spiritual cadences with physical than does Daniel; the soul of his music presides with absolute control over its body, and the result is a poem in which the logical arrangement is the precise analogue of the prosodial, so that to criticise the thought is to scan the verse. The tone of tender pleading which is Daniel's favorite *genre*—and which is so loyal and manly withal that we wonder continually how Delia could have yeld out so long against it—forms a well-marked characteristic for his sonnets as opposed to the more strongly-colored and more vigorous scenes of Griffin.

The epithet "care-charmer," with which both Griffin and Daniel begin their sonnets, is probably not a plagiarism; and the same may be said of the other similar thoughts which occur in this quartet of poems, all treating of the same subject. There is nothing suspicious in such likenesses; the thought is natural and suggests itself too readily to appear to be stolen. Plagiarism was not much thought of in those simpler days. The frequent occurrence of the same ideas and the same expressions in poets of the period is evidence of nothing else than the free use of materials regarded on all sides as common stock. Shakespeare takes a play bodily, without hesitation, and uses its plot for a new drama. Ben Jonson paraphrases "Drink to me only with thine eyes," from the Greek. Wyatt, and the anonymous writers in the early collections freely appropriate from the Italian. Nay, long before them, Chaucer had made translations upon all sides, and had never dreamed of crime in stamping his name upon the wares which he had thus fused and moulded over again. That men are more scrupulous in these days may be a sign of the general clarification of conscience. It is, at

least, a development of men's conceptions of truthfulness which has been in great part occasioned by the growing spirit of exactness in all things which increases with each new generation.

It is not so much that the literary men of our earlier period borrowed from each other, as that they were not so careful either to acknowledge obligations or to eliminate real or apparent foreign matter from their work. This the modern writer is certainly more solicitous in doing than has ever been the case before ; it does not, however, prove that he is honest and the Elizabethan a thief, but only that the general conception of honesty has advanced in point of definiteness and of delicacy.

Upon these considerations, as was said, the charges of plagiarism, as against men like Daniel and his fellows, are merely fitted to waste the time of pottering antiquarians in whom all sense of pure beauty has long ago decayed, only to be replaced by a heartless desire to find what some one else has not found, without reference to any intrinsic value in the fact discovered.

Without, therefore, lingering to ascertain whether Griffin was debtor to Daniel in the item of this epithet "care-charmer," or whether any of these poets borrowed from the other the notion of Sleep as the brother of Death—a common legacy indeed out of the classic times—let us now compare with the three sonnets already given a fourth one on Sleep by William Drummond, of Hawthornden. The different treatment is readily observed. The whole tone here is grayer and soberer ; and in the previous three there is nothing like

" With that face
To inward light which thou art wont to show"

of the ninth and tenth lines, which contains a wonderful and subtle summing up of the strange introversion by which in dreams our senses change their whole direction of activity, making themselves dead to that world which lies without the body, and alive to that which is within it ; while the terminal line rises to a point of profound sublimity.

" Sleep, Silence' Child, sweet father of soft rest,
Prince whose approach peace to all mortals brings,
Indifferent hast to shepherds and to kings,
Sole comforter of minds which are oppress ;
Lo, by thy charming-rod all breathing things
Lie slumbering with forgetfulness possess,
And yet o'er me to spread thy drowsy wings
Thou spar'st (alas) who cannot be thy guest.

Since I am thine, oh come, but with that face
 To inward light which thou art wont to show ;
 With fainèd solace ease a true-felt woe ;
 Or if, deaf god, thou do deny that grace,
 Come as thou wilt, and, what thou wilt, bequeath,
 I long to kiss the image of my death."

In contrast with this measured and sombre march, the liveliness of Griffin's pace becomes very clearly marked, while at the same time his child-like naïveté and simplicity are in strong contrast with the sedate maturity of Drummond's thought.

It remains to notice a very engaging characteristic of Griffin's work, which gives him a special claim to attention. This displays itself in certain of his sonnets, wherein, mingled with the extravagance of the despairing lover's cries, is a roguish consciousness of that extravagance plainly to be seen peeping forth at intervals so as to make a sort of interplay between the real pathos and the real absurdity of the situation. Sometimes a delicately-shaded variation of this interplay occurs, most easily perhaps to be described by the comparison of a bright young girl in amateur tableaux playing Hagar in the Wilderness, counterfeiting intelligently enough the desolate woman, save that a certain arch-twinkle in the eye will break out from an underlying sense of the ridiculous in the whole situation.

For example, take the forty-eighth sonnet, wherein, apparently, after some quite intolerable cruelty on the part of coy Fidessa, the lover rushes off and relieves himself in lines which play hide-and-seek betwixt jest and earnest until the last two lines are reached, when suddenly we come upon a sentiment at once Roman in scope and thoroughly Elizabethan in pith and epigrammatic keenness. Fancy Fidessa frowning on him ; " Murder !" he cries :

" Murder, oh, murder ! I can crie no longer :
 Murder, oh, murder ! is there none to ayde me ?
 Life feeble is in force, death is much stronger :
 Then let me dye, that shame may not upbrayde me
 Nothing is left me now but shame or death.
 I feare she feareth not foul murther's guilt,
 Nor doe I feare to loose a servile breath ;
 I know my blood was given to be spilt.
 What is this life but maze of countless strays,
 The enemie of true felicitie :
 Fitly compared to dreames, to flowers, to playes ?
 O life, no life to me but miserie !
 Of shame or death, if thou must one,
 Make choice of death, and both are gone."

Again, he makes a comical kind of refrain for a sonnet out of the word "more"—after a fashion in vogue at that time for constructing a poem which should turn upon some verbal pivot—and pours forth a sort of jolly lamentation as follows :

LX.

" Oh let me sigh, weepe, waile, and crye no more ;
 Or let me sigh, weepe, waile, cry more and more ;
 Yea, let me sigh, weepe, waile, crie evermore ;
 For she doth pitie my complaints no more
 Than cruell Pagan, or the savadge Moore :
 But still doth add unto my torments more,
 Which grievous are to me by so much more
 As she inflicts them and doth wish them more.
 Oh let thy mercie (mercilesse) be never more !
 So shall sweet death to me be welcome more
 Than is to hungrie beastes the grassie moore.
 Ah, she that to affliction adds yet more
 Becomes more cruell by still adding more,
 Wearie am I to speak of this word (more),
 Yet never wearie she to plague me more."

He throws, in a preposterous touch, to increase the damnable iteration of his torments by tacking on a supernumerary line and making the sonnet consist of fifteen instead of the regulation number of fourteen lines.

He can write, however, in good earnest, and can find expression for true and profound passion. Instance the following, where the observant reader will note also that there is absolutely no sprinkling of random adjectives, but that every least word materially increases the weight of thought and tends straight towards the mark set up in the last two lines :

XLIX.

" My cruell fortunes clouded with a frowne,
 Lurke in the bosom of eternall night :
 My climbing thoughts are basely halèd down,
 My best devices prove but after-sight.
 Poore outcast of the world's exilèd roome,
 I live in wilderness of deep lament :
 No hope reserv'd me but a hopeless tombe,
 When fruitles life and fruitfull woes are spent.
 Shall Phœbus hinder little starres to shine,
 Or loftie Cedar Mushroome leave to grow ?
 Sure mightie men at little ones repine,
 The riche is to the poore a common foe.
 Fidessa, seing how the world doth goe,
 Joyeth with fortune in my overthrow."

In the following sonnet Griffin shows a meditative sympathy with the lower forms of nature which brings to us very delightfully the fresh scent of the sixteenth century. Every one will be reminded, by the first line, of the "Wee timorous cowerin' beastie," which Robert Burns stirred up in the field. The last two lines also exhibit a happy application of the belief that death brings us an opening of the eyes whereby we shall see all things, very different in its quiet resignation from the frantic and half absurd cries of some of the other sonnets.

XXVII.

" Poore worme, poore sillie worme, (alas, poor beast)
 Feare makes thee hide thy head within the ground,
 Because of creeping things thou art the least,
 Yet every foot gives thee thy mortall wound.
 But I, thy fellow-worme, am in werse state,
 For thou thy Sunne enjoyest, but I want mine :
 I live in irksome night : O cruel fate !
 My sunne will never rise, nor ever shine.
 Thus blind of light, mine eyes misguide my feete,
 And balefull darknes makes me still afraide :
 Men mocke me when I stumble in the streete,
 And wonder how my yong sight so decaied.
 Yet doe I joy in this (even when I fall)
 That I shall see againe, and then see all."

It will, too, probably be inferred, from the dismal hue of the sonnets so far given, that Fidessa was a relentless coquette, a mandevourer without mercy ; wherefore we feel in honesty bound to redeem this young person's character from such a stigma, by showing unmistakable hints, occurring here and there, and indicating that when occasion served she could come out sweetly enough as a true woman and helpful soul in time of trouble. There is a very grateful sonnet, written after an illness during which, to his heavenly delight, she had been good enough—alas ! that Fidessas of the nineteenth century eschew so lovely a custom !—to nurse him ; and there is other evidence that the "cruelty" which occasions most of the sonnets is little more than that uprising of maidenhood which appears to be a sort of prudential arrangement of nature whereby the weaker sex instinctively holds off the stronger for a time, at least long enough for reflecting upon the attractive slavery before irrevocably submitting to it. In fact, one finds in Fidessa not only a young maiden of great discretion, but detects occasional manifestations of a prudence which may sometimes have passed

into priggishness, if we may be allowed to use so unpoetical a phrase concerning the heroine of a whole volume of sonnets. What is more interesting, the priggishness seems very modern in type. For example, the writer knew, some while ago, a maiden—and one of the brightest of the time in heart and mind—who for some months was quite seriously possessed with the following idea : *It was impossible*, she would declare, with a very pretty fervor and modesty, and with some show of despair, *that she could ever love a man who loved her, because forsooth she knew her own worth to be so small that she could not admire a man with a soul little enough to prize it !*

Quite a distinct trace of similar young woman's logic displays itself in sonnet number XX. Here we find that Fidessa has acknowledged herself captive, and sings :

“ Delightful tunes of love, of true love,”

and so on ; but presently declares, with much of the involved self-depreciation of the lady just described, that

“ Her love is counsaile that I should not love,
But upon virtues fixe a staidè mind,”

all of which new-fangled doctrine of Fidessa's very rightly and justly astonishes her downright lover, and he exclaims :

“ But what? this new-coyn'd love, love doth reprove.
If this be love of which you make such store,
Sweet, love me lesse, that you may love me more.”

SELF-GOVERNMENT IN THE TERRITORIES.

MORE than fifty years ago Chancellor Kent said :

“ If the Government of the United States should carry into execution the project of colonizing the great valley of the Columbia or Oregon River to the west of the Rocky Mountains, it would afford a subject of grave consideration what would be the future civil and political destiny of that country. It would be a long time before it would be populous enough to be created into one or more independent States ; and in the mean time, upon the doctrine taught by the acts of Congress and even by the judicial decisions of the Supreme Court, the colonists would be in a state of most complete subordination, and as dependent upon the will of Congress as the people of this country would have been upon the king and parliament of Great Britain if they could have sustained their claim to bind us in all cases whatsoever. Such a state of absolute sovereignty on the one hand and of absolute dependence on the other is not congenial with the free and independent spirit of our native institutions ; and the establishment of distant Territorial governments, ruled according to the will and pleasure, would have a very natural tendency, as all proconsular governments have had, to abuse and oppression.” ¹

The period contemplated by this eminent jurist has arrived. Territorial governments have been erected in the remotest parts of our vast domain. The great valley of the Columbia contains one State in the Union and one organized Territory. Distant communities of our countrymen are living thousands of miles from the central government that gives to them the law and appoints officers to execute and enforce it. The fabric of our Territorial governments, reaching from the waters of the Pacific to the Red River and the Rio del Norte, covers an area of 868,472 square miles, and provides the law for more than one half million of people. The marvellous growth and progress of our country during the last half-century presents the problem contained in the prophetic words of the great Chancellor as one of the living questions of to-day. How shall these planters of States and builders of empire be governed ? How shall those common rights that belong to every American citizen be secured to them ?

¹ Kent's Commentaries, vol. i., p. 417.

Our Territorial system of government is nearly a century old. It had its origin under the Confederation in the famous Ordinance of 1787, providing a government for the territory north-west of the Ohio River. The provisions of the Ordinance were subsequently extended to the territory south-west of the Ohio, and from that day it has been the model upon which the organic acts of the several Territories have been formed. Is this system, which was formed in the infancy of the republic, when the population was a mere handful and the extent of territory occupied correspondingly limited, suited to the changed condition of things in the present day, when the population has pushed across the continent, and political communities situated on the shores of the Pacific are ruled and governed "according to the will and pleasure" of Congress placed near the shore of the Atlantic? This system of absolute sovereignty on the one hand, and of absolute dependence on the other, was in force when Chancellor Kent wrote, and which, when applied to distant Territorial governments, he condemned, as not congenial to the free and independent spirit of our native institutions. In order to appreciate the force of his remark, it is necessary to know something of the foundation upon which the system rests.

The Ordinance of 1787 required Congress from time to time to appoint a governor for the Territory, whose commission should continue in force for the term of three years unless sooner revoked by Congress, and that he should reside in the Territory and have a freehold interest and estate therein of one thousand acres of land while in the exercise of his office. It also provided that Congress should appoint a secretary and three judges with like qualifications as to property and residence; also for the election and appointment of a general assembly to consist of a council and house of representatives, and that the legislature should have the authority to elect a delegate who should have a seat in Congress with a right of debating, but not of voting.

Subsequent acts for Territorial governments have so far modified the provisions of the Ordinance as to require the President to nominate, and with the consent of the Senate to appoint, a governor, chief-justice, and two associate justices, a secretary, marshal, and United States attorney; they provide also for the election of a legislature by the people, with power to enact local laws subject to the approval of Congress; they abolish the requirement that the officers appointed should be freeholders in the Territory, and they authorize the people, instead of the legislature, to elect a delegate to

Congress, who shall have the right to speak, but not to vote therein.

This outline shows three prominent features of a Territorial government, viz.:

First. That the people of the Territories are not represented in Congress.

Second. That they are not permitted to elect their own officers ; and,

Third. That they are deprived of the privilege of making their own local laws, save as the same may be approved by Congress, whereby the people are forbidden the right of self-government.

1. To establish the first proposition, it is only necessary to turn to the record and ascertain how the doors of the House were first opened to Territorial delegates, and the position and powers accorded to them. The Constitution provides that the House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States. Territorial delegates are unknown to that instrument. They could not, therefore, become members of the House. How then were they to obtain seats therein ? This was the question presented to the House when, in 1794, Mr. James White, the first Territorial delegate, presented his credentials and asked for admission as a representative from the Territory south of the Ohio. Before the cession of this Territory the people had been promised representation in Congress. How to fulfil this promise and not violate the Constitution in so doing was the problem for consideration. In the debate that ensued ¹ Mr. Swift said that the Constitution had made no provision for such a member as this person was intended to be ; that if they could admit a delegate to Congress they might with equal propriety admit a stranger from any quarter of the world ; that they might as well admit the gallery or a foreign minister as this person from the South-west Territory. Mr. Smith thought the gentleman fully qualified to take his seat in the House, but that it might be a question whether he was to be dismissed when the galleries were cleared. Mr. Giles, on the score of expediency, thought the delegate ought to be admitted. Mr. Dexter thought the House had a right to consult or admit to the privilege of debating any individual whom they thought proper, but that was an entirely different matter from allowing him to vote on the question before the House. Mr. Murray suggested that the delegate

¹ Abridg. Debates of Congress, vol. i., 529-30.

might be permitted to have a seat in both House and Senate. Mr. Boudinot said there was no pretense for his admission among the representatives of the people. Mr. Baldwin thought that when a member was permitted to speak but forbidden to vote, his situation was higher than that of strangers in the gallery or of an advocate allowed to plead at the bar of the House, or of a printer who came only to take notes, but fell far short of the situation of a Member of Congress. He could see nothing in the new Constitution that required the exclusion of the delegate from the Territory south-west of the Ohio. This privilege had been solemnly promised those people upon three different occasions. Mr. Swift said it would be better to erect these people into a new State, and then the privilege would be of some use to them. He was still of the opinion that the Constitution admitted no such delegate as this person was intended to be. He was a new kind of character, unknown to it. He was *sui generis*. If the Constitution knows any thing about him, then take him; if not, reject him. To admit a person within the bar for the purpose of consulting him was quite a different thing from permitting the gallery, like this person, to come and take a permanent seat among the members for the purpose of regularly debating.

A resolution was then adopted, admitting Mr. White to a seat in the House as a delegate from the Territory of the United States south of the river Ohio, with a right of debating, but not of voting, the members being chiefly induced to this action by the fact that representation had been promised these people before the Territory was ceded to the United States by the State. But representation being impossible under the Constitution, the delegate was given a seat and deprived of a vote.

The question then arose as to whether the delegate should take an oath as a member. Mr. Madison said the delegate was not a member of Congress, and so could not be directed to take an oath unless he chose to do so voluntarily. Mr. Swift and Mr. Giles agreed with Mr. Madison. Mr. Lyman was for administering the oath. Mr. Dayton opposed it. He said call him what you will, a member, a delegate, or if you please a *nondescript*. It would be wrong to accept an oath even if he should offer it. He was not a member. He could not vote, which was the essential part. He might argue, and so influence the House; and so could a printer in a newspaper. Mr. Boudinot thought it a strange thing to have a gentleman there arguing who was not bound by an oath. And thus Mr. White was admitted as a delegate.

Under our system of government representation, the right of the people to make the laws is the parent of the right of taxation. This is the American idea. For this our fathers fought, for this they achieved their independence, for this they planted a nation. Taxation and representation go hand in hand. But this fundamental principle is denied to the people of the Territories. While they are taxed by the General Government in the same way as the people of the States, they are deprived of representation in Congress. Their delegate is an officer unknown to the Constitution. The history of the admission of the first delegate shows that his position was looked upon as one to which no dignity or importance attached, and it is still regarded in the same way. He is the mere shadow of a representation. He is entirely without power. He has no vote. He occupies his seat as a mere matter of grace, as any stranger might upon the invitation of the House. In making the laws his voice is silent. In the act of representing his people he is "as idle as a painted ship upon a painted ocean." He is not a member of the House. When first admitted there the members knew not what to call him nor how to designate his official position. He held an office to which no duties attached. He was admitted to his seat as a mere spectator after having been deprived of all power. No wonder he was called the "*nondescript*," since he held an office without a name or duties, and was called upon to represent his people after being robbed of the only instrument and weapon of representation—a vote in Congress. The only privilege he has is that of a beggar. He may humbly supplicate the power that holds the destiny of the Territories within its all-powerful grasp, to bestow upon his people those common rights that belong to every American citizen. And this is all. He is utterly powerless to enforce or to protect any of those rights.

2. Deprived of representation in Congress the people of the Territories are likewise forbidden the privilege of electing their own local officers. They can pay taxes, but they can not vote to choose their own rulers. For the purpose of helping to bear the burdens of government they are full-grown men and citizens; but for the purpose of enjoying its rights and privileges, they are puny children, incapable of taking care of themselves. And so the President and Congress become their guardians, and furnish them officers ready-made, non-resident strangers, having no property in the Territory nor interest in its growth or prosperity, and liable to be mere political adventurers, with no character at home and with nothing to recommend them favorably to the people they are to govern and control.

With a delegate who is not a representative ; with a governor who may be a political tramp without character or ability, or the demented relative of some man of influence, imported from the States and imposed upon the people against their will and protest ; with judges often incompetent and entirely unacquainted with the practice in the courts where they are sent to administer the law, and not of the people's choosing ; with district attorneys sent to the Territories to learn the first rudiments of the law, in which undertaking they always fail ; with marshals forwarded from the East because they have failed to earn a living at home ; and with no voice in the election of Presidential electors, it can not be said with any propriety that the people of the Territories enjoy the right which is supposed to belong to every American citizen—that of voting for and helping to elect their own local officers.

3. Forbidden representation in Congress and the right to choose their own rulers, they are likewise denied the privilege of making their own laws. The result of the Territorial system is, that the people of the States make the laws and furnish the officers for the people of the Territories. The theory of Territorial inferiority and dependence, and that the people thereof are incapable of self-government, is fully carried out in practice. They are granted the gracious privilege of electing a legislature that can not make laws. Congress exercises supreme control over the legislation of the Territories. It may annul any Territorial enactment. In the smallest matters of local and police regulations its voice is all-powerful. It may, as it has done, declare void the entire enactments of a Territorial legislature. Thus it becomes responsible for the system of Territorial laws. The enactments of the legislature are as the merest chaff before the breath of its master. They represent in mere mockery the shadow of self-government. Thus Congress shapes the public policy of the Territories, and dictates what rights the people shall enjoy and what they shall be deprived of. If they are refused the right of self-government, Congress must answer for it. If they can not elect their own officers or make their own laws, and are thereby reduced to a position of vassalage and dependence, the people of the States through their representatives in Congress are alone responsible for this condition of things.¹

¹ " Perhaps the power of governing a Territory belonging to the United States which has not by becoming a State acquired the means of self-government may result necessarily from the facts that it is not within the jurisdiction of any particular State, and is within the power and jurisdiction of the United States. The right to govern may be

It follows, therefore, that Congress has all power and authority to bestow upon the people of the Territories those common rights of self-government that pertain to every American citizen.

Not only has Congress supreme power over the legislation of the Territories, but it may even abolish a Territorial government altogether and blot out its existence forever. It may divide one Territory into several. It may annex one to another. After one has acquired sufficient population to be admitted as a State it may divide and subdivide it so as to keep it in the condition of a Territory for an indefinite period. Generation after generation may thus pass away before the people emerge from this condition of servitude and inferiority, to enjoy the full rights and privileges of citizenship.

Is there any valid reason why this condition of things should longer exist? Why should not the governors, judges, and other officers of the Territories be elected by the people? Are they not as capable of doing so as the people of the States? And are they not, like them, citizens, clothed with the right of self-government? Why should a citizen, when he goes to reside in a Territory, become an exile in the land of his birth? Why should he become a mere foreigner for every purpose save that of taxation?

The effect of this system upon the people of the Territories may readily be imagined. It engenders a want of confidence, and this leads to lawlessness and demoralization. It begets a feeling of hostility among the people. They can not understand why they should not elect their own officers, and enjoy the same privileges as their fellow-citizens of the States. They know that Congress has the right to give them local self-government, and the refusal to do so is interpreted into a desire to exercise power for the mere sake of power, or into a feeling of neglect and want of interest in the Territories. They know that for the purposes of taxation they are equal to the most favored citizens, and they can not understand why they should

the inevitable consequence of the right to acquire territory. Whichever may be the source whence the power is derived, the possession of it is unquestioned."—Chief-Justice Marshall in *American Ins. Co. vs. Canter*, 1 Peters, 511.

"The power of Congress over the public territory is clearly exclusive and universal, and their legislation is subject to no control, but is absolute and unlimited."—2 Story on the Constitution, sect. 1328.

"With respect to the vast territories belonging to the United States, Congress have assumed to exercise over them supreme powers of sovereignty. Exclusive and unlimited power of legislation is given to Congress by the Constitution, and sanctioned by judicial decision."—1 Kent, 414.

be stamped with inferiority in other respects. A sense of degradation and wounded pride is the result.

The tenure of office is another fault of the Territorial system. The duration of the official life depends upon the will of one man, and he thousands of miles removed from the officer himself. Good officers are often removed without cause or provocation to make room for others whose claims are thought to be superior by reason of their services to the party in power, or whose importunity becomes unendurable, or whom some one wishes to banish to make room for himself or others, or who are supported by influences that can not be disregarded. A swarm of office-seekers besiege the White House, supported by a thousand and one pretended claims and influences ; charges are made against the distant officer, and he is removed without notice or warning ; and the result is that Federal officials are constantly arriving in the Territories, and departing from them, until the terms "pilgrim" and "carpet-bagger," by which they are generally known and designated among the people, become natural and appropriate.

This feeble official tenure invites attacks from other sources. In every Territory there are ambitious, enterprising men, who think with good reason that they are capable of filling the offices, and that if they can not be elected they ought to be appointed thereto. These men are the natural enemies of the foreign officer sent out to the Territories, and the warfare they wage is vigorous and never-ending.

Other attacks are invited for the same reason. An officer, by the purity of his life and official conduct, becomes popular with the people. The embryo Senators and Members of Congress of the future State see danger in the distance. Their rival must be humbled, and the word of one man upon an *ex-parte* hearing can cause his removal and degradation. This feeling is the parent of many an unjust charge and accusation, whereby the Territory may be kept in a constant broil. And so it is that officers are as often attacked for being too good, upright, and just, as for being bad, dishonest, and corrupt.

Another brood of petty attacks is engendered by the same cause. A governor performs an official act to which some one takes exception. An attempt to cause his removal is the remedy, because removals are so easily obtained. A lawsuit is decided. The unsuccessful party vents his spite in an attempt to procure the removal of the judge. The feeble official tenure is constantly inviting attack ; and jealousy, envy, personal hatred, and ill-will are con-

stantly tempted to engage in a crusade that can do them no injury and may bring great satisfaction.

Under such circumstances official life in the Territories becomes a personal warfare, which is neither pleasant to the officer nor beneficial to the people. The reason is apparent. The trouble lies at the root of the system itself. Certainty of official tenure would remedy the evil, but not remove it. Local self-government would heal the wounds, cure the jealousies, and bring satisfaction. This kind of home government is what the people have been educated to revere and respect ; it forms a part of their life ; it is cherished in their homes ; it is the basis of all their political and social ideas ; they believe it the birthright of every American citizen, and so long as this right is infringed or invaded they will not be satisfied. Only the hope that sometime they or their children or their children's children may be placed upon an equality with other citizens by having their Territory admitted into the Union as a State, prevents open revolution and rebellion against a system that robs them of the right of self-government.

Why should there be this amazing difference between the citizens of an embryo State and those of a full-fledged one, when they are all American citizens, when it is not a crime to live in a Territory, and when there is no constitutional or other objection to Congress giving to the people of the Territories the same rights to local self-government as are enjoyed by the people of the States.

The population of the Territories is already more than sufficient for four States according to the present ratio of representation, and it would be infinitely better to abolish the present Territorial organizations and divide the Territory into States and admit them into the Union at once, than to deprive this large and deserving class of our countrymen of any of the rights which the Constitution provides for all. But if this were impracticable, there seems to be no reason why the Territories should not be given the right to elect their own local officers and to make their local laws without interference from Congress.

The appointing power of the President is already too extensive for the welfare of the republic. In it are the seeds of weakness, discontent, and revolution, and this power ought to be restricted rather than expanded. The prize is too great. It dazzles the ambition. It invites fraud and corruption in order to obtain it. Here is the danger in the distance. But it can be easily avoided. Reduce the prize. Cut off some of the unnecessary branches of the Presi-

dent's power and the danger fades away. The Territories seem to be an inviting field in which to apply the pruning knife. Our people do not like the exercise of arbitrary power, and the area in which it can be exerted by the President and Congress ought to be diminished rather than expanded.

The hardy pioneers who have reclaimed our Territorial empire and planted and nurtured therein young commonwealths amidst storm and peril ; these men who have caused the desert to bud and bloom, and the mountain to yield up its treasure ; who have pushed American civilization across the continent ought to be entitled to all the privileges of free men in a free country. They have built homes within sight of the wigwam and scalping-knife ; they have embarked fortunes in developing the resources and in increasing the industries of the country ; they have added wealth to the nation, increased its revenues, enlarged its field of taxation, added to its income, and multiplied its power. Why, then, should they not be clothed with citizenship in the young States their enterprise has founded ?

THE SILVER CONFERENCE AND THE SILVER QUESTION.

THE report of the American delegates to the International Monetary Conference has at least one merit, that of adhering strictly to the subject in hand. It is confined to a brief *résumé* of the views expressed by the various representatives assembled at the Conference, and therefore contains very little not already known to all interested in the subject. If we are glad to see that our commissioners make no attempt to enter upon a discussion of theories, we can not but be sorry to find no presentation of the statistical and other facts which they had so excellent an opportunity of collecting. A collation of such facts is indeed now what is most wanted for the elucidation of the subject, and this is precisely the want which no one engaged in the discussion has hitherto seemed disposed to supply. We propose, therefore, to take a somewhat extended view of the questions discussed in the Conference, and to begin this by clearing away some of the rubbish which has hitherto surrounded them. It may, in fact, be an open question whether the policy of bi-metalism has not suffered more from bad advocacy and bad association of ideas than from any intrinsic weakness in the position of those who favor it. If, therefore, we commence with criticisms we must not be supposed to do so for the purpose of forestalling a final judgment, but only for laying a clear foundation on which to build.

Many of the arguments which we have heard within the past two years in favor of the remonetization of silver form an interesting illustration of the ease with which great masses of men may be led to accept as a fact what is little more than a figment of the imagination, provided that the figment is skillfully presented so as to have the superficial appearance of a fact. Leaving out the thoughtless rush of those who supported the silver bill as a measure of inflation, the arguments of those whose opinions were based on politico-economical misconceptions, and the curious plea that the act of demonetization was passed through inadvertence, the main argu-

ment adduced before the public for the measure may be stated in about these words. When our law-makers, in 1873, prohibited the further coinage of the silver dollar, and limited the legal-tender qualities of silver, they annihilated a large portion of the circulating medium of the country and lessened the demand for silver so much as to cause a great depreciation in its value. "They took one half of our money right out of our pockets." The idea that the law of 1873 effected the actual demonetization of that which had before been money was sedulously disseminated until it was believed by great numbers of intelligent men.

Now, what was the fact? It would probably be safe to assert that when this argument was promulgated, one half of the citizens of our country, born since 1840, had never seen a United States silver dollar. If we should be mistaken in this; if it should be shown that one half of our people had seen a silver dollar sometime in their lives, we could still fall back on the well-known historic fact that the dollar in question was rarely used as money after 1840. The demonetization of silver and the adoption of the single gold standard were insured by the act of 1834, precisely as the ultimate demonetization of gold is insured by the silver bill of 1877, unless the ratio of value of the two metals shall change. This was effected by so lessening the quantity of gold in the dollar that the silver dollar became more valuable as bullion than as money.

The ratio then adopted is the American one that is so well known; 15.98 to 1. But the actual market ratio was always one or two per cent below this, and sunk four per cent below after the discovery of gold in California and Australia. The result was that the silver dollar was worth from \$1.01 to \$1.04 as bullion, and was therefore, as a matter of course, either not coined at all or coined for some other use than that of being passed off for money. Under such a state of things the larger coins would disappear from circulation first; but, as is well known, the small ones follow them so rapidly that in 1853 the Government was obliged to reduce silver to the rank of a subsidiary coin, though the legal-tender quality of what had before been in circulation was retained. This relic of full legal-tender power was nothing more than a legal myth, for the very simple reason that nobody would ever tender in payment for \$1 what was really worth \$1.04. If, then, any law was to be complained of, it was that of 1834, which really did the mischief. That of 1873 was nothing more than the recognition of a fact of long standing, namely, that silver had ceased to be used as money

of full legal tender for thirty years. It no more deprived our people of money, or lessened the volume of money, than the prohibition of importing bread-fruit from Otaheite would diminish the supply of bread in the United States.

The statistics of the mint are equally strong, and perhaps more striking. From the first establishment of the mint until 1873 only 8,000,000 silver dollars were coined there. The radical change in our monetary system proposed by the silver law can not be placed in a stronger light than by simply reflecting that this measure permitted the coinage in two months, and rendered obligatory the coinage in four months of more silver dollars than had been previously coined since the establishment of the mint. We exclude the subsidiary coinage in this calculation because it has never been discontinued, and the silver fractions of a dollar practically serve all the purposes now that they ever have since 1834.

We do not cite these facts as decisive against the silver standard, but only as decisive against the main argument adduced in favor of that standard. The question which metal is the best as the standard, and whether any double or combined standard is better than either, are the last ones in the world which can be settled by any arguments addressed to the popular ear. What is really wanted is a dollar, the absolute value of which, that is, the value measured by the average amount of the products of labor which it will purchase, shall fluctuate as little as possible. The suitability or unsuitableness of any particular material can be determined only by a careful collation of statistics bearing upon the changes of its ratio. Eloquent orations and popular appeals are as much out of place as they would be in determining the best form of breakwater for an exposed harbor. If it can be shown that during the past forty years the fluctuations of prices, when measured by the silver standard, have been less than when measured by the gold one, this fact would militate in favor of the silver dollar. In the contrary case they would favor the gold dollar.

Our fears of the dangerous road on which the silver bill has started our monetary system are somewhat lessened by the very judicious feature of the measure which provided for the monetary conference. This feature is the more gratifying from the fact that the most urgent advocates of the measure were found among those who have hitherto held that our monetary system should be absolutely independent of that of other nations. Its adoption was a recognition of the principles that concert

of action with other nations was desirable, and that the usefulness of metal for coinage is not to be measured by the rapidity with which it is going to depreciate in value. In proposing that other nations should join us in the unlimited coinage of silver, we favored a measure which would tend to increase the value and purchasing power of the silver dollar, and did so in the face of the arguments of the silver report, that a depreciating dollar, if the depreciation was not too rapid, would be of great benefit to the wealth of the nation.¹

Our commissioners met those of Europe under some disadvantages. One was that of being looked upon as representatives of a measure designed to take an undue advantage of our creditors. Among the bad associations connected with the silver bill was that of having received the unanimous and earnest support of all who favored unlimited issue of paper money. This, however, was comparatively a small matter alongside of another. The main body of the supporters of the measure maintained that it would permit the payment of our bonded debt in silver. In countries where gold alone was the legal tender, such a measure could hardly be regarded as a just one. We therefore regret that our commissioners are not a little more specific in referring to it. They dispose of it in the following sentence :

“ We are glad to report that the allegation so erroneously made that the act of February 28th, 1878, was passed as a measure of partial repudiation, and with the object of paying the debts of the United States in money of inferior value, had made every little impression on the public mind of Europe, so far as could be judged from the tone of the conference.”

Now this may mean either that the payment of our debt in silver would be perfectly right, or that there was no danger of any such attempt. There is no clue whatever by which we can judge which of these two very important and opposite constructions is to be put upon these words.

Another act which must have placed our commissioners at a moral disadvantage was their filing the humiliating plea that the act of 1873, demonetizing the silver dollar, was passed through inadvertence. This was strongly brought forward by Mr. Groesbeck, and clinched by Professor Walker, who assured the Conference that, although a professor of political economy, and engaged in delivering lectures on the subject, he did not know of the passage of

¹ Silver Report of 1877, p. 49.

the law. He believed the same thing was true of a large majority of his fellow-citizens. It is difficult to see what this plea meant, what relation it had to the business of the Conference, or what object was to be gained by raising it. If a proposed law can be debated in Congress for *five years*,¹ be reported several times from committees in various forms, be recommended by the Secretary of the Treasury in at least one annual report, finally pass both Houses of Congress and be signed by the President, then remain on the statute-books for two or three years without any one knowing it, and all through "inadvertence," what shall we say of our political system, or of the attention of our people or our legislators to public affairs? Every one who cares for the good name of his country will certainly say, Try to keep the fact out of the newspapers, and by no means confess it to our neighbors. The plea was as pointless as humiliating. Had our delegates frankly said that at the time of the passage of the act silver had long ceased to circulate in their country, except as a subsidiary coin, that, therefore, the legislation discontinuing its coinage and legal tender was, at the time, only a matter of form, the acceptance of a historical fact; but that the extraordinary fall in the price of silver which had occurred in the mean time had again called public attention to the subject and convinced us that silver should be money of full power, and thus led us to retrace our steps, the statement would have been correct and frank, and would have produced a much better effect than did the plea actually put forward.

In another respect our delegates showed a little quicker sense of what was for the good name of their country. It had been argued that the remonetization of silver was favored by the United States because it was for the interest of the Nevada mines. Our delegates met this in a manner which no doubt entirely satisfied the Conference, by showing that these mines were entirely the property of pri-

¹ The proposal to adopt the single gold standard and make silver a subsidiary coin grew out of the Paris Coinage Congress of 1867, and was first embodied in a bill reported to the Senate in 1868 by Mr. Sherman, who made an elaborate report on the measure. The bill was not then acted upon. Two years later the Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Boutwell) again brought the subject to the attention of Congress, showing that the silver dollar, having long disappeared from circulation, and serving no purpose whatever, except as bullion, should be discontinued. The bill finally passed the Senate, and was before the House Coinage Committee for two years, being reported to the House several times by Hon. W. D. Kelly, Chairman of the Committee, before it finally passed. After hanging between the two Houses for some time, it finally became a law in the month of February, 1873.

vate parties, and that our Government had no interest whatever in them. The foreign commissioners were fully made to understand, that, as a matter of course, the action of our Government could not be in any way influenced for the benefit of private or special interests.

We do not cite the circumstances tending to place our Government in an unfavorable attitude before the Conference in any other spirit than that of regret that the cause they represented should have been thus weakened. Whatever ground we may hereafter take, with respect to our standard, it was greatly to our interest that the Conference should prove a success, and only the most extreme inflationists could have desired it to prove a total failure. Unless the value of silver in relation to gold shall fall to its old point in the course of the next twenty years, or our standard coinage be in some way modified or restricted, we shall become, *de facto*, a nation with the single silver standard, like Mexico and China. The gold dollar will disappear from circulation as money, and be used only as bullion, for the same reason that the silver dollar disappeared after 1840. With the silver dollar as a standard, every change in the value of the metal will introduce a disturbance in our monetary system; it is, therefore, for our interest to have these changes reduced to a minimum. Now, while the extreme position taken by the advocates of the double standard, that by it the fluctuations in the relative value of the two metals can be almost wholly done away with, is generally regarded as entirely untenable, no one will deny that those fluctuations will thus be greatly diminished. Under its operation there may be no more than an insignificant coinage of silver for many years, or the coinage may more than absorb the whole annual product. Of course neither of these states of things can be permanent, and the argument of the bi-metallist, resting on the tacitly assumed hypothesis that the standard ratio of values will be recovered before either metal wholly displaces the other, can be readily refuted. But the refutation applies only to his extreme conclusion, and does not show that the suddenness and wideness of the fluctuations may not be greatly diminished by his policy. The truth lies somewhere between the two extreme opinions, that the fall in the price of silver would never have occurred at all but for its partial withdrawal as a circulating medium, and that this withdrawal has been wholly without influence on the result.

The effect of a silver panic in Europe, such as would result from a general withdrawal of the metal from coinage, would, therefore,

have a disastrous effect in debasing our standard coin—how disastrous it is impossible to say. However bad an opinion we may have of the silver policy we must wish its danger and evil reduced as much as possible, and must, therefore, hope that other nations will, so far as practicable, adopt our policy, or at least not recede from the silver standard where it is already adopted.

If, on the other hand, our present coinage policy should be reversed, and we should place our monetary system on the single gold basis, it is equally for our interest that gold should not appreciate in value, as measured by commodities in general. With a constant tendency of the gold supply to diminish, every new demand for gold as money will increase its value and purchasing power, and although we can not make any quantitative estimate of this appreciation, it will hardly be denied that a sudden rush of Europe to a gold basis would produce a serious effect in this direction. To state the matter tersely, we have now a silver and a gold dollar which differ some fifteen per cent in value; we desire to bring their values into concordance, and we therefore wish the demand for silver to be so far increased that this result may be brought about.

Thus our delegates appeared before those of Europe as advocates of the international policy of a double standard. It is certain that no complaint can be brought against them of want of zeal in performing their duty of urging our policy upon the European governments by every argument that ingenuity could suggest. Professor Walker showed strongly and clearly the inevitable appreciation in the value of gold which would result if the standard of the future should rest upon it alone. Mr. Groesbeck showed that there was every reason to believe in the rapid appreciation of silver if the proposed policy were adopted. Indeed his arguments, if we are to believe them as reported by the Swiss Commission, went so far that he must have expected them to be received with a large admixture of neutralizing considerations. Taking his picture of the diminishing silver supply, the increasing Indian demand, and the vast amounts to be absorbed by the new coinage, just as we find it given in the official report of Feer-Herzog, it was well calculated to excite fear lest silver would rise too rapidly in value to be a safe money metal.

As it will be interesting to know the views taken by the foreign delegates on the arguments and propositions brought forward by those of our own country, we will produce some of the conclusions reached by the Swiss delegates in their report. They begin with

a brief *résumé* of the argument of Professor Walker; call attention to the fact that he looks upon the whole question of the future of silver as one to be settled by legislation, but do not enter at length into his argument. Mr. Horton's statement of facts they find some occasion to criticise, though it does not seem that he made any greater mistake than that made by many silver advocates in our own country, in considering the effects of demonetizing silver, to commence not when silver goes out of circulation, but when such retirement is recognized by law. This view, as might have been expected, is not shared by the Swiss commissioners. They state his argument and their own reasons for rejecting it as follows :

" Mr. Horton explained that since the money of a single country was only a part of the metallic stock of the world, no nation has the liberty to choose between the two metals. He supports this proposition by a great number of facts extracted from the history of money, dwelling principally on the suspension of specie payments by the Bank of England in 1797, and remarking that this suspension coincided with the demonetization of silver in the United Kingdom in 1798. He claimed that if England had adhered to silver she would have passed more easily through the crisis of a forced currency during the wars with France.

" This statement of Mr. Horton's rests on error. During the whole eighteenth century from 1717, when the guinea was estimated at twenty-one shillings, the circulation of home silver was very small in England, and from 1717 to 1816 the British Government coined no silver whatever. During the period from 1717 to 1774 England had a defective standard, a circulation of gold but no coinage of silver. The old pieces of this metal, however, continued to be a legal tender. This state of things, which was quite analogous to that which exists at present in the Latin Union, was brought to an end in 1774, when it was provisionally declared by law that silver should no longer be legal money except for sums inferior to twenty-five pounds. This provisional law was continued from time to time, and definitely enacted in 1798: Mr. Horton in his reasonings ignores the real suppression of the legal standard in England, which took place in 1774, and recognizes only the suppression of 1798, which was an act of pure form."

If Mr. Horton had made it more clear to the foreign commissioners that the course of events in the monetary world is determined by law rather than by actual facts, the criticisms of the Swiss commissioners might have been suppressed altogether.

They then proceed with the argument of Mr. Groesbeck :

" According to him, as reported by Mr. Feer-Herzog, there is no excess of silver in the world. The production of the mines is diminishing the demands of the East Indies increasing, the employment of silver therefore offers no danger ; let us restore silver to its ancient place and save the two metals by the co-operation of powerful nations."

“It will be seen by what precedes that the general tendency of the American speakers, whom we have considered as belonging to the moderate silver party of their own country, is to return this metal to the place from which they suppose it to have been recently taken, through the intervention of a national agreement, as well with respect to complete liberty of coinage as that of the fixed international relation with respect to gold. It is remarkable, however, that although this relation was often referred to in all the speeches, the American delegates constantly maintained an extraordinary circumspection whenever it would be necessary to fix the arithmetical value of the ratio. This delicate question was constantly avoided, and no speaker, while speaking in favor of the universal ratio, ever touched upon the problem of its arithmetical value.”

The following extracts, from their general summary of conclusion, will also be read with interest :

“The question is whether the entire world or the majority of nations can adopt the double standard and permit not only the unlimited coinage of silver, but the establishment of an international ratio between the two metals. Herein consists the novelty of the discussion, heretofore for many years engaged in only by publicists, but now entering for the first time into the domain of home and international politics.”

“The first authors of this idea appear to us mistaken on the subject respecting the point of departure. They all speak, and their successors repeat it, of the remonetization of silver. Now no one has ever proposed to exclude silver from the circulation of the world. Silver always will be a monetary metal, and has no need of being remonetized. The true question, that which divides economists, administrators, and bankers, is this : ”

“Is it necessary to adopt universally the double standard, or, on the other hand, to maintain the actual state of things : that is to say, continue to have some states with a gold standard, other states with a silver standard, and yet other states with the double standard ?

“We see at present the world divided in this way. The more advanced nations having a largely developed commerce possess the gold standard, or at least seek to approach it. At the same time we see the most populous part of the world, India and China, using silver money and absorbing this metal in surprising quantities. In presence of such a state of things what can be the practical result of the two propositions of the United States, unlimited liberty of coining silver as well as gold, and the establishment of a legal ratio between the two ?

“Let us suppose, for instance, that a certain number of governments shall be disposed to lend themselves to the execution of this project, what will be the arithmetical value of the ratio ? Shall we seek it in the past, in the present, or in

such hypotheses as the future may suggest between the extreme limits of 1.14 and 1.20, which the experience of the last eighteen years has shown. And if, against all probability, we should be happy enough to find for this relation a figure offering some elements of stability for a certain period and for certain states, how should we go to work to impose this same ratio on countries different among themselves in respect to the production of the precious metals ?

* * * * *

“ But suppose, for instance, that the majority of the conference had been disposed to enter upon the way pointed out by the United States, and let us see whether it is politically practicable to follow this way. Should the conference ask England to establish a constant ratio between the sovereign and the rupee, England would refuse. Should it notify Holland to establish this ratio between the florin of gold and the florin of silver, Holland would not consent. Let it address itself to China, and it would not even obtain an answer. What shall we conclude from this, other than that it is politically and substantially impossible to establish in any way the required ratio, so that it shall not be continually disturbed with the varying needs of commerce with the Asiatic world.

“ But there is another class of considerations resting upon the differences between the commercial situations of different nations which proposes that the universal fixed ratio, combined with liberty of coinage, or, which amounts to the same thing, the universal double standard, far from equalizing the conditions of the exchange would produce in them the gravest disorders.

“ There are some countries which have most of the time that which it is common to call a favorable balance of trade and excess of exportations over importations. Such is ordinarily the case with France. There are others in which the importations exceed the exportations ; this is actually the case with England. It is evident that the nations of the second class will have to pay to the first, for whom the balance is favorable, sums of money which, unless assuming the form of public or commercial paper, must be discharged in coin. This amounts to the same thing as saying that if the universal ratio between gold and silver were fixed between the nations, this coin payment would always be made by one class of nations to other classes in that one of the two metals which was most depreciated in commerce with respect to the established ratio.”

The main point brought forward by our delegates was embodied in the second of the three propositions which they submitted to the Conference :

“ The use of both gold and silver as unlimited legal-tender money may be safely adopted :

“ *First.* By equalizing them at a relation to be fixed by international agreement ; and,

“ *Secondly.* By granting to each metal at the relation fixed equal terms of coinage, making no distinction between them.”

A slight indefiniteness here attaches to the word “ safely,” used in the first clause, it not being clear what dangers the delegates had in mind in formulating their proposition. The great dangers which

were apprehended from the free coinage of silver was that of soon having an exclusively silver currency ; but some might not have considered this an evil. If this was the result against which our commissioners considered the proposed policy to have been secure, their meaning would have been much more clear by specifically saying so. Failing in this, the exact force of their conclusions is difficult to apprehend, because the whole interpretation of their propositions hinges on this one word "safely." For the sake of argument, we shall assume them to mean that neither metal would entirely supersede the other as currency, were their proposed policy carried out by all. True, they may mean to say in a general way that no great calamity would be the result in any case ; but the exclusive circulation of one metal, and that the depreciated one, was the only calamity any one ever anticipated.

Taking this supposition as a basis, we at once meet with an element of indefiniteness in the form in which the proposed policy is expressed. Does "a relation to be fixed by international agreement" mean any relation on which all may agree ? Surely not. We can not for a moment suppose them to entertain such an idea. Does it mean a relation corresponding exactly to the ratio between the values of the two metals ? This is what no one would deny, the difficulty being that such a ratio would be by no means constant.

This criticism must not be confounded with that of the Swiss delegate, Feer-Herzog, already mentioned, namely, that the American delegates carefully refrained from any suggestion respecting the exact numerical ratio to be adopted. We do not ask for a numerically definite ratio to be given, but only some indication of the principle to be adopted in fixing the ratio, or some suggestion respecting the limits of its admissible value. As the doctrine is presented it is simply a reassertion of the old bi-metallic theory which the mono-metallists have held to be completely exploded by the fall of silver during the past four years. In this they have carried the world with them so far that bi-metalists, *bona fide*—that is, those who believe that both metals can permanently circulate together at a fixed ratio—are in a very small minority. At the same time they have *prima facie* grounds for a strong argument in support of their present position, that the depreciation of silver is due wholly to governmental action following the conference of 1867. Let us look at the question in an entirely non-partisan light, for the purpose of forming some idea of the correctness of this opinion, and ascertaining whether any judg-

ment can be formed respecting the future relation of silver to gold. The following are the causes to which the fall of silver is commonly ascribed :

1. The increased product of the Nevada mines.
2. German demonetization of silver.
3. American demonetization.
4. The cessation of silver coinage by the Latin Union.
5. A supposed diminution of export to India.

To understand the whole subject we must reflect that these reasons only include one factor of the result. What has happened is a fall in the value of silver *relative to gold*, which amounts to the same thing as a rise in the price of gold measured by silver. Had silver been the standard of the London market the phenomenon presented to us would have been a great rise in the price of gold, and economists would, no doubt, have looked for the cause to the supply of, and demand for, gold exclusively, just as, in the above list, we find causes affecting silver alone considered. It is evidently just as necessary to consider the numerator as the denominator of our fraction $\frac{\text{gold}}{\text{silver}}$, and to ascertain whether any causes have operated to increase the value of gold. We have two such causes immediately before our eyes :

1. The great absorption of gold by Germany for her new coinage, amounting to some three hundred millions of dollars.
2. The like absorption of more than one hundred millions of dollars by the Treasury and banks of the United States.

We shall now endeavor to present the statistical facts relating to these questions in the form of brief summaries, and without attempting to aim at a mathematical precision, which the subject does not admit of, and which would only make the statements less perspicuous to the reader. We must remember that nearly all monetary statistics are only approximate, excepting those of coinage or other operations executed under government control.

Silver and Gold Product.

The production of silver, taking the world at large, has been gradually increasing for forty years. During the first twenty years of the present century there was a diminution from an annual product varying from thirty to forty millions to one of little more than twenty millions, at which point it continued till 1840. Since that time we have, by decades :

1840-49.	Total product,	\$307,000,000 ;	mean per year,	\$31,000,000
1850-59.	" "	410,000,000 ;	" " "	41,000,000
1860-69.	" "	481,000,000 ;	" " "	48,000,000
1870-78.	" "	610,000,000 ;	" " "	67,000,000

The present annual product is probably between seventy and eighty millions.

When, on the other hand, we consider the gold product, we find that the increase in the product caused by the opening of the Californian and Australian mines was vastly greater than in the case of silver. The following are the amounts by decades :

1850-59.	Total product,	\$1,258,000,000 ;	annual mean,	\$126,000,000
1860-69.	" "	1,158,000,000 ;	" "	116,000,000
1870-76.	" "	747,000,000 ;	" "	107,000,000

The present annual product is about one hundred millions. The gold product has therefore gradually diminished, and the silver product gradually increased for twenty-five years. Both of these causes tend to increase the ratio.

Export to India.

At the commencement of the silver panic a diminution in the Eastern demand was cited as one of the powerful factors in producing the result. The British silver commission found that the exports, during the past forty years, had averaged £5,000,000 per annum, while during the six years from 1870 to 1876 it only averaged £2,800,000. It is singularly illustrative of the uncertainty of commercial statistics that these results are entirely irreconcilable with those given in Pixley & Abell's circular (quoted in the *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* for June, 1878) which show a steady increase since 1867. However this may be, it seems that the falling off was fully made up in 1877, when the exports were £17,000,000, or more than the entire product of the world. We can not therefore look to India for the cause of the depreciation.

Changes in Silver and Gold Coinage.

The only changes to be considered are those caused by the substitution of a gold for a silver currency in the Scandinavian States and Germany. The American demonetization of 1873 may be left out of the question, because, as already explained, this was a mere matter of form. Silver had been little used except as a subsidiary coin for thirty years, so that the temporary discontinuance of the silver dollar caused no diminution in the demand for silver.

The subsidiary coinage was recommenced with full vigor in 1875, just as silver began to fall most rapidly, so that the action of our mint was slightly in the direction of increasing the demand.

The cessation of coinage in the Latin Union is to be regarded as a passive rather than an active factor in producing the result, because it did not begin till after the fall of silver, and was decided upon in consequence of that fall. It simply shut off one of the outlets for the surplus silver, but did not in any way tend to cause that surplus. There is, however, an indirect effect of the previous action of the Latin Union to be borne in mind. On the average each nation will need a certain annual addition to its coinage to make good the loss by abrasion and remelting. Now, if the Latin Union can go without any such addition to its silver coin for several years, it shows that it formerly coined more silver than was really necessary for its wants, thus temporarily delaying or mitigating a fall in price. This excessive coinage having stopped, other causes are free to operate. The policy of the Latin Union may therefore be described as that of holding up silver as long as it could, and letting it drop when it felt compelled to.

The total German coinage of gold, on the new system, up to the end of 1878, was about four hundred and five millions of dollars. Of these it is believed that a little more than a hundred millions was from the old coin of the country. The rest was from bullion or foreign coin. The German Empire has, therefore, absorbed nearly three hundred millions of the gold of the world since 1873, while it has sold about one hundred and thirty millions of silver. The gold it has drawn from the markets of the world must therefore have had a more powerful effect in disturbing the ratio between gold and silver than the silver it has thrown upon the market.

The Scandinavian Union has only coined about twenty millions in gold since the adoption of the single standard. Its influence has not therefore been important, but it may be regarded as bringing the total absorption of gold by Northern Europe up to at least three hundred millions, or nearly the whole product of the world for the last three years.

We have thus presented facts which seem to show that within the past seven years there have been enormous changes in the effective supply of and demand for silver and gold respectively, from which we might expect large fluctuations in their ratio of price. But there are some circumstances which may make us hesitate in accepting, without reserve, the conclusion that we have reached the

bottom of the subject. One is, in a general way, the great quantities of the precious metals which, as experience has shown, may be withdrawn from or thrown upon the markets of the world without causing any great fluctuations of price. Take, for example, the immense increase in the proportion of gold to silver product after the opening of the Californian and Australian mines. The excess of gold product over its average proportion, as compared with silver, during the twenty years, from 1850 to 1870, is, roughly, one thousand millions, yet, it produced a change of only two or three per cent in the ratio of price.

Again, the German mono-metallists try to wash their hands of all responsibility for the fall in silver by showing that silver reached its lowest point before the sale of silver by their government seriously commenced, and that during 1877, when the price was rising, they made their largest sales. In 1878 their sales were largely diminished, and frequently almost suspended, yet a fall of ten per cent occurred during the year. This is shown in the following table of sales by the German Empire :

1874.....	.\$11,000,000
1875.....	6,000,000
1876.....	26,000,000
1877.....	66,000,000
1878 (first seven months).....	17,000,000

Finally we have the curious fact that silver has continued, on the whole, to fall ever since the passage of our silver bill, touching, in December, 1878, a point almost as low as during the great panic of 1876. This has occurred in the face of the fact that we are coining about one-half of the whole world's product of silver ; that the German sale are approaching their close, and that the prospect of a continued Indian demand is as good as ever.

All this looks, at the first glance, as if there were some unsolved mystery connected with the matter, which has defied all our attempts to unravel it. But we conceive that the bi-metallist (using this term in a sort of general sense to indicate one who believes that the precious metals can yet be kept pretty near to a fixed ratio, and that the causes of the recent disturbance are almost entirely artificial) can explain all these difficulties in a way that will not admit of being totally set aside.

He may say that the surplus thousand millions of gold thrown upon the markets of the world between 1850 and 1870 was entirely absorbed by a corresponding excess of gold over silver coinage dur-

ing that interval. This proposition belongs to a class which it is equally hard to prove or disprove, because in its essence it depends not on coinage, but on the amounts of the two metals used as money. No doubt it will be easy to show that there was a large excess of gold coinage during this period ; but, to sustain his point, he must also show that this excess remained in the circulation, and indeed replaced silver which went into the melting-pot. If the excess went into the arts and not into circulation, we should have a sufficient reason for expecting a change of price, unless we concede to the mono-metallist that the relative price of the precious metals is very slightly affected by larger changes in the supply.

To make the bearing of this argument clearer, it may be recapitulated in a more categorical form.

One party claims that the fall of silver is due to government action in throwing large quantities of silver on the markets of the world and absorbing gold. We may call this the bi-metallist party.

The other meets this by showing that a surplus one thousand millions of gold was thrown upon the market without causing a derangement of much more than one tenth of that now experienced. This party we may call that of mono-metallists, as being in this particular argument opposed to the bi-metallists.

The bi-metallist can only meet this by showing that the one thousand millions of gold did not really reach the market, but displaced its proportion, say one third, of the silver in the currency, which silver came upon the market for use in the arts, and thus prevented the price of that metal from rising. And, as already intimated, the correctness of this argument can not be readily decided because it requires statistics not merely of coinage but of remelting. With this uncertainty respecting the exact state of the case, the argument must be conceded to the bi-metallist on the general ground that it is contrary to all the laws of political economy to suppose that great variations in the relative supply of and demand for the precious metals can occur without changing their ratio of value.

The facts that the greatest fall in silver occurred before Germany had thrown much of the metal upon the market, and that the price remained higher in 1877, when her largest sales were made, may be accounted for by her sales having been discounted in advance, and by the great exports to India in 1877.

The apparent fall of twelve per cent which has occurred during the past ten months may be accounted for as really a rise in the

value of gold, caused by the accumulation of one hundred and fifty millions in this country for resumption purposes. This seems to be shown conclusively by a table in the *London Economist* for December 28th, 1878, which we shall cite hereafter, showing a mean fall of fifteen per cent in the gold price of twenty leading commodities in the London market between January and December, 1878. From what precedes it would seem that the theory that the fall in silver is due to but two causes, (1) increased production, principally from the Nevada mines, and (2) German demonetization of silver and remonetization of gold, is by no means a baseless one. To see what share each cause has had in the result, we must compare quantities in each case.

1. During the four years 1870-73, before the fall, the mean world's product of silver was estimated at sixty-two millions. During the five following years it has averaged about ten millions per annum more. If we regard the first as the normal product, then fifty millions will represent the surplus production of those five years.

2. During the latter period one hundred and thirty millions have been sold by Germany, as may be seen by the statement already given. It would seem, therefore, that the German policy has been more influential than the increased production.

Let us now take a view of the productions of the two metals by periods, for the purpose of tracing the connection between variations of production and of price. The statistics, both of gold and silver productions, during the early portion of the present century, are quite uncertain, and considerable discrepancies are found between the estimates of various authorities. Humboldt estimated the annual silver product during the early years of the present century at thirty-seven millions, and the gold product at thirteen millions.¹ Jacob's estimate is much smaller, but it seems to have been founded on statistics of coinage which might not have included the entire product. It is, however, generally conceded that during the first quarter of the century the ratio of silver product to gold product, estimated by values, was as three to one. Owing to a gradual increase of the gold product the annual productions had attained an approximate equality in value before the discovery of the Californian and Australian mines. After this the ratio of gold, of course, rapidly increased, being three to one of silver for a period of several years. Let us now assume that the two metals would have

¹ British Silver Report of 1876.

kept the mean ratio of value $15\frac{1}{2}$ unchanged, if twenty per cent more gold had been produced than silver. That such would have been the case may fairly be assumed from the fact that the fall in the ratio commenced with the year 1851, when the excess of gold product had only begun to exceed twenty per cent. In the following table we give the excess of gold calculated in this way, the estimates to 1875 being those of the *Journal des Economistes*, quoted by Spofford in the "American Almanac" for 1878. A quinquennial summary is all that is necessary for our purpose.

YEARS.	Silver Product.	The same, + 20 per cent.	Gold Product.	Surplus of Gold.	Price of Gold in Silver.
1852-56.....	\$202,000,000	\$243,000,000	\$747,000,000	\$504,000,000	15.4
1857-61.....	205,000,000	246,000,000	615,000,000	469,000,000	15.3
1862-66.....	248,000,000	298,000,000	568,000,000	270,000,000	15.4
1867-71.....	264,000,000	317,000,000	589,000,000	272,000,000	15.6
1872-76.....	345,000,000	414,000,000	494,000,000	80,000,000	16.4

It will be seen that the absolute amount of the surplus, estimated in this way, was two hundred per cent during the ten years 1852-61, yet the ratio of value fell so slightly that we can account for the steadiness only by absorption of gold and diminution of silver in coinage.

To make a proper showing of the past five years in the same way, we must include the disturbances produced by German and Scandinavian change of coinage and American importation. We may consider this disturbing cause as commencing with the year 1874, and extending through the five years 1874-78, inclusive. Leaving out Germany and the United States, let us see what have been the actual amounts of gold and silver thrown upon the markets of the rest of the world during the five years in question. This we do by adding to the total product whatever these two nations have thrown upon the market by demonetization, and subtracting what they have absorbed by coinage or other operations. The result is :

Gold.

Total product.....	\$500,000,000
Absorbed by change of coinage in Germany, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark.....	\$300,000,000
Accumulated in the United States.....	150,000,000
	<hr/> \$450,000,000
Balance left for the markets of the world.....	<hr/> \$50,000,000

Owing to the uncertainty of these numbers the actual balance may be anywhere from zero to one hundred millions, so that the actual annual supply of gold to the world for five years has ranged between none and twenty millions. And this against an average of more than one hundred millions (after taking out a fair share for the two countries) during the twenty years preceding.

Then for silver we have :

Total product	\$370,000,000
Add, sold by Germany.....	130,000,000
	<hr/>
	\$500,000,000
Coined by the United States, about.....	100,000,000
	<hr/>
Left for the world.....	\$400,000,000

So, leaving out the mints of Germany and the United States, the markets of the world would have, during the last five years, been supplied with a mean average of about eighty millions of silver, and perhaps five millions of gold. If we assume, as before, that the ratio of values would have been maintained by a gold product exceeding the silver product by twenty per cent, then the deficit in the gold supply, necessary for this maintenance, has averaged about eighty-six millions per year, or four hundred and thirty millions during the five years.

The comparison of the two periods is as follows :

First Period, 1852-71.

Excess of relative gold supply.....	\$1,515,000,000
Mean annual excess.....	76,000,000
Ratio of values.....	15.3

Second Period, 1874-78.

Deficit of relative gold supply	\$430,000,000
Mean annual deficit.....	86,000,000
Ratio of values.....	17.2

With such unheard-of perturbations in the supply, have we any reason to be surprised at the change of relative value? Should we not rather wonder at its extraordinary fixity? When a single nation can, for several successive years, coin more than half the world's supply of gold, by what law of economy can we expect their value to approach constancy?

It may be remarked, in passing, that this tendency toward a fixity of ratio does not afford any decisive argument for either the

mono-metallist or the bi-metallist. If the bi-metallist takes the ground that this stability under wide ranges of supply and demand proves that it is easy to keep the two metals at a mean value, the other can retort with the converse proposition, that correspondingly great movements of the two metals will be required to bring their ratio to the standard when it once deviates from it. The argument really hinges on the ratio between the variations in the relative supply and demand of the two metals, and the amount of coinage during the time that these variations are taking place. Neither school has proved its position, for the reason that neither has made a serious attempt to take up the subject quantitatively, and show by statistical considerations which of two opposing causes is the stronger. The theoretical arguments on both sides are as good as exhausted. We have intelligently collated statistics.

We now approach a very interesting branch of our inquiry. We have shown that the nominal depreciation of silver is only relative to gold, and that, if we consider absolute values, it may be really a rise in gold as well as a fall in silver. We have also shown that the movements of gold have been such as would tend to enhance its value, and that it is more to the German coinage of gold than to the German demonetization of silver that we are to look for the cause of the nominal fall in silver. The question now arises, How much of the relative change is due to a fall in silver, and how much to a rise in gold? This question admits of being decisively settled by a study of the gold prices of the principal products of labor. We consider the depreciation of silver not relative to gold alone, but relative to corn, potatoes, wood, bricks, beef, and the like, taking the mean of all. We thus have a standard of reference which may be regarded as absolute and invariable year after year. When the average of all the prices rises, we conclude that the rise is only apparent and due to a depreciation of the unit of value. When the average falls, the unit of value has increased. The invariable unit is the unit of labor, as it may be called.

Now, this is a subject which has not received the attention which it deserves. It lies at the very basis of every sound monetary system, because the prime condition of every such system is that the unit of value should vary as little as possible. As, in comparing the different values of different building materials, their stability is the very first thing to be inquired into, so in critically examining a monetary system stability of value is the first requirement. A failure to look after, or to recognize, this requirement is

as serious an omission as would be a total forgetfulness of the quality of stability in the deliberations of a board of engineers. Moreover, the question is as purely one of fact in the one case as in the other. Theorizing over it is as idle as theorizing over the strength of materials which no one has ever tested. Nothing can show more strongly our failure to take a practical view of the subject than the fact that during the two years' debate we have had over the two standards, there has not been a single serious attempt in this country, on the part of official authority, to inquire into and collate the facts which should be most decisive of the whole question. The latest, and apparently the most complete, information on the subject which is now available, is contained in a short paper in the *London Economist* for December 28th, 1878. The writer has taken the mean price of twenty leading articles in the London market since 1845. Of course these prices are measured in gold. The prices during the six years 1845-50, when they were nearly constant, were taken as the standard, and represented by the number 100. The mean gold prices during the succeeding years is shown in the second column of the following table. The third column shows the same prices measured by the silver standard of the period 1845-50. These numbers representing the mean prices of commodities in gold and silver, their reciprocals show the values or "purchasing powers" of the two metals as measured by commodities. These quantities are given in the last two columns.

YEAR.	Gold Price.	Silver Price.	Value of Gold.	Value of Silver.	YEAR.	Gold Price.	Silver Price.	Value of Gold.	Value of Silver.
1848....	100	100	100	100	1869.....	121	119	83	84
1855....	116	113	86	88	1870.....	122	120	82	83
1860....	122	117	82	85	1871.....	118	116	85	86
1861....	124	122	81	82	1872.....	129	127	78	79
1862....	131	127	76	79	1873.....	134	135	75	74
1863....	158	153	63	65	1874.....	131	134	76	75
1864....	172	167	58	60	1875.....	121	128	83	78
1865....	162	158	62	63	1876.....	123	139	81	72
1866....	162	158	62	63	1877.....	123	134	81	75
1867....	137	135	73	74	1878.....	116	132	86	76
1868....	122	120	82	83	Dec., 1878	104	125	96	80

Supposing this table of average prices to have been formed on correct principles—an hypothesis we have no means of testing—the numbers deduced from them in the last two columns

are very instructive. They show that from 1871 to 1873 there was a depreciation of both gold and silver, as measured by their purchasing power, amounting to between ten and fifteen per cent. But since that time the purchasing power of silver has remained nearly constant at its lower value, while that of gold has been rising, and is now higher than at any time during the past twenty-five years.

Whether we regard the present state of things as due mostly to the appreciation of gold, or the depreciation of silver, depends entirely on the point from which we start. If we take as our first point of comparison the mean of the five years 1868-72, and as our second the mean of the five years 1874-78, 1873 being omitted as an intermediate year, we have the following result :

First period, value of gold, 82 ; of silver, 83.
Second period, " " 81 ; " 75.

This comparison would throw the onus of depreciation entirely upon silver.

On the other hand, if we consider the fluctuation since the fall of the two metals in 1873, we shall have :

Mean of 1874-75, value of gold, 79 ; of silver, 76.
" 1877-78, " " 84 ; " 75.

This comparison throws the onus of the change entirely upon gold, which has risen in value.

In these comparisons we leave out of consideration the exceptional change in December, 1878, and take only the mean for the year. This exceptional change is, of course, due to the present depressed state of the manufacturing industry in England, and may therefore be regarded as peculiar to that country.

We thus have two powerful causes, the one permanent and gradual, the other partially temporary, both tending to the depreciation of silver relative to gold. They are :

1. The permanent cause. A duplication of the total silver product of the world within thirty years, and a gradual diminution of the gold product for twenty-five years.

2. Partially temporary cause. The absorption of almost the entire gold product of the world for five years by Germany and the United States, leaving the world's market for the precious metals in nearly the same condition as if no gold had been produced for that interval.

Compared with these causes all others which have hitherto been suggested are of minor importance, and it does not seem necessary

to go farther for an explanation of the disturbance of the silver market. The practical question which now arises is : What is likely to be the future ratio of gold to silver ? Especially, have we any chance of escaping from the single silver standard if we adhere to our present ratio ? In considering this question we shall necessarily assume that there is to be no future disturbing cause of such magnitude as the forcible substitution of a gold for a silver currency by a great nation. If our monetary conference has done no other good, we may hope that it has guarded us against the danger of this calamity, as we might fairly regard it with our present system.

Granting this supposition, it might seem, at first sight, that the prices of the two metals would return to their old ratio soon after Germany had coined all the gold she wants. A powerful equilibrating influence is also found in the action of our own country, which, without some change of system, will effect as radical a change from gold to silver as Germany has effected from silver to gold, only more slowly. Unless the ratio is sooner restored or our policy altered, it is certain that within the next ten years we shall coin three hundred or four hundred millions of silver, and throw upon the market of the world nearly all the gold coin we now have. Can the ratio fail to be restored if we do this ? The following considerations will, we conceive, make it plain that such a result is not to be anticipated.

1. A change like that made by Germany has this element of permanency in it, that the amount of gold coined is permanently withdrawn from the stock of the world. Ten years hence ; twenty years hence ; fifty years hence, the world's available stock of gold, Germany excepted, will be from four hundred millions to six hundred millions less than if Germany had not adopted the single gold standard. It is true that with the gradual increase of the stock this comparative deficit will be less and less felt, but it will always exist. The compensation effected by our demonetization of gold would only be partial.

2. Unless new sources of gold supply are discovered, or the increase in the product of the Nevada mines comes to an end, the value of our silver product will very soon equal that of our gold product. It is difficult to say how soon the effect of this change in the relative production of the two metals would be felt, or how great it would be, but it must ultimately become sensible. It may, indeed, be replied to this that until a comparatively recent period

the gold supply was far less than the silver supply, and yet that the gold price of silver was higher than it is now. This argument would be sound if there were no change in the relative demand for the two metals. But the whole tendency of our increasing wealth is to increase the demand for gold in a greater ratio than that for silver. This is particularly marked in the increased manufacture of watches and jewelry. Every one knows that gold watches have increased in a much larger proportion than silver ones. Gold enters more largely than silver into most of the articles which adorn the houses of the wealthy. Other things being equal, gold will be preferred as money for large payments, for the common-sense reason that it is less liable to tarnish and more easy to handle. Therefore, whatever changes may be made hereafter in the monetary systems of different nations, we must expect that they will be in the direction of replacing silver by gold.

These two considerations seem to preclude all hope of permanently establishing bi-metallism on the old ratio. At the same time, it is not at all unlikely that the relative value of silver will be somewhat enhanced if we continue a policy tending to make it our sole standard. In that case we shall probably coin thirty or forty millions annually for ten or twelve years before gold is entirely displaced, or perhaps forty per cent of the entire product of the world.

We have to put into the other scale the German silver still to be withdrawn and thrown upon the market. The following statement of the whole stock and disposition of the old German silver currency is made up from the appendix to the report of Feer-Herzog. The sums are reduced to millions of dollars.

Total amount of silver in circulation before demonetization, four hundred and thirty-four millions of dollars, accounted for as follows :

Loss by abrasion, etc.....	\$105,000,000
New coinage.....	103,000,000
Sold to England to July 1, 1878.....	126,000,000
Remaining to be withdrawn.....	100,000,000
	<hr/>
	\$434,000,000

It is highly probable that these causes will, for some years, keep the price of silver near some mean point between its legal ratio and its present extremely low one. After that the chances are in favor of a further depreciation, unless new sources of gold supply are opened.

Such are the facts of the case, and the conclusions which seem fairly to be deducible from them. We shall conclude with a single suggestion. Whatever changes may be made in our monetary system should be founded on a careful study of the movements of the precious metals, and the changes in their values or "purchasing powers" measured by the average of prices in the public markets. The statistics bearing on the latter should be collected by a commission of experts, who should present the facts, but be prohibited from theorizing upon them. The regular presentation of these facts to the public, through a series of years, would prepare the mind of the nation better than any thing else could to form an intelligent judgment of the proper course to be adopted in regulating our monetary system.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

DR. WEISSE ON THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.¹—This work purports to be an account of the origin and development of the English language and its literature, more particularly of the former ; but the title of the book gives the reader the very faintest idea of what is to be found in it. Its author has apparently roamed through the whole field of modern literary, linguistic, and historic investigation, and has tumbled into this bulky volume of seven hundred closely-printed pages every thing he has gathered, or rather fancies he has gathered. Nothing is too great to escape epitomizing, nothing too slight to pass without reference. In the course of the first hundred pages he gives us an abstract of the theological views of Pelagius, because he is said to have been born in Britain ; an account of the scientific views of Nemesius, Bishop of Emesa, because they are essentially the same as those now advanced by Darwin and his followers ; a brief history of horology, because the Anglo-Saxon had somehow to divide the time ; a discussion of the controversy in regard to the genuineness of the poems attributed to Ossian for no particular reason whatsoever that can be discovered. These are but specimens of the many topics referred to or enlarged upon within the limits mentioned ; and this method of treatment is carried on through the rest of the book. The history of the English language is, in consequence, a very insignificant element in the work professedly devoted to it. In saying that two thirds of the matter contained in this volume has no connection with the subject it ostensibly sets out to discuss, we are understating rather than overstating the real fact.

Nor would it have been any loss if the portion devoted to the English language had been left out entirely, and its place taken wholly, as it is mainly, by remarks upon such closely allied subjects as the marriage of Jerome Bonaparte with Miss Paterson (p. 136) ; the corrupt referee and judiciary system of New York City (p. 135) ; the philological services of Madame Blavatsky (p. 502) ; that “most attractive and important

¹ “The Origin, Progress, and Destiny of the English Language and Literature.”
By John A. Weisse, M.D. New York : J. W. Bouton.

theme," woman and her rights (p. 516); the story of William Tell, with a denunciation of "some late hypercritics" who look upon it as a fable (pp. 257-8); the introduction of Pickering's Greek lexicon into American schools (p. 320); the performance "to a delighted audience" of the "Merchant of Venice" at Williamsburg, Va., in 1752, on which occasion "Mr. and Mrs. Rigby seem to have been the stars of the performance" (p. 347); and a vast number of topics of equal interest and importance with reference to the matter in hand. It would have been no loss, for the reason that it is not actually impossible that some of the author's assertions in regard to these outside subjects may be correct; whereas, in the case of the one subject of which he professes to treat, it is not often that any such disparaging imputation can be successfully made. The book hardly contains a paragraph—we are almost tempted to say a sentence—treating of the English language which is not either characterized by individual blunders, or based throughout upon misconception. This may seem harsh criticism; in reality it requires a good deal of self-restraint to speak of the work with even so much respect as our words imply.

Not a single topic is there, indeed, connected with the history of our tongue, either directly or remotely, that does not afford the author of this volume an opportunity to display ignorance or inaccuracy. Whatever he touches upon he is sure to misapprehend, if he does nothing worse. Individual instances give so feeble a conception of the appalling whole, that it seems almost mockery to mention any; and time and space are both too limited to notice all. A very few must serve as specimens. We are informed that "Alfred discouraged Latin," the only provocation for this statement being the well-known lamentation of that king over the decay of learning in his realm, and his own assertion that in consequence of this decay he set out to translate books from Latin into English for the sake of the many who could read the latter tongue, but could not read the former. We are told, also, that there are two copies of the epic of Beowulf—"one without any, the other with some, Christian allusions"—an important fact which has hitherto unhappily escaped the attention of the numerous editors of that epic. The author of this volume is an enthusiastic champion of spelling reform; yet he is so little acquainted with the history of English speech and orthography, that he denounces the language of the *Ormulum* as "a burlesque of Anglo-Saxon," and displays the profoundest ignorance of the particular circumstances under which alone Ormin doubled the consonants in his words. Nor has he the slightest conception of the reasons which led this ancient writer to adopt the spelling he did, or of the light which in consequence he has thrown upon the pronunciation of the period in which he lived. It is not surprising, therefore, though it is somewhat comical to read that Chaucer "shows a singular want of orthography," and that "even friends would

be obliged to call bad spelling" that which is exhibited in his prose. As might naturally be expected, we find repeated here, moreover, the stale and exploded stories given in the history attributed to Ingulphus; though indeed the author remarks that "some one tried to prove that Ingulphus' book is a forgery," in happy unconsciousness that he is probably the last surviving human being who accepts the statements of that work as an authority.

On pp. 269 ff. occurs a notice of Chaucer and his writings, in which all the scattered blunders that have ever been made by previous blunders in regard to the poet's life and works have been carefully brought together. But not content with the errors committed by others, the author has taken occasion to add a number of new ones that are clearly his own. From them we shall select one as a characteristic specimen of the general accuracy of statement to be found in this volume. "For a time," we are told, "he (*i.e.* Chaucer) was in actual want; but when his noble relative and patron, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, rose to power under Henry IV. the poet was restored to favor, and retired to Donnington Castle, County of Berks, where he revised his previous writings, composed his *chef-d'œuvre*, 'Canterbury Tales,' about 1390, etc." We do not point out the minor inaccuracies in this sentence; we shall not enlarge upon the difficulty that Chaucer must have had in writing poems about 1390 under Henry IV., when that monarch, as a matter of fact, ascended the throne in 1399, the year before the poet's death. But surely it requires no further knowledge of English history than can be gained from Shakespeare's plays to be aware that John of Gaunt was the father of Henry IV., and as might be expected was dead before his son became king; and being dead, he was naturally in no position after that event to be of much direct assistance to his friends. Instances of gross blunders such as these could be multiplied endlessly. Even when the author gets hold of an historic fact it seems impossible for him to repeat it correctly. Every one familiar with Anglo-Saxon literature and the general dreariness of its prose is never likely to forget the relief afforded by the episodes of Ohthere and Wulfstan which Alfred interwove into his translation of Orosius; how Ohthere told his king that he dwelt the farthest north of all the Norsemen, and how that once upon a time, moved by curiosity, he set out on a voyage of discovery to the regions still further north, and saw lands and peoples beyond where the whale-hunters were wont to go. Who would be apt to recognize this simple story of a private adventurer in the magnificent statement which appears in this volume, that "Ohthere, Alfred's naval commander, carried, A.D. 893, England's flag and language to the Arctic Ocean, White Sea, and Dwina, where they were seen and heard by the Norsemen, Finns, and Samoyedes"?

Bad as these things are, when we come to the consideration of language

itself the case is even worse. No opportunity is ever missed to revive exploded errors. It is, indeed, in calling to life the dead and buried blunders of the past that the author may be said to find his most congenial occupation. During the twenty years which have just elapsed, an immense amount of light has been thrown upon the history of the English tongue ; but not a single ray of that illumination seems to have reached his eyes. His citations are taken, whenever possible, from old editions long superseded. His views are not simply erroneous, they are archaic as well ; for ignorance of the results of modern investigations has had this one fortunate result of saving him from the adoption of any modern blunders. But it is curious to see how opinions prevalent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but long discarded, put in at this late period what it is to be hoped is their final appearance. Even our old friend, Dano-Saxon, once devotedly cherished as the designation of a form of the language that never existed, has been exhumed from the grave to which for so many years it had been consigned. Naturally the venerable fiction that chance deliberately introduced a vast number of new words from the French into English finds its way into this general repository of all ancient error. But the inability of the author to comprehend the principles that underlie the development of language is of itself fatal to any proper treatment of his subject. He talks of writers as if they went to work to make up a speech of their own, instead of doing the only thing possible for them to do, that is, composing in the speech which they used themselves and heard used by others every day. Robert of Gloucester is said to have "combined a language." Chaucer is represented as having gone deliberately to work to harmonize "the Anglo-Saxon and French idioms" which "had been waning for centuries." In the accomplishment of this noble work we are told that "he dropped the thirty-four senseless inflections of the Anglo-Saxon definite article" and replaced them by *the* ; that he introduced *a* as an indefinite article ; that "the ninety-seven absurd changes of the personal and possessive pronouns he reduced to about twenty-one ; that he supplied *shall* for the future, and substituted for previous terminations of the present participle "the nasal *ing*, which must have gladdened the Franco-Norman without saddening the Anglo-Saxon speaking population ;" and the author regrets that while he was about it he failed to make the irregular verbs regular. It is not necessary to say to any student of English that none of these things are true of Chaucer ; it ought not to be necessary to tell any educated human being that none of them could be true under any circumstances of any man. Chaucer, like every one who writes to be read, wrote in the language he used every day. He was a genius, and he made clear to all its capacity for expression. But the influence he exerted over it was the same in kind as that of any great author who has admirers and imitators ;

it has been greater in degree than that of most, because for so long a period he remained without any one who ever approached him in excellence.

But there is one part of this work of which the design at least is good. This is the analysis of extracts from works written in the language at different periods, with the classification of the various words contained in them under the tongues from which they have been originally taken. One hundred and fifty of these are said to be included in this volume ; and they certainly form the most conspicuous portion of that meagre division of it devoted to the English tongue. Unfortunately, however, this, the only part of the author's work which is good in the design, is utterly spoiled in the execution. For in order to have these analyses, even when accurately made, of much service, they must be of very long extracts ; they must be representative specimens of the highest form of literature to be found in the age from which they are taken ; and, in particular, in modern times they must embrace a wide variety of subject-matter. In all these respects the analyses contained in this volume fail. They are of very short extracts ; of the earlier ones the dates given are generally inaccurate and untrustworthy ; in the later ones the selections are taken not unfrequently from obscure writers, sometimes from newspaper editorials. Yet had they been entirely free from all such objections they would have been utterly worthless, on account of the ignorance of etymology displayed in them. Of the fact that Anglo-Saxon is a pure Low-German tongue, it is needless to say that the author is ignorant, because he is evidently ignorant of the relations of the Teutonic tongues to each other, and of their existence in four groups—the Gothic, the High-German, the Low-German, and the Scandinavian. No one who had the slightest acquaintance with the results of modern philological study could possibly speak, as is done here, of Anglo-Saxon as “ an amalgam of Gothic and German,” or chase its roots to the Scythians of Central Asia, or hazard numerous like statements, the utterance of which might not have been particularly discreditable in the ninth century, but is sadly out of place in the nineteenth. When, therefore, the whole conception is a blunder, it is hardly worth while to waste much time in exposing blunders that are found in details. Enough only will be pointed out to show that the work is throughout consistent with itself ; that the particular facts asserted are as incorrect as the general view of the subject is erroneous.

In order to separate the native element from the foreign in English, it is desirable for one to know a word belonging to the former when he sees it. This first indispensable qualification the author of this volume has failed to attain. On page 93 there is a list of one hundred words, of which five per cent are put down as Latin, and ninety-five per cent as Anglo-Saxon. Of the five words ascribed to the former tongue, four—*môd*, mood ; *mægen*, main ; *rice*, kingdom ; and *ord*, beginning—have the fortune or

misfortune to be pure Anglo-Saxon. Similar statements can be made in regard to nearly every one of these lists so ostentatiously paraded. Students of English will need no further evidence as to the value of the linguistic results to be found in this volume when they learn that, according to it, the Anglo-Saxon *mônáth*, month; *restan*, to rest; and *nellan* (contracted from *ne*, not, and *willan*, to will, to wish) are taken from the Latin; that *works*, *flesh*, *as*, *so*, and *by* are taken from the German; *their* from the Icelandic, *than* from the Gothic, *time* and *law* from the French, *each* from the Irish, and *such* from the Scotch, by which last-named tongue is here meant the Erse of the Highlands. Assertions like these mark a degree of ignorance of the origin of the language to which some hitherto may possibly have attained, but have certainly never had an opportunity to exhibit publicly.

The author of this work tells us that when thirty years old he knew not a word of English, and that the leisure hours of the past thirty years have been devoted to the collection of the facts and the deduction of the inferences that are here to be found. It is a sad commentary to make upon the results of so many days of enthusiastic but misapplied labor, that thirty years ago he was in a better position to treat his subject than he is now. Then he assures us that he knew nothing of the language; now his book assures us, even more positively, that if he ever expects to know any thing about it, he must first forget the greater part of what he has learned. To waste the leisure hours of thirty years in idleness is a sufficiently mournful past to look back upon; but there can be no mockery of the pursuit of learning more bitter than to feel that one has wasted them in the acquisition of misinformation, the cultivation of misapprehension, and the faithful study of errors so long passed away that most men are even ignorant that they ever existed at all. It is certainly painful that so much unquestionably earnest and genuine labor should have an outcome so worthless and pitiful; but the truth must be told of this work, that there is nothing in it to repay the scholar for even looking into it, while there is every thing in it still further to confuse and confound the ignorant.

A POPULAR HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.¹—The public is interested in the announcement and appearance of a new history of our country, and will hold both authors and publishers to a strict accountability for the manner in which so important an undertaking is executed. Forty-four years ago there appeared the first volume of such a work by an

¹ "A Popular History of the United States, from the first discovery of the Western Hemisphere by the Northmen to the end of the First Century of the Union of the States. Preceded by a sketch of the pre-historic period, and the age of the Mound-Builders." By William Cullen Bryant and Sydney Howard Gay. Vol. i., pp. 638; vol. ii., pp. 652. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

American scholar, whose education, begun at Phillips Academy and Harvard College, had been filled out by foreign travel and by study at the universities of Göttingen and Berlin. To his natural and acquired advantages for the work, Mr. Bancroft added those facilities which come from the accumulation of an extensive collection of books and manuscripts, and from personal research in home and foreign libraries. His mind was originally philosophic and historic in its inclination, and its natural tendencies were vastly strengthened by long consideration of the theme he had chosen for the labor of his life. When this mind approached its work, it was with an almost overwhelming sense of the vast importance of the subject. In his first volume, Mr. Bancroft said that he was ready to charge himself with presumption for venturing on so bold an enterprise, and found no excuse but in the sincerity with which he had sought to collect truth from trustworthy documents and testimony.

It is not our purpose to compare Bancroft's successive volumes with those before us, though the publishers of Bryant's history seem to desire such a contrast to be made, for they call attention to the relative size of the two works. An examination will show that Mr. Bancroft occupies some three hundred pages less than Bryant in telling the story to the point at which the two volumes before us close, and that Bryant's history will be much more extensive than Bancroft's if it is continued in the same proportion.

If reports be true, the great poet whose name is given to the new history has on more than one occasion allowed his fame to be made use of by publishers to sell their wares. There is certainly an incongruity in the association of the name with an historical work, for Mr. Bryant was not an historian. His studies were in other channels, and his mental habits not those of the collator of ancient documents. No one can deny him his proud position in the front rank of our national poets and editors, and the very fact that he was so eminent among them tends to disqualify him for the extensive work of the historical student. We are aware that it is evident from the volumes under discussion and from the statements made by the publishers that Mr. Bryant's work was simply supervisory—that other pens wrote the chapters. All the more should the history not be called after him, for a man's literary work should bear his literary style, and it is impossible for him to impress that upon the writings of others, no matter how watchfully they be "read in proof before printing," no matter how careful his criticism, ripe his judgment, or candid his discrimination.

It is, therefore, not at all probable that Mr. Bryant's history is Mr. Bryant's work, nor that it is the work of any one who had prepared himself by long and scrupulous historical study, by the collection or investigation of documents and records, or in any other thorough way, for so vast an undertaking as that outlined in the preface which Mr. Bryant wrote for the first volume. The names of the subordinate writers are not all given,

though mention is made of the Rev. John Weiss, of Boston, Mr. Edward L. Burlingame, and the Rev. Edward Everett Hale. Mr. Hale wrote four chapters on French and Spanish colonization in the South and West. Though not recognized as an historian, Mr. Hale has made these subjects a special study. Mr. Burlingame prepared the indexes, but we have found them inadequate for a student's use. These being the facts, the work falls from the rank of first-class histories, such as bear the names of Hume, Macaulay, Froude, Prescott, and Motley; and, because it is the work of many writers, it has not the unity of style and execution which is found in the popular works of Charles Knight and J. R. Green.

Without going into an exhaustive examination we may express our surprise that when Mr. Bryant read the proof of the second volume he did not show the exercise of his "ripe judgment and candid discrimination" by drawing his pen through the words and sentences that express the spite of some of the compilers against Puritanism. We can account for his omission to do this only by the number of the erasures he would have been obliged to make. The writer who treats this branch of the subject, not satisfied with confounding the Pilgrims and the Puritans, seems to be on the constant watch for an opportunity to vent his spleen upon the "bigotry" of the people of Massachusetts, and if the opportunity does not present itself, he goes in search of it in a way that ill becomes the historian who professes to work with thoroughness and conscientiousness. Even in this respect the volumes are not entirely consistent, for we are told (vol. i., p. 404) that the Puritans of Plymouth "did not deny to others the freedom of conscience which they claimed for themselves;" though in a subsequent chapter it is asserted that "they were quite as intolerant of opinions that were not their own as the most inexorable persecutor that ever 'peppered' a Puritan" (p. 527); and the latter statement is supported by an account of their "anxiety to find cause of complaint" against Roger Williams (p. 542).

Two quotations are all that space will permit us to give, showing the animus of the writers who treat the Boston Puritans. In the account of the trial of Samuel Gorton it is said that he was required to elucidate a body of divinity in writing in fifteen minutes; that no flaw could be found in his answers, which "were on that account the more objectionable, *inasmuch as they were not what was expected!*" (vol. ii., p. 89). In the story of Mary Dyer, the condemned Quakeress, which is related with evident relish, an attempt is made to convey to the reader the inference that the Bibles of the Puritans were closed books, with the contents of which they were unacquainted. "How strange it is," exclaims the writer, "that the tone of these men [Robinson and Stevenson] did not remind [the] magistrates of the early apostolic days! No—those [the 'early apostolic days'?] lay dead and buried in their Bibles" (vol. ii., p. 193).

In Mr. Bryant's preface he said that it was "within the plan of the work to rely in part for its attraction on the designs with which it is illustrated," and Mr. Gay says, in his preface to the second volume, that the "flavor of romance and adventure" is intended to be preserved. These two promises have been carried out. The volumes comprise over six hundred illustrations of various degrees of merit, from the very fine line engraving of Mr. Bryant, to woodcuts of poor design and worse execution. Some of these are works of the imagination, as, for example, "A Prehistoric Mammoth Hunt;" "March Against the Indians in Connecticut" (i. 461); "Excitement in Jamestown" (i. 503); "The Death of Philip" (ii. 418); "Whipping of Obadiah Holmes" (ii. 110); "Fox in Prison" (ii. 176). Most of the illustrations are, however, finely drawn, exceedingly well engraved, and printed in the best style, and the volumes themselves are worthy specimens of the printer's art.

In his preface to the second volume just alluded to, Mr. Gay says: "The title of the work implies that it has passed already a far more rigid censorship, both for its matter and its manner, than any other reader is ever likely to exercise;" but we protest against calling a writer the author of a work that he read in proof for the first time. Our copy is accompanied by a slip, by which we are informed that Mr. Bryant's death "will make no difference in the progress of the work"—a statement which we are fully prepared to believe.

RECENT NOVELS.—"Modern Fishers of Men"¹ is a very harmless tale of a young man who attains, in his own words, to "a position in Church and State." He is, however, neither an archbishop nor a grand inquisitor; but his ecclesiastical rank is that of teacher in a Sunday-school, and his civil that of coalition candidate for the State Legislature. Of course he marries the young lady whose influence on his character has qualified him for these exalted posts, and so the story ends romantically, after a due amount of church festivals, which supply the comic element, varied by the tragic death of one of the hero's scholars. The scene is laid in a country town, presumably in New England; and if its events were more striking, or its characters more interesting, doubtless it would be less like the real thing than it is.

"The Diary of a Woman"² is quite a different book; it is the work of a practised writer, and like most French novels, readable even in an English version. Such versions are usually made of the novels which are supposed to be most moral; and accordingly we find the heroine of this quite an exemplary person, who describes herself as troubled with an excess of consci-

¹ "Modern Fishers of Men, among the Various Sexes, Sects, and Sets of Chart-ville Church and Community." New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1879.

² "The Diary of a Woman." From the French of Octave Feuillet. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1879.

entiousness, and commits no "overt act," as lawyers say, of wickedness, except to tell a monstrous lie, which is the climax of the story. She does indeed love one man and marry another, and then go on loving the first, who has by her advice married her dearest friend; and when the latter couple fail to agree she undertakes the delicate task of reconciling them, with signal want of success, not unnatural under the circumstances. But still she is an excellent person, judged by that not exacting standard by which French writers have taught us to measure their country-women, and her adventures are well told, and interesting reading enough for those who do not mind a story which ends in misery, the common fate of goodness in Parisian fiction. Such a novel is perhaps hardly worth translating for the benefit of those who can not read the original; especially since, thanks to modern culture, most American young women can, and a large proportion, it is said, do, read without a dictionary the untranslated works of M. Feuillet and the rest of his compatriots.

Another recent French novel is "The Little Good-for-Nothing;"¹ not free from the faults of its kind, but a better work of literary art than the last, though marred by a somewhat awkward translation. A hero who is physically and morally a poor creature needs to have his history told with skill to awaken the reader's sympathies, but this skill M. Daudet assuredly has; and never in all the wretched career of the Little Good-for-Nothing is there wanting an element of pathos which saves him from deserved contempt; the whole character is painfully natural and affecting. More painful yet, because more noble and more suffering, is the brother who helps and watches over him: the stupid boy of the family, who is their only comfort in distress. The women of the story, good and bad, are far less lifelike, a defect which may be observed in other works of the same writer. This story ends cheerfully, but the whole effect is nevertheless gloomy and depressing.

"My Guardian"² must have been an easy book to write, and is not excessively hard to read; to say much more than this about it would puzzle the most experienced critic. Any one wishing to form for himself an accurate judgment of its merits can do so by reading it, or more shortly by reading any one of the love-stories in any number of *Harper's Monthly*, the perusal of which will leave him in just the same state of mind which is attained by the somewhat more tedious process of going through this book. To those persons, and they are neither few nor stupid, who are content to take an innocent pleasure in any thing in the shape of a story this one may serve as well as another to occupy an hour. The illustrations are at least as good as the text.

¹ "The Little Good-for-Nothing" ("Le Petit Chose"). From the French of Alphonse Daudet. Translated by Mary Neal Sherwood. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. 1878.

² "My Guardian." By Ada Cambridge. Illustrated by Frank Dicksee. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1879.

Paul Heyse's *Tales*¹ are more or less known to every body who has studied a little German, being in common use as a reading-book for beginners in that language; and do not now, we think, appear for the first time in an English dress. One of them, at least, is a very pretty little story, and the style of all is more easy and lively than is apt to be the case in German light literature, though a tendency to make the characters preach and philosophize does appear at times, and marks the nationality of the book.

SIX MONTHS IN ASCENSION.²—This charming narrative belongs to a class of books which is, as yet, much too small. The reason is not far to seek. All scientific work has two utterly distinct sides; one purely intellectual, the other intensely personal. The results of the first are recorded in the Transactions of learned societies, thence are copied into text-books, and finally become a part of our general knowledge. Of the second but little is generally known. There are few men of science who, like Darwin, can write "The Voyage of a Naturalist," in the intervals between severe and anxious scientific labor. When we do have such a chronicle from the investigator's own hands, like Darwin's celebrated *Voyage*, or like Draper's *Memoirs*, it is a testimony to the versatility of the writer; but it is at once recognized as unusual. We have commonly gained our acquaintance with the personal life of men of science through the records kept by the hands of those who, while "living in the radiance of genius," took loving note of its flow.

Carolina Herschel's notes and journal, kept while she and her brother were "minding the heavens," is the most pathetic and patient record of this class, but it stands almost alone; and perhaps it is but natural that it should do so. When men* of science themselves begin to write of the romance of their work, there is ground to fear that the work itself is less engrossing than it should be.

No one of the problems of astronomy has called for more devotion than the greatest of them all—the problem of finding the earth's distance from the sun. The book before us is a record of the personal side of the latest expedition for this purpose, and of the one which promises to be most successful. By most successful we mean that one in which the sun's distance will be known with the least uncertainty—an uncertainty in this case of not more than 1,000,000 miles, or $\frac{1}{100}$ th part. The sun's parallax, so called, or the angle to be measured, is only 8".85, or it is the angle under which a circle 2.7 inches in diameter would be seen a mile off. An error of 1,000,000 miles in this is the thickness of a ten-cent coin, *seen edgewise*, at the distance of a mile.

¹ "Tales from the German of Paul Heyse." New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1879.

² "Six Months in Ascension: An Unscientific Account of a Scientific Expedition." By Mrs. Gill. With a Map. London: Murray, 1878. pp. 285.

To determine this angle, the most delicate measuring instruments and the greatest skill and care of the observers are required ; and the method adopted in this expedition involved unceasing toil from the astronomer for nearly six months. He must miss no favorable opportunity, for the value of each night's observation depends on his getting a series of measurements of the position of the planet *Mars*, both east and west of the meridian, on this same night. No clear sky must be lost. Mrs. Gill at Ascension Island was her husband's assistant and helper, and kept watch while he slept, to call him for the first break in the clouds. She says, " These watchful nights made weary days, and it was hard work to keep energy and hope alive. My husband had the first watch each night ; then I took his place in the morning, to call him on the least appearance of blue sky ; and in this way I do not think that a single opportunity of observation was lost. It was really no hardship to be abroad during those lovely nights. The stillness of the earth charmed the soul into a priceless peace, while ' from the door of a tent the only splendor came from the mysterious inaccessible stars.' "

Thanks to her untiring aid and to the skill and sagacity of her husband, the scientific results of the expedition are invaluable. Of these it is not our purpose to speak, as in her own first chapter and in the lucid introduction by Mr. Gill the methods of observation and the results reached are fully treated. The rest of the book is a narrative of their personal experience on the desert volcanic island of Ascension, and well deserves our attention. All through it, of course, runs the thread of the purpose for which they came. The book is written from a full mind, but from an intense one ; and you never lose sight of the main object for which a residence in Scotland was exchanged for real veritable hardship on a reef of volcanic rocks and clinker in the midst of the Atlantic Ocean. To save turning to an atlas, we may say that Ascension island (discovered on Ascension Day, 1501) is about midway between Africa and South America, and 8° south of the equator. There is no land nearer than St. Helena, 800 miles away. In the seventeenth century and later it was the " Sailors' Post-Office," serving only as a deposit of letters for home.

In 1815 it became the property of Great Britain, and served as a vidette to watch the exiled emperor at St. Helena. It is now only useful as a coal depot, and it is strictly a naval station. The male population consists of about 200 marines, sailors, and boys, and some 70 or 80 Kroomen from the West Coast who act as boatmen, servants, and surfmen.

The government is strictly that of a man-of-war, and indeed in the *Naval Gazette* the population of Ascension will be found under the heading " Crew of the *Flora Tender*." Ascension became the " *Flora Tender* " when H.M.S. *Flora* (now at the Cape of Good Hope) was anchored there, and it remains so from habit. Service on this island is not half-pay,

but counts to the naval officer as actual service afloat. Every thing is regulated in man-of-war fashion, and the gallon of water daily per man is served out in rations. The astronomer and his wife were no exceptions to the rule. The gallon of water apiece had to serve for every purpose of cooking and drinking ; and Mrs. Gill had to learn what provisions could be cooked in salt water, or else trench on the precious supply. Only six women were on the island, and the servants were blue-jackets or Kroomen. Domestic life was hard to maintain under these conditions, and Mrs. Gill is sure of the sympathy at least of her feminine readers in her struggles to make the best of it all. "Water carefully treasured and measured, potatoes 4*d.* a pound, occasional cabbages from St. Helena, knocked down at auction at 1*s.* 6*d.* apiece, milk priceless, and turtle soup for nothing !"

The island has hardly a green and growing thing upon it ; a single palm-tree alone varied the monotony of the clinker road between *Mars Bay* (the observing station) and Garrison (headquarters). Even this road was so painfully rough and dangerous as to make the shipment of the instruments by sea through the tremendous surf—the "rollers"—more easy and safe than their transit by land. The Green Mountain of the island bears a few stunted aloes and prickly pears at its very top—that is all ; and below it nothing is to be seen but the cups of extinct craters and clinker—always the clinker plains.

Water is collected in many reservoirs, each holding a little, and is conveyed in pipes to Garrison, there to be jealously guarded and "served out" as a luxury. The only staple is turtle, whole tanks of which are kept for provisions, and issued to the crew freely. Beside the discomfort, the heat, and the hideous face of nature, there is little un-English or picturesque, save the Kroomen. The chapter on these negroes, and their religion and customs, will be valuable to the ethnologist, while it shows the same quick perception and ready tact of description which characterize the rest of the book.

Enough must have been said to show some of the material obstacles in the way of success ; but we have not space to complete the whole picture, and give the struggles against cloudy weather, heat, and fever. All this is set down in the book with a charming lightness of touch which shows how superior the mind delicately reared and full of a worthy purpose was to whatever misfortunes could befall. These are made light of, but they did exist, and were conquered by the high resolution of both the astronomers. That they were conquered will be forever recorded by the scientific results of the expedition, which will make the barren isle of the *Flora Tender* as well known a spot as the observatories of Galileo or Herschel.

RECENT ENGLISH BOOKS.

THE PUBLIC LIFE OF LORD BEACONSFIELD.¹—Mr. Hitchman has chosen a popular subject, for, whatever may be the complexion of our political views, the career of a man who unexpectedly attains the position of the highest subject in the realm must present extraordinary features of interest. In many respects the author has been successful in his work, but he would have done better still if he had not been so wholesale a panegyrist, and deified his yet living hero. Lord Beaconsfield is a man of conspicuous original talent, but whether we regard him from the point of view of letters or of statesmanship there are greater Englishmen amongst his contemporaries. He does not precisely “bestride the world like a Colossus,” compelling all other men to “peep about to find dishonorable graves ;” except in the opinion of such individuals as the sporting baronet, Sir J. D. Astley, M.P., who speaks of the greatest statesman of the time as “that fellow Gladstone.” It is from the adulatory point of view that Mr. Hitchman has committed a mistake, and Lord Beaconsfield—with his cynicism and knowledge of the world—will be among the first to discover it. The author is manifestly unjust when he says that Mr. Gladstone has emulated Mr. Bradlaugh “in resentment of Lord Beaconsfield’s genius, and in begrudging his elevation.” Mr. Gladstone may passionately oppose his rival’s policy, but it is not in his nature to indulge so low a sentiment as jealousy of his good fortune ; and endowed as he is himself, he has certainly no cause for jealousy of that rival’s genius. It will not help Mr. Hitchman’s cause at all to say of Mr. Gladstone that his end is now “approaching in the midst of neglect, obscurity, and almost contempt.” There are many more persons at this moment in the United Kingdom who cherish a deep admiration for and profound belief in Mr. Gladstone personally, than there are persons holding a similar attitude towards Lord Beaconsfield. Notwithstanding all the honors which have been recently heaped upon his lordship, the author himself, strangely enough, admits that his worst foes have been those of his own household. He also says that “for forty years he was the best abused public man in England. Every scribbler who could obtain publicity for his lucubrations lifted up his heel against him.” The times have now changed ; Mr. Gladstone occupies that position, and Mr. Hitchman is not ashamed to join the ranks of those who are meting out to Mr. Gladstone the measure which he says was once meted out to Lord Beaconsfield. But a statesman is as sure to encounter abuse as he is to

¹ “The Public Life of the Right Hon. the Earl of Beaconsfield, K.G., etc., etc.” By Francis Hitchman. Chapman & Hall.

receive the homage of his friends, and we are not sure whether the abuse of an enemy is not better than the fulsome panegyrics of an adherent. At any rate, in thus writing Mr. Hitchman might have remembered that in his own day Lord Beaconsfield has indulged in his full share of abuse of political opponents. It is not well to challenge these comparisons. And now, having said this by way of vindicating our total dissent from the author's opinions, we cheerfully admit that from his point of view he has constructed a very entertaining narrative. Whether we agree or disagree with Mr. Hitchman, he has at any rate taken great pains to give us a clear and succinct account of a very remarkable man. Those who read this memoir—and they will doubtless be many—must for themselves sift the chaff from the wheat.

MR. GEARY ON ASIATIC TURKEY.¹—Though we have recently heard a good deal of Asiatic Turkey, comparatively little of a definite and precise nature concerning this immense tract of territory is known by English readers. Mr. Geary's volumes will supply this want admirably. He is an eminently fair writer, and though his sympathies lean somewhat toward the Turks, he writes only of that which he has seen and heard. He has not picked up opinions at second-hand merely from official sources, but has had the advantage of conversing with pashas and great officers of state, bankers, merchants, and shopkeepers, peasants and private soldiers, together with the consular agents and representatives of European Powers. The author's pages clearly demonstrate that he has endeavored to arrive at a clear and unprejudiced view of the tendency of matters in Asiatic Turkey. After a few introductory chapters we come to an important part of the work dealing with trade and politics in the Persian Gulf. Mr. Geary points out that while order has been established in the Gulf, and commerce flourishes—the influence of England being paramount through its whole extent—Persia is gradually succumbing to the influence of another Power. This, of course, is Russia, and the author maintains that “behind the Turkish Question a Persian Question looms in the near future.” English relations with Persia are certainly at the present time in a most unsatisfactory condition, and it would be a serious thing commercially—as well as in other aspects—if the country were to pass wholly under the domination of Russia. In his second volume, Mr. Geary gives an interesting account of the interview between the Sultan's Envoy and the Ameer, and although recent events have thrown this incident into the background, the narrative will be found both entertaining and important. Mr. Geary predicts a most prosperous future for the

¹ “Through Asiatic Turkey. Narrative of a Journey from Bombay to the Bosphorus.” By Grattan Geary, Editor of *The Times of India*. With a Map and Illustrations. In two vols. Sampson Low, Marston & Co.

magnificent province of which Bagdad is the centre, if once a good system of government can be obtained. He also enlarges upon the advantages which would follow upon the construction of a railway from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf. Mr. Geary regards the preservation of the fabric of the Ottoman Empire as essential, if any permanent good is to be accomplished in the way of reform.

MR. BAGEHOT'S LITERARY STUDIES.¹—Mr. Bagehot was one of those few very remarkable men who, for some reason or other, never meet with their full share of appreciation. Men not half so richly endowed make more stir in the world, and their names are on every lip. As Mr. Hutton says, in the admirable memoir of his friend prefixed to these essays, every body knew and acknowledged Mr. Bagehot's financial skill and depth of judgment—which were really the smallest part of him; but few were thoroughly acquainted with “the high-spirited, buoyant, subtle, speculative nature, in which the imaginative qualities were even more remarkable than the judgment, and were indeed at the root of all that was strongest in the judgment.” Few also knew “of the gay and dashing humor which was the life of every conversation in which he joined, and of the visionary nature to which the commonest things often seemed the most marvellous, and the marvellous things the most intrinsically probable.” The truth of these observations is amply attested by Mr. Bagehot's essays on Hartley Coleridge, Shelley, Macaulay, Shakespeare, and other papers which might readily be cited. It is a great service to literature to have the tone, spirit, and culture of such a man set in a clear light. This is now achieved by the publication of his literary remains, accompanied by a judicious biography from the pen of Mr. Hutton. There is one essay here eminently worth studying—that upon “Wordsworth, Tennyson, and Browning; or pure, ornate, and grotesque art in English poetry.” This paper alone is sufficient to show the depth of Mr. Bagehot's critical insight and his marvellous sympathy with all poetic forms.

MEMOIR OF MATTHEW DAVENPORT HILL.²—The motto for this volume, chosen from Wordsworth, is very apt; Mr. Hill was eminently “a man of hope and forward-looking mind.” There were few social movements of his time in which he did not take an active and very noble part; and those who devised, labored, and thought with him will welcome this memoir of a man who was in every way worthy of remembrance. His daughters appear to have executed their task with both skill and delicacy.

¹ “Literary Studies.” By the late Walter Bagehot, M.A. With a Prefatory Memoir. Edited by R. H. Hutton. In two vols. Longmans, Green & Co.

² “A Memoir of Matthew Davenport Hill, Recorder of Birmingham. With Selections from his Correspondence.” By his daughters, Rosamond and Florence Davenport Hill. Macmillan & Co.

As the Recorder's relative, Mr. J. Addington Symonds, wrote after his death, "A career of such uninterrupted beneficence, of activity for others, of tender love, of noble and generous aims, is a life-long memory to cherish." The well-known Miss Frances Power Cobbe also wrote: "What a life it is which has gone out from among us! I shall always thank God that I knew him—knew that so noble and massive an intellect could be united with a heart overflowing with such world-wide sympathies." Mr. Hill never reached that high judicial position to which he might reasonably have aspired, and for which he was better fitted than many who have risen to the judicial bench. He had his reward in another sphere, however. As his biographers observe, "for Mr. Hill, as year by year he engaged in successive enterprises of high social importance, and realized the power with which he had become invested to aid in bringing them to the desired issue, the balance of life was redressed; and it may be hoped he felt that he had been permitted to reach the goal of his early aspirations, in their noblest form." This is the record of a life devoted to the public good, and is intensely interesting. The name of Matthew Davenport Hill is worthy of being associated with those of Brougham, Romilly, Birkbeck, Baines, and others, who have worked gloriously and arduously in various grooves for the progress and advancement of the human race.

MACHIAVELLI AND HIS TIMES.¹—No other period in European history possesses equal interest with that of the Renaissance, which represented the high-water mark of art and culture. With this period Machiavelli was intimately associated, and was indeed one of its moving forces. Consequently, notwithstanding the mass of literature which already exists upon the Renaissance in general, and Machiavelli in especial, no apology was needed on Professor Villari's part for putting forward this work. He is one of the few men thoroughly acquainted with the great movement in Italy—that movement which followed upon the decay of the Middle Ages, and was the prelude to the growth of modern institutions. Machiavelli has for centuries been a bone of contention with the critics; some have seen in him but a diabolical spirit working against the progress of the human race; others have perceived in him one of the profoundest of philosophers, one of the shrewdest of observers, and one of the ablest of writers. Without adopting the exaggerated estimates of either class, Professor Villari now relates the story of his life, showing its bearing upon the times, without being either the apologist or the accuser of the Florentine Secretary. His portrait is drawn with a dispassionate pen, and—as should be the case in all works aspiring to the dignity of history—vices are not palliated, nor are virtues concealed.

¹ "Niccolò Machiavelli and his Times." By Professor Pasquale Villari, author of 'Life of Savonarola,' etc. Translated by Linda Villari. C. Kegan Paul & Co.

DR. SMILES'S NEW WORK.¹—Dr. Smiles has again got a capital subject for the exercise of his biographical powers. Few men have exceeded in sturdy independence and simplicity of character Robert Dick, the baker, of Thurso, geologist and botanist. To him a duke meant just a man and nothing more; and there were many men of obscure origin, but with the love of nature and humanity in their souls, whom he placed before dukes. Dick was born at Tullibody in the year 1811, his father being an officer of excise. Early in life, owing to the miserable nature of his home relations—his stepmother being exceedingly harsh and unjust towards him—he quitted the paternal roof, and became a baker's apprentice. His career was in the outset a very hard one. After finding employment in various towns, he at length set up in business for himself at Thurso, and here he remained till the close of his life. He alternated his occupation of a baker with deep researches into botany, conchology, entomology, and geology. It is stated that he would frequently walk fifty miles in order to obtain a new fern or grass, but he did not allow these extraordinary exertions to interfere with his next day's labor. He made so many discoveries, and overturned so many theories of scientific men, that in time he began to be talked about. His fame, however, was not universal in the country until Sir Roderick Murchison drew attention to the valuable nature of his researches, at the meeting of the British Association held at Leeds in 1858. From that time until his death in 1866, Dick's name was constantly in the mouths of many eminent scientific men as an investigator of unexampled patience and work. This record of his life is wonderfully interesting, and the value of the work is enhanced by a series of beautifully executed illustrations.

THE TELEGRAPH IN AMERICA.²

WHILE it is to be regretted that a more rigorous process of selection did not accompany the evolution of this voluminous contribution to the literature of the telegraph, there is yet enough matter scattered through Mr. Reid's eight hundred pages to justify their exploration.

The first ten and last nine chapters are devoted to the "Morse Memorial," an extended biographical sketch of the late Professor Morse, with the story of his efforts and results in the field of applied electrical science. Somewhat awkwardly sandwiched between these lie the thirty-nine chapters concerning the many American telegraph enterprises which have ex-

¹ "Robert Dick, Baker, of Thurso, Geologist and Botanist." By Samuel Smiles, LL.D., author of "Lives of the Engineers," etc. John Murray.

² "The Telegraph in America, and In Memoriam Samuel F. B. Morse and William Orton." By James D. Reid. New York: Derby Bros. 1879.

isted from the time of the early semaphoric systems in use before the Morse inventions down to the present day of the telephone, and quadruplex and printing telegraphs.

Mr. Reid gives us also short sketches of Edison and other electricians and inventors, and a memorial of the late William Orton, whose genius for organization so largely contributed to bringing the present combined and powerful telegraph system of this country out of the former chaos of disconnected and warring elements.

The book contains much useful information ; but in the story of the early telegraphers and their hot contests for supremacy before the peace born of their present union, it is unduly loaded down with familiar, almost garrulous, tradition, which may find scope and perhaps some excuse in coming from a veteran in the telegraph service, but which, nevertheless, is of too local a flavor for that broad treatment due to the impressive story of the American telegraphs, their feeble beginnings and their grand results.

In the Morse Memorial we are shown a glimpse of the early life and antecedents of the future inventor. When a lad of sixteen, at Yale College, witnessing a demonstration that the electric current can be broken and made visible at any desired point of a circuit, the germ of the future invention was planted in his mind ; and years afterward, in 1832, on the return voyage, after three years of artist-life in Europe, when a discussion arose concerning the experiments of Ampère with the newly-discovered electro-magnet, Morse recalled the Yale College experiments, and began to speculate as to whether with electro-magnetic action and suitable conductors intelligible signs might not be made visible or recorded at a distance.

This was the foreshadowing of that invention whereon the telegraphs of the American Continent were to be founded, and of the system which, even at the present day, remains in use substantially unchanged. Even before landing from this voyage Morse had outlined the machinery of his invention, and substantially devised the telegraphic alphabet of spaced dots and dashes which is still in use.

The first public trial of the Morse instruments, which, although crude in form, embodied substantially the principle of those used to-day, was made in New York in 1838 ; but it was not until after several more years of poverty and struggle that the inventor was able to build the famous experimental line under the grant of thirty thousand dollars from Congress.

This line was constructed between Baltimore and Washington in 1843, and worked only after many disheartening mistakes and failures. After its success was demonstrated, the Government having meanwhile refused to give the offered price of one thousand dollars for the patent rights, private companies were rapidly formed to introduce the new inventions, and reward in money and fame began to accrue to the inventor.

Various foreign governments granted him decorations, and joined in a money payment in recognition of Morse's services, and later his statue was erected at New York by the subscription of the telegraph operators throughout the country.

In the obscure pathway of the early electrical discoverers no decided step in advance was taken alone. The light borne by one investigator guided the patient inquiry of another, and such success as was reached was the attainment of joint effort rather than of individual exploration. No field of human inquiry shows more clearly than that occupied by the science of electricity how really interdependent and closely linked are the apparently diverse labors and results of those employed therein. Morse in America, Steinheil in Germany, and Wheatstone in England, at about the same period, but from different lines of approach, reach the goal of success in adapting or inventing a working system of electro-magnetic telegraphs, and in each case their labors follow in natural sequence those, among others, of Oersted, Ampère, Schilling, Gans Weber, and Henry.

Thus no single individual can claim to have invented the electric telegraph. Morse, nevertheless, is entitled to great credit for his transmitting key and register or sounder ; and if, as is claimed for him, although not without dispute, the relay, or instrument for automatically adding a fresh circuit to one of enfeebled current on long lines, is also his invention, Morse will ever stand high and secure in his place as an inventor.

Mr. Reid relates some of the early experiments, notably those of Henry, with the electro-magnet, which we have not space here to follow, and points out how many times a practical system of electro-magnetic telegraphing might have been discovered, but for the lack of knowledge of some minor point not then investigated.

The many questions naturally arising as to the priority and relative importance of discoveries so nearly together in point of time, and so closely dependent one upon another and upon antecedent inventions, are too wide and various for us to follow or attempt to settle in our limited space. On this debatable ground Mr. Reid, while asking for Mr. Morse all that he is entitled to, states his claims with care and moderation.

We had intended to trace the rise and progress of some of the larger telegraph companies, but for want of room must refer the interested reader to the work under review. Briefly, the story of one company is substantially that of almost all the rest. After a short and unprofitable struggle with powerful competitors, in nearly all cases the lesser company is absorbed by its more powerful rival ; that process having gone on until the result reached is the present centralized and powerful system.

Among the illustrations of Mr. Reid's book, which are on steel or wood, and of a wide range in point of merit or want of it, is found an

engraving by Halpin, at page 518, showing good work, and an admirable likeness of the late Mr. Orton. The likenesses of Phelps and Gray, the inventors, are also good, but the portrait of Edison is execrable, as are all the other wood-cuts.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- SELECT POEMS. By Harvey Rice. Boston : Lee & Shepard. New York : Charles T. Dillingham. 1878.
- A DREAM OF ARCADIA AND OTHER VERSES. By Lawrence B. Thomas. Baltimore : Trumbull Bros. 1879.
- THE BRIDE OF GETTYSBURG. An Episode of 1863. By J. D. Hylton. Palmyra, New Jersey. 1878.
- PAPER MONEY. By H. W. Richardson. New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1879.
- JUVENILE TEMPERANCE MANUAL. By Julia Colman. New York : Nat. Temp. Society. 1878.
- POPULAR GOVERNMENT. By Joseph Riley and W. S. Rosecrans. San Francisco : Skelton & Co. 1878.
- SOCIAL ETIQUETTE OF NEW YORK. New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1879.
- READING AS A FINE ART. By Ernest Legouvé. Translated by Abby Langdon Alger. Boston : Roberts Bros. 1879.
- HAMPTON TRACTS. Sanitary Series ; I.—V. New York : Hampton Tract Society. By G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1879.
- WINE IN THE WORD. By A. Coles, M.D., etc. New York : Nelson & Phillips. 1878.
- EARLY YEARS OF CHRISTIANITY. By E. de Pressensé, D.D. New York : Nelson & Phillips. 1878.
- AMERICAN GEOLOGICAL RAILWAY GUIDE. Macfarlane. New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1879.
- THE LIFE OF SAMUEL JOHNSON. By James Boswell. Relieved from passages of obsolete interest. 1 vol. New York : Henry Holt & Co. 1878.
- APPLETON'S ILLUSTRATED HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN WINTER RESORTS. New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1879.
- MONADEN UND WELTPHANTASIE. Von J. Frohschammer. München : Theodor Ackerman. 1879.
- DAS PROBLEM DES BOSEN. Von A. L. Kym. München : Theodor Ackerman. 1878.

THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW

APRIL, 1879.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA.

NOT many years ago our country was, according to universal popular report, called upon to appear in the new and important character of sponsor ; and, as the youngest nation, to introduce the oldest, at her own request, to the kingdoms of Europe. It was most confidently stated that the "unification of the human race" had thereby been accomplished, although the exact significance of the process was never made quite clear. There were not wanting, to be sure, certain unbelievers, who insisted on demanding some practical results ; but they were hardly allowed to have a hearing, and even when the Woosung Railway, constructed a few years ago with infinite pains and labor, was destroyed, and they pointed out that the triumph of benighted obstructiveness had been complete, they were told that such construction (N.B., by a British company) was "not in accordance with American policy." Nothing daunted, and confident that the inexorable logic of events would bear them out, the unbelievers have steadily maintained that the unification of the human race was *not* thoroughly accomplished ; that excessive magnanimity was not a pronounced national characteristic ; that our "policy" in the East was not in the least understood at home ; and that upon the slightest invasion of what our people consider their interests, they would disclaim all responsibility for the "oldest nation" whom they had introduced to the civilized world, and would publicly denounce her as an irreclaimable tramp.

In turning over newspaper files one can refresh his memory with accounts of the reception of the first Embassy. Mr. Burlingame (whose keen sense of humor must have taken in the full absurdity

of the situation) and the unctuous natives who accompanied him had a royal progress through the land. Mr. Caleb Cushing, an ex-minister to China, made speeches which contrasted curiously with his despatches of years before ; Dr. Holmes, in graceful verse, expressed the hope that we should see

" Erie blend its waters blue
With the waves of Tung-Ting-hu,"

and the champagne of Delmonico and the fish and birds of Taft at Point Shirley were produced in lavish measure. But when, only a few months ago, a second Embassy arrived at San Francisco, none could be found so poor as to do it reverence, and the telegraph strongly intimated that its advent was nearly made the occasion of an exceptionally vigorous stoning of the resident Mongolians, whose neat appearance excited "much indignation." The kingdoms of Europe are, in fact, requested to take notice that the youngest nation is threatened by her whilom protégé with "an Asiatic invasion."

In this changed position of affairs, it may not be amiss to offer some information in regard to the real state of our relations with China, about which nothing could be less surprising than the prevalence of confused ideas and misconceptions. For the labor and trouble involved in obtaining detailed knowledge of a nation so far away, and having so little in common with our own, presuppose an active concern therein which up to this time has not been possessed by any large portion of our people. Let us, then, begin with American interests in China, and the policy adopted to foster them.

We have, first, a certain number of missionaries, faithful and devoted men and women, to whose zeal and self-denial it is a pleasure and a duty to bear witness ; but there is nothing distinctively national about their ways of teaching and preaching the Gospel and healing the sick.

Next come our diplomatic and consular services ; an adequate account of which would far outrun any possible limits of this paper, but which call for some comment. We have had Ministers, and they have (no thanks to our system) been good, often very able, ones ; and we had, until his recent resignation, a Secretary of Legation (nine or ten times left as *Chargé d'Affaires*) who would have been an honor to any country—the excellent and learned Dr. S. Wells Williams. It is certain, however, that not one of these envoys, whatever may have been his loyalty to the doctrine

of republican simplicity, failed to experience, during his term of office, a greater or less degree of humiliation at the contrast between his position and that of the representatives of nations far less important than the United States. This humiliation is, of course, enhanced by the consideration attached by Orientals to appropriate and dignified surroundings. I may briefly instance the introduction of the late J. Ross Browne to the scene of his labors, although the story, were it not a matter of record, would hardly be believed. Arriving at the gates of Peking, full of high hopes (the offspring of the enthusiasm created by the Burlingame Embassy), he was denied admittance, and was only finally passed in by a companion, who, having by chance an old passport at hand, represented himself as Minister and Mr. Browne as his friend ! A few occurrences of this sort must materially support the mandarins in their statements to the people that the foreign ambassadors are the bearers of tribute to the Middle Kingdom from the surrounding barbarous tribes.

Our consular service, again, is something "to make the natives of Dahomey jeer, and the very gods of solemnity laugh." Nowhere in the world do we greatly shine in this regard ; but it must be borne in mind that the China consuls have the most remarkable and varied functions and powers. As long as an official of this class, at an English or Continental city, is occupied only in certifying invoices and writing to the Government to suggest the desirability of opening new and generally impossible avenues of trade, he cannot do much harm ; but in China it is very different. At Hong Kong, a British colony with a civil list and a garrison, the consul holds his *exequatur* from the British Government, and passes a mild existence amid certified invoices and extended protests ; whereas his neighbor at Canton is almost a small sovereign. The latter is judge, jury, surrogate, commander-in-chief, and general paternal governor of the American residents ; and this because of what is called extraterritorial jurisdiction. Foreign governments have most properly refused to give the Chinese any power over the persons or property of their subjects or citizens, engaging to hold and exercise such power themselves ; and thus it happened that up to 1870, in which year Congress passed an act giving appeal to the Circuit Court of California, the Consul, provided his acts were approved by the Minister, possessed tremendous powers, even those of life and death, and incurred grave responsibilities. The American residents do all honor to a number of excellent men who have filled these positions, from time to time, with ability and integrity, and at the

cost of many personal sacrifices ; but they sadly cry, *O si sic omnes !* It may well be pardoned to them if, while they would "hurl back" an accusation of partiality for any system of the effete despotisms of Europe, they are still affected at times with a desolating doubt as to whether there may not be, after all, something worth copying in those systems. They contrast, for instance, that of Great Britain, which makes the service so honorable and attractive that entrance thereto is eagerly sought by an excellent class of specially-fitted men, notwithstanding the drawbacks of prolonged exile, slow promotion, and modest remuneration,—this system they contrast with one which makes it possible to send a man to perform commercial, judicial, and almost diplomatic, functions among an ancient and formal Oriental people, because he has been an efficient "worker" in the primaries of Oshkosh or Yuba Dam. Nor is this all. The "worker" from Oshkosh may be a very good fellow, and if he could settle down and give his mind to it, his native versatility might in time make him a useful officer ; but the chances are that his life is passed in fear that he may be displaced by a patriot whose heart "beats more proudly to the flag" than even his own—for the "worker" seems to have a greedy appetite for consulates. The lamented Lincoln used to tell of three men who called upon him, each claiming that he had secured his election, and each wanting a consulate as a reward—Liverpool preferred. Mr. Lincoln said that he told them that another man had Liverpool, and that he had nothing left "nearer than Trincomalee."

Thus it is that consuls come and consuls go, and with these changes come new constructions of rules, new modes of dealing, and general *bouleversement*. "I don't want to know nothin' that happened before I come. I jest calkilate to run this consulate accordin' to my own idees," said a newly-arrived incumbent to the gentleman who had held the office temporarily, and who had politely offered to show him how matters stood. The hay-seed was clearly not out of the new-comer's hair ; he had walked up from the steamer, and the weather was very warm ; he wore that most offensive of garments, a wrinkled mustard-colored duster. But why should fun be made of him or his kind ? Why tell of the man who, on taking office, sent a circular to the community, thanking them for favors shown the consulate in times past, and soliciting a continuance of their patronage ; or why repeat the story of the consul who sent invitations to a body of residents, mainly English, to come and "exchange friendly congratulations" in honor of the

Fourth of July (!) and added that "on this occasion the frank and free usages of respectable American society will prevail"? Why indeed? It is really remarkable that any good men should come out under such circumstances, or should remain and work according to their lights. It is a wonder that there are not more like the gentleman from New York, who took one look at the miserable port to which he was accredited, sent his luggage off to the steamer again, and returned to his native land, occupying himself on the way in denouncing the deception which had been practiced upon him. Yet our system does not save us money, for satisfactory establishments at the leading ports, where alone they are needed, would cost less than the present aggregate. There is one particularly forlorn settlement, described a long time ago in a certain jocular report as containing twelve inhabitants, of whom "seven had *delirium tremens* and five were bankrupt." At another time there dwelt at this place *one American citizen*, an able-bodied man, quite competent to take care of himself. But to govern and protect him a full-fledged consul and a patriotic marshal were sent out; and it may be noticed that Congress persists in keeping this port on the list, although with the withdrawal of the American flag from the Yangtze fleet there can scarcely be the ghost of an excuse for so doing.

Last among the interests which bind us to China come those of commerce. In buying the large amount of Chinese products which we import, and in selling the few American products which we export, a number of firms of excellent repute and much enterprise are employed. They perpetuate some honored names, and commend themselves to the good-will both of the natives in China and of their friends at home. We *had* ships and steamers; but no longer are our swift clippers eagerly chartered as of yore to carry teas to England as well as to this country. One steam line under the American flag still runs from San Francisco to Yokohama and Hong Kong, but the steamers which plied between Japan and Shanghai have passed into the hands of the Japanese; those running in the great Yangtze (a splendid pioneer line), into those of the Chinese; and the Canton river boats into those of a British company. Despite all this, there is no doubt that Americans have exerted an influence in the foreign communities of China which is wholly disproportioned to their number. This is a legitimate cause for satisfaction and even pride; for this influence is secured by the exercise on the part of individuals, independently of all official

action, of the best of those traits which are the special inheritance and distinction of our nation.

Such are American interests in China. The American policy can be more briefly described. The English opened commercial relations with China, and we followed them, and came in for a share of the privileges. Those commercial relations and privileges have been greatly extended and developed in a simple and efficient manner—by shot, shell, and cold steel; the English have led and we have followed; they have done all the extending and we have done the sharing. The programme has never greatly varied. The Chinamen thought the Bogue forts in the Canton River a Gibraltar, but Sir Gordon Bremer laid his squadron alongside and down they went. "Two piecee man no can stop one side," was the explanation of the Chinese commander. "S'pose you wantchee come inside mi mussee wantchee go outside." Sir Hugh Gough opened Shanghai in like manner. In 1859 there was a slight variation, the British fleet having been repulsed in attempting to pass the Peiho forts. About twelve months thereafter, two hundred and sixty sail of men-of-war and transports anchored in the Gulf of Pochili in a single day; some twenty thousand English and French troops were landed; and the forts were taken. There remained thousands of the presumed invincible Tartar cavalry, but a company of Probyn's or Fane's horse—six-foot Sikhs mounted on splendid Arabs—having been sent after them, came back and reported that the Chinamen were like *moorjee* (fowl)—"very hard to catch, and of no use when caught." San-ko-lin-sin, the great Tartar general, sent despatch after despatch to Peking, saying that he was sweeping the barbarians from the earth; but he followed the last despatch himself, and then, just as the officer commanding the siege batteries had his watch in his hand, and the fine division of the present Lord Napier of Magdala was drawn up for the assault, the gates were thrown open, and this hitherto mystical city was at the mercy of the conqueror. After these wars came new treaties, each giving greater privileges than the last; and as soon as England had made one, in came the other nations, including our own, and did likewise—securing in all cases what is called the "favored nation clause," a stipulation that the country shall have any rights or favors which may be granted to any other. Thus we have the American policy in China in a nutshell. When the work has been done we have stepped in and helped to possess the land.

I desire to guard myself from the imputation of giving a pessi-

mist coloring to the foregoing, of putting forward grievances, or of demanding any new adjustment of our interests. It is well to state things exactly as they are, and one can hope that time may remedy wrongs and shortcomings. There are three statements, however, which it is well to make as plainly and strongly as possible.

I. To say, as one does here, that England has forced trade upon the Chinese, and treated them badly, while we have not done so, is Pharisaic to the last and most offensive degree. If we have really thought so, why, in the name of all that is just, have we claimed a share of every privilege which Great Britain has secured at the point of the bayonet?

II. The idea that the Chinese Government likes or favors us, more than other nations, is a complete and mischievous fallacy. Liking and favor are shown in some substantial manner, and any person who has credited this ridiculous theory may be safely challenged to adduce any single action in the past half century bearing in the slightest degree in that direction. The burden of proof rests with the supporters of the dogma. In fact, it may be doubted if the verb "to like" is found in the vocabulary of Chinese officials. It is safe to credit them with absolute indifference to most foreign governments, and with a wholesome fear of the fleets and armies of others.

III. The Chinese Government would not only cheerfully assent to, but eagerly favor and assist, the removal of every foreigner from their shores to-morrow morning, and such removal would be the logical and unavoidable result of a policy founded simply on a compliance with their views and wishes.

It must always be borne in mind that the relations and policy which have just been described have had for their *raison d'être* only the doings, direct and indirect, of a few hundreds of our citizens living upon, or sailing to and from, the shores of the Central Flowery Kingdom. It is for this very simple and adequate reason that they have been a matter of indifference to the great mass of our people. China was to the latter an Ultima Thule, whither the missionaries went, sped on their way by farewell services on ships' decks; the *vauriens*, sent out for their "moral health" under charge of the captains; and the young men for whom places had been secured in the hong; and whence came teas, and fire-crackers, and men with yellow faces and (reputedly) full pockets. Except in California Chinamen were rarely seen in this country; and no one thought of their advent in that quarter as the opening of a great national problem. Suddenly, however, we have discovered that the devel-

opment of communication has worked its legitimate result, and that the mountain has come to Mohammed with a vengeance ; for while there may be in 1879 some seven hundred and fifty Americans in China, there are nearly two hundred thousand Chinese in the United States ! It is unnecessary to tell the readers of this Review that these people came to our country just as some one thousand Europeans per day came only a few years ago, and for the same reasons—because they want to better their worldly condition. They have accomplished a good deal for California, including the completion of that iron road over the Sierras which has made her, in fact as in name, one of “ the States ;” but they have now fallen on evil days. Being frugal and careful, they have felt the strain of hard times less than the “ Caucasians,” particularly those from Ireland, and the latter have begun to demand that the Chinese shall “ go,” and are trying, in the meantime, to make their lives here as disagreeable as possible, because their own interests are touched by competition. It is not within the scope of this paper to discuss the nature of this demand, as yet coming chiefly from one set of alien refugees that another shall get out of their way. Accepting the fact that as the former, unlike the latter, have *votes*, no claim of theirs can fail to receive respectful attention from the politicians ; and reflecting that as yet only our Pacific States have felt the pressure, we can form some idea of the future importance of the “ Chinese Question.” Human nature being the same on both shores of the continent, we may be quite sure that if the immigration increases, and makes itself felt in the East, we shall hear the same cry as in California, and shall be called upon to say whether these people shall go or stay. It is a grave question, and a layman can but attempt, as is done in this article, to clear the question of some complications with which it is encumbered, and present it as it must, sooner or later, be faced. These complications are due to ignorance and confused ideas about our present position toward the Chinese Government, and about some supposed enormous commercial advantages which would be lost if we should send the Chinamen away.

The officials at Peking are men of a very high degree of ability and astuteness, and perfect masters of the Asiatic style of diplomacy. Confronted with them in that isolated city are the foreign representatives, who have of late years made a show of acting in concert wherever the interests of their countries have permitted, but have really had but little of importance to occupy them. In the years, however, which succeeded the capture of the Peiho forts and

of the capital, our friends of the Tsung-li-Yamun, or Foreign Office, found cause for grave concern in the position of their country. They had once again been thoroughly thrashed, and then made to pay the bills. The British minister, perfectly aware of the advantages which he had gained, had been firm and unyielding. The Frenchman was, as always in those times, touchy and aggressive. The Russian, true to his national character, sagacious, patient, and persistent, had lost no opportunity of advancing his Siberian frontier. "*Pour enterrer ces trois Russes là, il faudra un grand morceau de terrain,*" was the pithy remark made when the murderous mob at Tientsin had included some Muscovites in the slaughter of the French. Before they knew it, 1868 would be at hand, and then must come "revision" of the treaties—a euphemism, as they all knew, for additional concessions. They were fortunate, however, in having at this juncture an able adviser. It may not be generally known that Lord Elgin, about 1858, had insisted on the appointment of a foreign Inspectorate of Customs, for the purpose of securing a proper collection of the duties out of which the war indemnity was to be paid. This service, which has been of great value to China, has for its head an Inspector-General by the name of Robert Hart, an Irishman of high character and remarkable ability, who has thus far in his career combined an honest devotion to his employers' interests with remarkable fairness to his fellow "Europeans," and has thus attained a position of trust and influence never before so much as approached by any foreigner in China. He is understood to act almost as a Foreign Secretary, and it is but fair to give him a share of the credit of a new departure, made at the time just mentioned.

It was abruptly announced to the world that China was to send an ambassador to foreign lands, and that Mr. Anson Burlingame had been chosen to fill the place. The time was selected and the arrangements made with admirable shrewdness, and, what with the effusive reception in America and the arrival in England just at the time of a reaction from the policy of Palmerston, a rare success was achieved. The object of this mission was indirectly to *postpone the revision of the treaties*; and to this day that revision has not been accomplished. It is to a short so-called treaty made by this embassy in Washington that one hears frequent reference in connection with our crucial Chinese problem of to-day. This treaty was looked upon in the East as rather a joke, for the only provisions not included in the more important treaty of Tientsin seemed to be

that the Chinese must not kidnap Americans, and that if China wanted engineers from America to build railroads we would send them—the two things being about equally improbable. It is to the general agreement that the citizens of one country may reside and travel freely in the other that importance is now attached, and if there were no better claim than this for the Chinese here, they might pack up their josses and opium pipes and take the next steamer. The protection of foreigners in China by the Chinese is as wild a fiction as one of Jules Verne's stories. At Shanghae, for instance, far the most important of all the ports, not only have the foreigners had to protect themselves, but they have protected the Chinamen too! More than this, it is due to foreigners, not only that this city is standing to-day, but that the present dynasty has been maintained on the throne.

In August, 1860, an overwhelming force of Taeping rebels approached Shanghae, where there were barely soldiers enough to make a proper picket-line. As the head of the column, pursuing the rear-guard of the Imperialists neared the gate of the native city, a gun of the Madras artillery opened on them, and the ball went through the upper story of an American missionary's house. In he ran to the consul, who had just written a letter to the Taoutae, or Governor, requesting him to "send out an armed force and *disperse that rabble*," and who was about to betake himself to the friendly shelter of a clipper ship. To the good man's complaint he replied:

"By the treaty of Tientsin, sir, you have an undoubted right to reside in your house in peace and quiet."

"But, Mr. Consul, they are riddling it with cannon-balls."

"All that I can say to you, sir, is that the treaty *guarantees* you peace and quiet in your residence. Excuse me, if you please!" And off the consul went to the ship. He might have claimed that he had a good precedent for his action, since the Taoutae to whom he had just written was at that moment a panic-stricken refugee, hidden, with his wives and treasure, on board a foreign steamer. If any one would like a comment on this matter of protection, he might get it from any one of the mercantile community who manned the inner line of defense under that burning sun, with the shells of the "Nimrod" rattling over their heads, and the smoke and flame from the burning villages rising about them on every side. As for travel in China, beyond certain limits it may simply be said that one takes his life in his hands—and sometimes lays it down, as more than one fine fellow has done of late years.

So far as treaty rights, therefore, are concerned, our Mongolian friends have a weak case. Let us inquire next about the enormous and increasing commerce. What our trade is as compared with what it might be under different laws and a settled currency, or with that carried on with China by England and her dependencies, can be ascertained from easily accessible statistics; but even these require comment. Of the tea shipped to this country, quite a large amount is bought by English houses, paid for by English money, and sold here for English account. Of the imports of merchandise to San Francisco—exclusive of the tea and silk in transit—nearly all comes from Chinese houses to Chinese houses. Our exports are in value comparatively a bagatelle, cotton goods and petroleum being the only ones worth naming. Thanks to abnormally low prices and freights, we are working our trade in the former up towards the *ante-bellum* figures, but we are utterly and hopelessly behind Great Britain, and are terribly handicapped in various ways. We send, for instance, a very honest and handsome kind of cotton goods to China, and assert that the natives ought to prefer them; and, to a very limited extent and for special purposes, they do. But if they can get an article for considerably less money which will serve their purpose nearly as well, the great bulk of their trade will be in the latter. This can be illustrated by an actual occurrence. An experienced shipper in London received, not long ago, a letter from his friend in this country pointing out that drills were very cheap, and suggesting that he would do well to have them shipped direct to China for his account, and to avail himself of the low interest and financial facilities at his command at home. The answer came at once: "Manchester, England, and Manchester, America, are all the same to me, but I am not an educator. My business is to supply what the Chinese want and order from me. I send you a sample of cloth by book post. If you can get it made cheaper than I can, I will take one hundred thousand pieces!" This sample, placed beside a piece of American cloth, looked like skimmed milk beside cream, and from it an experienced chemist took just 18½ per cent of its weight in pipe-clay, worth at the pit's mouth \$3.50 per ton! We indulge the hope, and perhaps with some reason, that our goods may live down such stuff as this, but it will take a very long time.

The falling-off in our carrying trade has been mentioned before, and the plain fact is that, as a whole, our commerce with China is less satisfactory and less profitable than it was twenty years ago,

and there is no sign of any marked improvement. It is amusing to read the suggestions from consuls sedulously telegraphed to the press from Washington. Some years ago one of these functionaries sent an impassioned appeal for the establishment of an American bank at Hong Kong, to afford a refuge from the extortion of the grasping British, who, by the by, are eager purchasers of American bills at the lowest competitive market rates. The absurdity of this idea was exposed, at the time, in an excellent letter from one of the most experienced American merchants; but in the consul's absence his *locum tenens* has rehashed it and served it up again. The American firms in China, comprising some of the ablest men in the commercial world, having the closest relations with the best native merchants, and the command of the strongest home connections, have been moving heaven and earth for the past forty years to find new openings in trade between the two countries, and so eager have been shippers at home that the custom-house entries have been watched, and shipments by certain vessels duplicated, in the chance of striking a market. No doubt they would be only too glad to learn something from the consuls; but results thus far are not promising.

Moreover, it is pretty certain that business, be it great or small, would go on, in one of several ways, if we banished the Chinamen; and it is extremely unlikely that their government would concern itself about the presence at the treaty ports of a few hundred American barbarians as long as those from other lands remain, so that this plea, again, gives our Celestial residents no hold at all.

I contend, therefore, that in discussing the "Chinese Question" (and since this article was begun the action of Congress has brought us face to face with it) we need the careful and well-matured opinions of our best men on the broad general principle of the admission or exclusion of any one class of foreigners. The object of this paper will have been gained if it shall help to dispose of side issues, and it is to be hoped that it may be followed by some which will treat the broad question in a competent manner, rather than say, as the Chairman of the House Committee does, that "it is not a matter of principle but of policy" as to whether the Mongolians shall come. That they will come, unless means are found to exclude them, may be regarded as certain. The foul-mouthed demagogue to whom the newspapers gave a temporary notoriety may carry out his threat of blocking up the Golden Gate with their carcasses, and General Butler may establish, as he suggested, a fac-

tory for the conversion of their bones into fertilizers—the Six Companies will only ask, “Has Sparta more?”

The excellent Dr. Adam Clarke informs his readers that, although he is well assured that two and two added together do make four, he would nevertheless listen most respectfully to any well-disposed person who would undertake to prove the contrary, and that he might, indeed, himself adduce certain considerations to that end. Such, I am inclined to think, would be the position of most of those who have known the Chinaman in his own home, with regard to the difficulty of excluding him. I am sure that all experts in the matter would desire that our nation, in dealing with this important subject, should appear in a more dignified light than has been the case in the past, or than is now promised, and that public attention should be at once intelligently and forcibly directed to the relations between the United States and China.

THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY.

II.

IT is necessary to recur to the subject of the officers of the navy, in order to consider briefly a question which has assumed very great importance within the last few years—much greater importance, indeed, than is generally appreciated. The officers who compose the managing and fighting part of a ship's complement have already been enumerated as the captain, the executive officer, the navigator, the watch officers, and the subordinate officers—ensigns and midshipmen. Besides these, every ship carries one or more engineers, a surgeon, and a paymaster. These officers are a regular part of the naval establishment, and have, of late years, been known as the staff, in contradistinction to the military branch of the service, which is called the line. That a want of harmony has existed for some time past between the two branches of staff and line has been known to everybody who reads the newspapers. This want of harmony is admitted and deplored by officers of both branches; but their views as to its settlement are so directly opposite that no hope can be entertained of their ever agreeing. The difficulty began with the recognition of the staff as a regular branch of a military service, and assigning to them an assimilated rank with the officers of the navy. The arguments in favor of this were, as advanced by the staff, that they belonged to the organization of the navy; that they shared with line officers the hardships inherent in foreign service and life on board ship; that they had always performed their duties faithfully; and that long connection with the navy unfitted them for the practice of their professions in civil life, and took from them the opportunities of resuming such practice. In view of these facts, they claimed promotion in their respective corps, and, as a reward of long service, rank sufficient to free them from the alleged overbearing assumption on the part of line officers very much their juniors in years and service. They demanded, in

short, some official recognition of their positions, as part of the navy and as naval officers.

There can be no question that this position was a perfectly sound and good one. It has been found expedient, in all naval services, to give rank to the staff corps, and the staff had good grounds for complaint in the actual existence of the abuses which they alleged. The line officers, however, resented this step, and in many instances they only embittered the strife by an unwarrantable assumption over the staff, and by interference with them, instead of submitting to a decision of the question which was manifestly just and inevitable, and which really concerned their own standing in no way whatever. But since that time the encroachments of the staff have been steady. They hold now in their several corps an assimilated rank, and in all matters of etiquette and in many points of discipline a positive rank, with line officers which is out of keeping with their responsibilities. Their titles explain their functions, and they disclaim any share in the duties of discipline, the routine of management, or the responsibilities of command. But while thus disclaiming the only duties which could entitle them to high military rank—for rank, command, and responsibility should go together—they claim an assimilated rank which makes them, in a measure, independent of the restraints of discipline. This assimilated rank has been accorded to them in advance of line officers of corresponding length of service, so that now, on board ship, the surgeon, the paymaster, and the engineer rank next to the commanding officer. This has by no means settled the question, for the line officers now assert that the direct result of such a condition of affairs is highly detrimental to the efficiency of the ship. They assert that, by the encroachments of the staff and the rulings of the Navy Department, the executive officer has been reduced from his lawful position of second in command, and that the efforts of the staff have been directed toward lessening the authority of this office, or abolishing it altogether. The executive office is one which is imperatively necessary to a proper condition of discipline. While the law holds the commanding officer responsible for every thing, it provides that the executive shall be, when practicable, the next in rank to the commander. Not only law, but long custom, the result of years of experience in the requirements of discipline in all maritime services, has established this office as next in importance to that of commander. The lawful existence of a second in command insures the presence on board ship of an officer fully acquainted with the details of organization, possessing complete

knowledge of the plans and purposes of the commander, and therefore capable of assuming the command in an emergency. It relieves the commanding officer of a thousand petty cares and annoyances in small matters of discipline, the sum of which make the duties very onerous for one man, and which, added to the responsibilities of command, would unfit the commander for the proper exercise of his legitimate functions. They would prevent strict attention to whatever service the ship may be employed upon, and would tend to make the captain a mere ship-board drudge. The existence of the executive makes the commanding officer the one to whom an appeal is always possible; for in a well-disciplined ship the influence of the commander, though always felt, is seldom seen. He does not come into personal relations with the crew, his orders are transmitted through his officers, and the dignity and value of his office are greatly enhanced by a reserve which would be impossible if the office of executive were abolished. The commander lives alone. In the small space of a ship, in the intimate relations which must exist among a number of men so crowded together, it is of great advantage that the captain should be as much secluded as possible. By occupying a separate cabin he is removed from the possibility of that familiarity which might breed contempt, and his intercourse with those under his command is formal and official. Moreover, he must, for many official purposes, have exclusive use of one apartment. His mind is free from the petty cares of the executive office, and he is thereby able to bring a clear and impartial judgment to the decision of any case which may be presented to him. The true interests of the service seem to demand not only that the executive office should be maintained, but that its authority, under the commanding officer, should be beyond question or dispute. In foreign services its importance is so fully understood that the executive officer in the French navy is called *le second*, and in the English service the duty is performed, under a captain, by an officer of the grade of commander. Moreover, the presence of a superior military officer in the officers' mess is a check on impropriety of conduct and a safeguard to discipline, which demands that an officers' mess should be a purely military organization, and not a social one. Such was the status until very recent regulation (not law) declared the reverse, and removed from the executive officer the power to enforce order. Formerly it was the duty of this officer to interfere to prevent dispute and to forbid the introduction at the mess-table of such subjects as were manifestly improper topics of

conversation in a mess, such as criticisms on the orders or actions of the commanding officer, and the like. What was a duty but yesterday is a punishable offense to-day, and the officers' mess exists, under present regulations, as a social organization with power to elect its own head—a state manifestly incompatible with a proper state of discipline. Constant change in the duties and relations of officers is not the least deleterious effect of the staff encroachments.

Such are the arguments used by the line officers in resisting further advance in rank on the part of the staff. At the same time, it can not be denied that the present conditions of staff rank are absurd, and that some change which shall more closely define their rank is necessary.

The line officers take rank among themselves in their respective grades according to the date of their commissions, and so do the staff officers among themselves and in their own corps ; but when the relative rank is considered the conditions are different. A staff officer is supposed by law to have entered the service six years before the date of his actual appointment. This period of fictitious service was conceded in order to put staff officers on an equal footing with line officers at the outset ; for the lowest relative rank held by a staff officer is that of ensign, and a line officer must necessarily have been in the service six years before he can hold that rank. But instead of a staff officer of the lowest grade in his corps taking rank with ensigns of the line according to the date of his commission, he takes rank with those ensigns who entered the service six years before he did. For example, referring again to the very instructive Navy Register for July, 1878, it will be seen that there are eighteen assistant paymasters in the navy with the relative rank of ensign, who take rank among themselves according to the date of their commissions. The senior of these eighteen entered the service in May, 1875, and has therefore had three years' service, and takes rank with those ensigns of the line who entered the service in May, 1869. He therefore outranks all the ensigns of the line, except the three senior, by virtue of his six years of fictitious service. He would come in as No. 4 on the list of ensigns, although the officer whom he so outranks has been in the service actually nine years, and holds a commission dated one year prior to that of the assistant paymaster. There are thirty passed assistant paymasters with the relative rank of lieutenant. The junior of these entered the service in July, 1870, and will therefore take rank of all the line lieutenants who entered the service after

July, 1864. He will therefore outrank No. 111 on the list of line lieutenants, but will in his turn be outranked by all the succeeding lieutenants from No. 112 to No. 164 inclusive; he will outrank Nos. 165 to 178 inclusive, and be again outranked by No. 179; he will outrank No. 180, and be again outranked by No. 181, and so on down the list. If he and No. 180 and No. 181 were to serve together on a board or court, who would take precedence? Not the senior lieutenant, for he is inferior in rank to the paymaster; not the paymaster, for he is outranked by the junior lieutenant; not the junior lieutenant, for he can not take rank of his senior of the line. Nor is this an isolated case. The example is taken entirely at hazard, and the same anomalies occur in every grade until the highest is reached. It is the constantly recurring question of conflicting authority which such a condition as this must bring up that has reopened the discussion of staff rank. The two branches of the service offer, however, very different remedies. The staff propose to abolish assimilated rank and to assume positive rank with line officers. They even go so far as to propose to abolish the titles which designate their duties, and to assume the line titles of captain, lieutenant, etc.—titles which, if words have any value, would be simply meaningless when applied to a surgeon or a paymaster. They propose, in order more clearly to define their positions, to remove from their uniforms the marks which designate their corps, and, in short, to assume all the characteristics of line officers, with the important, but entirely overlooked, exception of the duties and responsibilities which alone give sense and meaning to those characteristics. These are the measures of reform proposed by the extreme partisans of the staff, who are actuated, perhaps, by a carelessness and ignorance of the requirements of discipline, and an impatience of its restraints, and possibly even by the vulgar national fancy for sounding titles. The line officers, in resisting further encroachments on the part of the staff, claim to be actuated by consideration for the best interests of the service. They hold that with no diminution of responsibility there should be no diminution of authority, and that the conditions of a naval or military service positively require that all who serve in it in any capacity should be subject to discipline. The extreme partisans of the line go as far in the opposite direction as those of the staff, and would abolish staff rank altogether; though it is but fair to say that we believe the sober-minded majority in both branches would be found to be less extreme in their views.

The best interests of the service must be studied here, as in the question of promotion, and considerations of personal advantage to the officers themselves must be set aside. It is not reasonable to suppose that the officers of the navy can take an impartial and judicial view of the question. The line officers, although they may regard the best interests of the service, can not help being influenced by personal feeling in a case where personal authority is in question, and with the staff it is purely a question of personal dignity. In the settlement of the question one side must remain dissatisfied, and the decision should be made for the best good of the service, not of individuals.

It would be difficult to explain how the efficiency of a ship can be enhanced by making the paymaster rank next to the commanding officer. It might perhaps be easier to show that its efficiency would not be injuriously affected if the paymaster had no rank whatever. If the paymaster has rank sufficient to set at defiance the restraints of discipline, and to raise points of law or regulation on every trivial matter of official intercourse, the efficiency of the ship may be seriously impaired, which the line officers assert to be now the case. While it is not to be denied that faithful service entitles an officer of any corps to due rank and consideration, yet to bestow on the staff a rank out of keeping with the importance of their responsibilities must serve, in the end, to bring contempt upon this meritorious and faithful class of officers whenever the necessities of war, demanding the utmost efficiency from the navy, should bring about a revulsion.

The next subject that invites attention in a view of the present condition of the navy is the state of the enlisted men, the non-commissioned officers—or petty officers, as they are called in the naval service—and seamen, who form the crews, as well as the condition of discipline on board our ships of war under existing laws and regulations. The men are enlisted at various seaports and naval stations, for a term of three years, for general service ; that is, they are enlisted to serve in the navy at large, and may be sent to any ship, or sent from one ship to another, like the officers, but at the expiration of their term of enlistment they may demand their discharge, and the commanding officer must accede to their request, unless doing so would, in his judgment, too much reduce the effective force of his ship's company. Men retained in the service after their terms of enlistment have expired receive extra pay. On the expiration of their three years of service they may

receive, at the option of their commanding officer, an honorable discharge, which entitles them to three months' gratuitous pay, provided they again enlist within three months of the date of their discharge. Any man who enlists for three years may, at his own option, receive on discharge a continuous-service ticket, which will entitle him to extra pay at the rate of a dollar a month, provided he re-enlists within three months of the date of his discharge ; and to those who are entitled to honorable discharges the continuous-service certificates have the same value. The men are enlisted under various ratings, such as seaman, ordinary seaman, landsman, boy, and fireman, and receive pay according to these ratings ; but all petty officers are appointed from among the seamen, by the captain of the ship, after the crew is detailed, and may be made or unmade at his pleasure. No one is enlisted as a petty officer. Besides the enlistments for general service, men are received into the navy from the training-ships. Any boy can enter on board one of these ships, with the consent of his parents or guardians, to serve in the navy until he is twenty-one years of age, and may be transferred from the training-ship to a sea-going vessel during his apprenticeship. The number of men in the navy is limited to seven thousand five hundred, and it is intended, by the system of honorable discharges, continuous-service tickets, and training-ships, to get into the service a class of men who will choose the navy as a regular occupation, and who will form the nucleus of a larger force in case of war. This system has succeeded so far, but it is a question whether the class of men thus obtained is the best that could be got for the service. The number, seven thousand five hundred, is very small, and the navy should therefore have the pick of the seafaring men of the country. Once in the service the inducement to the sailor to remain is sufficient, and the continuous-service plan gives assurance of steady employment to good men ; and after twenty years' continuous service the sailor may, if disabled, receive a pension, or become an inmate of the Naval Asylum at Philadelphia. The chance of promotion is good. A good seaman who is steady and trustworthy is almost sure to become a petty officer. The wages are comparatively high, the duties are not so severe as in the merchant service, and there is no class of laboring men better cared for than the sailors of the United States Navy. The crew of a man-of-war has no cares. The captain is responsible for the comfort of the men, the ration is abundant and wholesome, and their slightest wants are attended to without any thought on their own

part. Any complaint is sure of attention, and in sickness they have the best medical care. Notwithstanding these advantages, the navy is not popular among sailors, particularly among American sailors, nor is the class of men who enlist continuously such as it ought to be. The apprentice system may change this ; but it is too soon yet to judge of its effects. The training-ships educate seamen, but there is no particular tie to bind them to the navy. They are as well trained for the merchant service as they are for men-of-war, and many of these boys will, no doubt, abandon the navy at the close of their apprenticeship, and take to the merchant service. The present state of the apprentice system is not good. Boys are sent on board cruising vessels to do men's work and in many ships now in commission a large part of the crew is composed of apprentices. They not only do men's work, they learn, by contact with a debased class, the worst of men's vices, and many of them become habitual drunkards before they are out of their teens.

The class of men who enlist in the service, it has been said, is not the best class of seafaring people. On the other hand, they are not the worst. Their qualities are rather negative than positive, except in the prevailing and almost universal vice of drunkenness, and in this respect they are probably the very worst of their kind. As a rule, they are obedient and willing on board ship, but the physical standard is low, and the crews of our men-of-war offer a humiliating contrast to those of foreign ships. Any one who sees English or French and American men-of-war together in port can not help being struck with this. In the first place, the English or French ship is manned by a crew all English or all French. The American ship's company is a heterogeneous mixture of all known nationalities. The English man-of-war's men appear on shore, on liberty in a foreign port, scrupulously neat and perfectly uniform in their dress. They are stalwart fellows, broad-shouldered and deep-chested, with wholesome complexions and bright eyes. They are uniform in stature and looks, being all unmistakably English, and, for the most part, they amuse themselves rationally. One meets them in pairs, walking far into the country, or sees them in the galleries of the theatres, enjoying the play, or quietly drinking their beer and smoking their pipes in the gardens. Some may be a little the worse for liquor, but in the main they are sober, neat, and orderly. With the American sailor the acknowledged object of liberty is a drunken debauch. When an American ship gives liberty, most of the men get no further than the grog-shop nearest the

landing-place (of which there are always plenty close at hand), unless they are taken to jail by the police. Here they drink and quarrel, sally forth and fight each other or the police in the public streets, or hang about the landing-places, their faces battered and bloody, their clothes torn, or partly gone, or exchanged for shore rags. Inflamed by drink, they are quarrelsome, noisy, and offensive. They may be seen in the early morning lying dead drunk in the open air, having been ejected from dens where they have spent all their money. Their officers, in passing to and from the ship's boats, must avoid them, for fear of insult or offensive familiarity. They are of all degrees of stature and complexion, many sallow or bilious, many undersized or misshapen, and all badly dressed in ill-fitting clothes of the commonest material. They finish their debauch by being arrested and taken off to the ship by the police, after a reward, the amount of which must be deducted from their pay, has been offered for their apprehension. This is not a pleasant picture, but it fairly describes the conduct on shore of a large majority of our enlisted men. The proportion that remains sober is very small. This vice of drunkenness is a crying evil among the enlisted men of the navy. There is hardly an individual who is not guilty of it, and it is looked upon as a matter of course by both officers and men. So much is this the case that there is no punishment for drunkenness on liberty, and a general liberty always affects the condition of the crew for days after it is over. Men return on board helplessly drunk, and must be allowed time to recover from their debauch. The only punishment is to deprive the offender of another opportunity on shore ; but this can only last for three months, as the regulations require that every person, no matter what his conduct may be, must be granted leave at least once in three months, unless he is under sentence of a court-martial or under arrest waiting trial. The inordinate love of rum, and desire for intoxication for the mere love of the thing, is regarded throughout the service, and practically admitted by the regulations, as a trait inseparable from a sailor's character. This failing is condoned, and to a certain extent humored, not on the ship indeed, for no spirit-ration is now issued in the navy, nor are intoxicating liquors allowed to be brought on board ; but it is perfectly understood that liberty means license for a brutal debauch on shore. Even on board men manage to get drunk, and they practice all sorts of tricks and devices to smuggle rum into the ship, so that no man returns from the shore, whether he has been on liberty or on duty,

without being searched at the gangway by the master-at-arms or a corporal of marines, to make sure that he has no liquor concealed about his clothes; and every boat's crew returning to the ship, and the boats themselves, are subjected to the same search. By the vice of drunkenness the efficiency of the ship is injured, because hardly a man in the ship, whether petty officer or seaman, can be trusted alone out of the ship, or in charge of a boat's crew, without danger of a drunken frolic, to the entire neglect of the service on which he is sent. On this account all messages to the shore must be carried by officers, and our subordinate officers are compelled to perform duties of a kind which in the army would be intrusted to a non-commissioned officer or private, and in foreign navies to petty officers or seamen. Seventeen years ago, when liquor was still part of the ration, there was a temperance movement in the navy, and on board some ships the men were induced to sign the pledge, or to forego the luxury of their daily rum and to have it commuted in money. Influenced by this movement, Congress, in 1862, passed an act abolishing the spirit-ration and forbidding the introduction of spirits on board ships of war except as a part of the medical stores. This law has had little or no effect in checking drunkenness. The temperance movement was, of course, only ephemeral, and did not even extend throughout the service. The men, as a rule, "growled" bitterly at first at being deprived of what they had always considered a necessity. The amount served out was so small that it could do no harm, and the ration was salutary in seasons of exposure and fatigue. Probably since the abolition of the spirit-ration there has been more liquor smuggled on board than there was before, and just as much drunkenness as ever on shore.

There is another matter which bears directly on the efficiency of the crews of ships of war, and that is the practice of enlisting men in foreign ports. Owing to the small number of men allowed by law, it is the universal rule for ships to go short-handed. They may leave home with barely their complement of men, and as losses are continually occurring on the station from desertion, sickness, and courts-martial, it becomes necessary to fill up these deficiencies in order to keep the ship in any thing like a fit condition for service. The men so obtained must necessarily be bad. They have no connection with the navy, most of them are foreigners, and some do not even speak the English language. These men, in all matters of drill and discipline, must be taught from the very beginning, and this constant influx of green hands is a drag on the efficiency of the ship.

The executive officer of a sloop-of-war on the China station prepared, two years ago, an analytical report on the crew of the vessel, based upon the numbers, *physique*, and *morale* of the ship's company, which was printed and widely circulated at the time, and which is instructive in this connection as throwing some light on the actual condition of the crew of a vessel which may be taken as a fair type of her class. The ship was a third-rate of six guns, had been two years or more on the station, and her full complement of men was one hundred and sixty-three. This is the minimum required, according to the Ordnance Instructions, to work the ship. She had on board one hundred and twenty-eight men, being thirty-five short of her complement. Out of these one hundred and twenty-eight there was a daily average of five sick and two prisoners, leaving an effective total of one hundred and twenty-one. These were equally distributed among the various divisions and at the guns, but each gun's crew was so small that a bare average of casualties in action would silence that gun. The complement of marines was twenty-five. She had on board only ten non-commissioned officers and privates. So much for numbers. In this crew of one hundred and twenty-eight men there were representatives of twenty-two different countries ; or, classed by nationalities, of fourteen different nations. There were forty-seven Americans, twenty-one Chinese, twenty Irish, nine English, and the remainder were Swedes, Danes, Germans, Scotchmen, Greeks, Brazilians, French, Indians, Peruvians, Russians, Sandwich Islanders, Welshmen, and natives of the West Indies, the Azores, Jersey, Liberia, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia. Besides the forty-seven Americans, there were thirty-six of the foreigners who claimed American citizenship ; and this number includes, besides naturalized citizens, all those who had served previous periods of enlistment in the navy, or who habitually resided in the United States, giving a total percentage of 65 as the American representation in its widest sense. These statistics require no comment. The one item of twenty-one Chinese speaks for itself. Of this heterogeneous rabble fifty-two, of whom only ten were Americans, were enlisted on the station ; the remaining seventy-six at home. Seventy-two were classed as desirable—that is, the number whose re-enlistment would be beneficial to the service ; and of this number thirty-seven were Americans. The remainder were not desirable. An analysis of the punishments inflicted showed that the Englishmen were the worst element on board—probably because they were mostly deserters from

the Royal Navy or English merchant-ships, or those whose general standard was too low for the British service. Next came the Irish, French, Welsh, and then the Americans. These comparisons are unquestionably in favor of the intelligence and subordination of the Americans. Two tables give the particulars of *physique*, and show the average height to have been 5 feet 5.45 inches, and the average weight 142.2 pounds. Comparing those enlisted at home and abroad, the average height of those shipped at home was 5 feet 5.97 inches, and their average weight 146.05 pounds, and of those shipped on the station the average height was 5 feet 4.76 inches, and weight 137.09 pounds. The conclusions drawn from these statistics can be best expressed in the language of the report, which is addressed to the commanding officer :

“ Galton, in his ‘ Hereditary Genius,’ assumes sixty-six inches as the average height of a full-grown Englishman, and the ‘ Reports of the Army Medical Department ’ state that the average American is at least as tall. (I make these quotations from memory.) It will be observed that the crew is below the average, both in height and weight.” “ Table No. 12, comparing those shipped at home and abroad shows emphatically that the shipments on the station are a source of weakness, and are to be deplored. Referring again to Table No. 2, a glance reveals the small number of Americans so shipped.” “ My own view of this subject is that no one should be shipped on foreign stations, except for some special service in case of great need. In this I think I am sustained by the general sentiment of officers of wide experience.” “ In the routine of ship’s work, as well as at the battery, the need of men is felt. The royal yards were put out of commission nearly a year ago. Furling sail, with a boat’s crew away from the ship, is a weariness to the flesh, and all hands have to be turned out for every trivial matter. These considerations are, however, of slight weight in comparison with the lack of men for the battery, the one pressing need, and I only mention them to show that what is done to keep the ship up to her old standard, although done, is done hardly.” “ But I think I have shown you how heterogeneous is the crew under your command. That any satisfactory result should be achieved from the material shows how strong and unremitting must be the influence that forces a body of men of such widely differing associations and ambitions into the channel of uniform conduct and discipline.”

It is an almost universal practice to depend on enlistments made on the station for officers’ servants, stewards, the band, and other offices which, in a well-ordered state of the service, should be entirely supernumerary to the working and fighting strength of the ship’s company. Servants are, as a rule, foreigners, and the musicians are always foreigners. They are chosen, as servants are chosen on shore, with a special view to their fitness, and are enlisted for the cruise of the vessel, or for one year ; but, owing to the short-

handed condition of the ship, these people must be called from their proper duties to assist at evolutions when all hands are summoned, and they are generally stationed, at quarters, in the powder division. The slovenly condition of their persons, the neglect of the duties for which they supposed themselves hired, and frequent punishments among them, leading to desertion on the first favorable opportunity, and necessitating another start with a new set, are the natural results of this system.

The influence must indeed be strong and unremitting to make from such a compound as this an harmonious and effective whole. The natural inference is that the discipline must be very strict, the punishments frequent and severe, and the power of the captain almost absolute, to manage successfully a crew composed of such varying elements. There was a common saying in the old navy, "There is no law for post-captains ;" but such a saying would have no truth now. The captain is bound by laws which he can not disregard, and in the matter of punishments he is limited to a few very mild forms. The moral force of discipline must be very great ; and that this is not wanting in the navy is clearly proved by the effect on a crew of sudden disasters, such as the loss of the *Oneida* and the *Huron*. In these dreadful emergencies discipline was in no way relaxed, and such a thing as a panic is probably impossible on board a man-of-war. The severest punishment which a commanding officer can inflict of his own authority is solitary confinement on bread and water for five days. All punishments are in the form of confinement, except for trivial offenses, when extra duties or deprivation of liberty on shore may be made punishments ; so that when a man is undergoing punishment the ship must lose his services ; and so jealous is regulation of the comfort of the crew that it forbids the confinement of prisoners in cells smaller than the clear space of an officer's state-room. Discipline depends not so much on the severity of punishments as on their certainty ; and the regulations make a grave mistake in recommending to commanders lenity for first offenses. The discipline is best when commensurate punishment is sure to follow an offense, and some form of summary punishment is necessary in the navy. Its want would be more strongly felt if a war called for a great increase in the force of enlisted men. Flogging should be a legal form of sentence for courts-martial, both general and summary. It is an undeniable fact that for brutal offenses brutal forms of punishment are necessary, and the lash might be used with good effect to punish offenses

against discipline springing from that most brutal vice, drunkenness. Drunkenness itself, whether on liberty or on duty, should be made a grave offense, and punished accordingly. For a man of sensitive nature solitary confinement is a severe punishment. For a mere brute, dead to all sense of shame and totally devoid of finer feeling, sodden with drink, and disinclined to work, a few days' rest, in a comfortable apartment, with frequent visits from a surgeon charged with responsibility for his personal comfort, is a luxury. If, in such a case as this, a summary court-martial, convened by the captain's order, had power to adjudge a punishment which should appeal to the only sense that could be reached, the sense of bodily pain, the result would be very good. Habitual drunkenness ought to be a sufficient cause for refusing an honorable discharge ; and in enlisting men for the service those who bear on their persons the unmistakable marks of habitual intemperance should be rejected, even if they have honorable discharges. The only regulation that bears on this subject is one forbidding the enlistment of "insane or intoxicated persons." A high physical standard should be adopted for recruits, and American citizenship should be an imperative qualification for enlistment. The enlistment of foreigners on foreign stations, in any capacity whatever, should be strictly prohibited, and ships requiring re-inforcements should be supplied from home. If the expensive store-houses and stationary store-ships on foreign stations were done away with, one or two steamers might be employed on special service, to visit the foreign stations in rotation, and carry out supplies of men and stores, relieving the squadrons at the same time of the sick, the prisoners, and those whose terms of enlistment had expired. Such a plan, moreover, would be good economy.

The condition of the sailor should be improved in some respects. Instead of being obliged to purchase his own clothing—a necessity which always brings him into debt at the commencement of his term of service—he ought to be allowed a good outfit, and enough to keep him decent. Clothing should be made at the Government navy-yards, but not by contract, for no man can wear what is now issued, nor is it permitted to be worn on board most ships until made over. The slops and slop stores in the paymaster's hands are of the worst material and the highest prices. This forces the sailor to make his own clothes, or hire others to make them, and the result is not only a want of tidiness and uniformity in the appearance of the crew, but an unfair demand on the sailor's time,

labor, or money. By a judicious use of the honorable discharges and continuous-service tickets the good men should be retained in the service and the bad ones not re-enlisted. It should be understood that the very small force of peace times would only form the nucleus of an increased force in case of war ; and the experience of the last war, toward the close of which it was necessary to take the very worst men, the dregs of society, into the service, ought to prove the importance of keeping up the standard in time of peace. In case of a necessary increase of force made from a debased and reckless class, the present system of punishments would probably be found inadequate. The regulations regarding the administration of punishments are founded on a rather sentimental theory of what American sailors ought to be, not on a just recognition of what they really are. The commander is too much tied down by law and regulation ; and while he is held responsible for the proper discipline and efficiency of his crew, almost every means by which he could summarily enforce discipline with a dogged or mutinous set of men is made illegal. That serious evil might easily result from the present state of the law regarding punishments, any officer who had to deal with the crews of ships during or immediately after the war could probably testify. Great discrimination in matters of discipline should be allowed to the commander, and all attempts to hamper or restrain him by regulations of the Navy Department, in the administration of punishments which he is allowed by law to inflict of his own authority, must be wrong. Serious cases must be brought before a court-martial ; and as it is considered rather discreditable for a commander of a ship to have many court-martial cases on joining the admiral, it sometimes happens that offenses are overlooked or inadequately punished.

With regard to courts-martial, their forms are too cumbersome and their sentences too uncertain to make them really effective where summary example is required.¹ It is a common belief that a

¹ In Osler's "Life of Lord Exmouth," among many instances of his stern energy of character there is one which is particularly apt in connection with this subject. "Considerate as he was on all occasions when human life was concerned, and unwilling to resort to punishment, he was always anxious to make it as impressive as possible whenever it became necessary to inflict it. He assisted to try one of the mutineers of the *Hermione*, whose crime was attended with circumstances of peculiar aggravation, Captain Pigott having brought him up from a boy, and treated him with much kindness and confidence. His crime was fully proved ; and the court being cleared, Sir Edward proposed that sentence should be executed immediately. The circumstances of the case demanded, in his opinion, unusual severity, which might be expected to have a good effect upon the fleet ; while there was every reason to conclude

naval court-martial is a most summary form of legal proceeding, that the accused has few rights, and that he is always found guilty and punished severely. But in reality it is a fair form of trial. No man is brought to trial unless there is a sufficient case to make his conviction probable. The officer ordering the court judges of this beforehand, and a commander-in-chief will usually not order a court unless the evidence is pretty strong ; which accounts for the fact that the accused is usually found guilty. But he has all the privileges that are allowed in civil courts, except that of being sworn as a witness in his own defense. The court is bound to find him counsel, and to listen to any statement he may wish to make. The proceedings of the trial are very formal. A written record is kept of the whole, including the questions put to witnesses and their answers, *verbatim*, and any flaw in the proceedings or in the manner of recording them is sufficient to nullify the whole. The sentences usually take the form of confinement, sometimes accompanied with loss of pay. They must be approved by the officer ordering the court, and the proceedings are overhauled by the Secretary of the Navy, who has power to pardon, to remit any part of the sentence, or to set aside the whole proceedings. This power also exists with the officer who orders the court ; so that its finding and sentence are by no means final, or sure of approval, even if the proceedings have been correct. Sentences of imprisonment must be carried out in the United States ; and as no opportunity may occur for some time of sending the prisoner home, he remains on

from the prisoner's demeanor before them, that if delay were allowed he would meet his fate with a hardihood which would destroy the value of the example. The court at first questioned their power to execute without a warrant of the Admiralty, but this was quickly settled by reference to the Act of Parliament. The president then declared that he could not make the order. 'Look here !' said he, giving to Sir Edward his hand, trembling violently, and bathed in a cold perspiration. 'I see it and I respect your feelings,' replied Sir Edward, 'but I am sure that such an example is wanted, and I must press the point.' 'Well,' he replied, 'if it be the *unanimous* opinion of the court, it shall be done.' It was agreed to, and the prisoner was called. Though sure he must be condemned, he entered with a bold front ; but when he was informed that he would be executed in one hour, he rolled on the cabin deck in agony. 'What ! gentlemen,' he exclaimed, 'hang me directly ! will you not allow me a few days—a little time—to make my peace with God ?' The whole fleet was appalled when the close of the court martial was announced to them by the signal for execution ; and at the end of the allotted hour the wretched criminal was brought up to undergo his sentence.

"The clamor of that false humanity which is one of the most prominent vices of the present day would never influence him. Little consideration can be claimed for that pretended sense of honor which is sensitive to the degradation of punishment, but callous to that of crime."

board his own ship until there is a vessel leaving the station, perhaps as a prisoner-at-large—that is, a prisoner only in name. Thus the good effect of a severe sentence as a summary example is lost. After a prisoner gets home his shipmates lose all knowledge of him, and there is a common belief among the men that sentences of long imprisonment are never carried out by the Secretary of the Navy. No visible effect of a severe sentence, as an example, therefore, exists.

The present system of discipline is the natural result of a revulsion from the old plan, where there was “no law for post-captains,” and courts-martial were speedy and severe. That grave abuses existed under such a system is notorious. It is sufficient to cite the case of the brig Somers, on board which a midshipman and two seamen were hung at the yard-arm, on the sole authority of the captain, for alleged mutinous intentions which could never be clearly proved, although the brig was within five days’ sail of port; and after which the captain was acquitted by a court-martial. But in removing the possibility of the recurrence of such a case it is not necessary to go to the other extreme. The laws and regulations regarding punishments should be framed with a just recognition of the character of the class which they are intended to control, and a due regard for the responsibility to which the commanding officer is held. While this officer is made answerable for the efficient discipline of his command, he should be intrusted with sufficient authority to enforce it. To restrict his power within too narrow limits, while holding him strictly accountable for results, is not only an act of injustice, but must tend to make the commander afraid of responsibility and wanting in self-reliance in positions where no access can be had to a superior for instructions, and which may call for independence of thought, prompt judgment, and decisive action. If the armed vessels of the country are to render efficient service in emergencies, their commanders must possess these qualities to a high degree.

In the foregoing pages the aim has been to bring forward the defects of our present naval system, or rather those which seemed obvious and easy of correction. Many topics have been avoided which might have been dwelt on at length in an article treating of the present condition of the navy—topics on which opinions differ widely, and which are fruitful sources of discussion both in and out of the service. But such matters have been purposely avoided, with the desire to present only such as must be acknowledged to

be faults, and to suggest such remedies as would seem simple and obvious. All that could be said in praise of the navy—and there is much—has been left unsaid, with the same object in view. The navy possesses, at present, a corps of officers as highly qualified as those of any service in the world. The faults of the service do not lie at their door, but the responsibility rests rather with Congress and the administrators of the law. For so long as the direction of naval affairs is characterized by corruption or favoritism, by careless disregard for the best interests of the service, by ignorance of its wants and defects, and by incompetency to discover, supply, and remedy them, so long will abuses which might be corrected, under existing laws, by orders and regulations, go unnoticed and increase in number from year to year.

In 1798, when the attitude of France and the popular indignation at home called for the speedy equipment of a navy, the new secretaryship then formed was offered to a statesman of high character and undoubted ability, especially fitted for the office by familiarity with maritime affairs. In enumerating the reasons which influenced him in declining the appointment, he says :

"I have seen, with a painful sympathy, the tasks which our executive officers are called to perform, and have often made the reflection that, if they were not capable of the most intense and persevering application, the public business must suffer. I have seen with pride, however, that the affairs of our executive government have been conducted with a degree of order, intelligence, and steadiness that do great honor to the nation ; but I must be allowed to say that I am incapable of imitating those efforts which in others have been productive of so much good. This is a circumstance so important that, in my estimation, it greatly outweighs the advantage of any practical knowledge which a person could be supposed to bring into the office. It is undoubtedly requisite that the officer at the head of the Naval Department should possess considerable knowledge of maritime affairs ; but this should be elementary as well as practical, including the principles of naval architecture and naval tactics. He should also possess skill sufficient to arrange systematically the means of equipping, manning, and conducting the naval force with the greatest possible despatch and with the least possible expense ; and above all he should possess the inestimable secret of rendering it invincible by any equal force. Thus a knowledge of the human heart will constitute an essential ingredient in the character of this officer, that he may be able to convert every incident to the elevation of the spirit of American seamen."

BASQUE LEGENDS.¹

ONE of the most interesting fields of modern research, and one which owes its existence to modern scholarship, is what may be termed the science of comparative Folk-Tales. Its rise and growth may be comprehended in the last twenty-five years, and its increasing interest and popularity are manifested by the growing number of books and periodicals devoted to this study. Young as this science is, it has its various schools, two of which are diametrically opposed ; and yet, strange to say, it is at this time impossible to settle conclusively the claims of either. When the Grimms laid the foundation of this science by their collection of " *Kinder-und Hausmärchen*," 1812-1814, they also established a school which we shall call by their name. They noticed that these tales contained a large number of traits which agreed with those of the Greek and Northern mythology. A further comparison of the German tales with those of other nations revealed the fact that the former had counterparts among the latter. At this time the wonderful results of the study of Sanskrit were still fresh in the minds of European scholars, and the vital fact of the Aryan unity suggested, of course, the unity of the traditions of the Aryan peoples. The science of comparative mythology, based on the same fact, appropriated these traditions as additional proof and illustration of its theories, and before long the leading principles of the Grimm school were clearly formulated. Meanwhile the interest awakened in Oriental studies led to a more careful examination of the class of works intended for the entertainment as well as for the instruction of the people, and it was soon seen that they also contained the same traits as the popular tales of Europe. These works were not known in Europe to any extent until after the tenth century ; consequently, if these tales were borrowed from them, they could not

¹ " *Basque Legends :*" Collected chiefly in the Labourd, by Rev. Wentworth Webster, M.A., Oxon. With an Essay on the Basque Language by M. Julien Vinson, of the *Revue de Linguistique*, Paris. London : Griffith & Farran, 1877. 8vo, pp. xvi., 233.

have been known until a comparatively late date. The eminent Orientalist, Theodor Benfey, thus states his theory in the masterly introduction to his translation of the *Pantschatantra*:¹

"My investigations in the field of Oriental fables, tales, and stories, have convinced me that few fables, but a great number of tales and stories, have spread over the whole world from India. In regard to the time when this diffusion took place, before the tenth century, comparatively few migrated to the West, and, except those which were known through the translation of the original of the *Pantschatantra* or *Kalilah* and *Dininah*, only by means of verbal communication between travelers, merchants, and the like."

After the tenth century, owing to the Islamitic conquests in India, verbal tradition began to yield to literary.²

It is not necessary for the purposes of this article to enter into the details of these two schools and consider, for example, how far the theory of Hahn departs from that generally received as the Grimm theory.³ It is enough to bear in mind that the followers of this school see in the popular tales of the Aryan peoples the remnant of their primitive religious beliefs, an inheritance which they brought to Europe with their language. On the other hand, the followers of Benfey consider these tales as having their source in India, it is true, but of later Buddhistic origin, and introduced into Europe at a comparatively late date. It will probably be suggested that there is a very simple test by which these theories may be tried. If the theory of Grimm be true, then there will be more or less resemblance between the tales of the Aryan peoples, and these tales will differ from those of the non-Aryan peoples. This is true, but it is also true that precisely the same result would follow if the Benfey theory were correct, except that in proportion as these tales had been introduced into the non-Aryan peoples there

¹ "*Pantschatantra: Fünf Bücher indischer Fabeln, Märchen und Erzählungen. Aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen.*" Von Theodor Benfey. Leipzig, 1859. 2 vols., vol. i., *Vorrede*, p. xxii.

² Benfey has since somewhat modified his views of the time and nature of this diffusion. He says, in the *Göttingen Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1860, p. 874, in speaking of Liebrecht's discovery of the Buddhistic source of the legend of Balaam und Josophat, "the literary conveyance therefore does not begin with the more intimate acquaintance of the Islamitic peoples with India, already earlier a richer stream of Indian literature flowed to the West, and the intellectual influence of India on the Occident as far as the western boundary of Europe, which clearly appears before the tenth century, does not merely rest, as I formerly believed, on verbal communication, but has a literary basis."

³ "*Sagwissenschaftliche Studien,*" von J. G. von Hahn, Jena, 1876.

would be a greater or less resemblance here also.¹ It will easily be seen that a deduction from the Grimm theory is that a people whose popular tales differ from those of the Aryan peoples is non-Aryan ; or, in other words, the popular tales of a people may be made an ethnological test ; and it is in this side of the question that we are at present chiefly interested. How valuable are the popular tales of a people in settling the question of its ethnic relations ? Before undertaking to answer this question, or considering its practical application to the particular case before us, we must examine hastily a few general questions relating to popular tales.

In considering the great bulk of popular tales, they naturally fall into two classes—*märchen*, or fairy tales, and *erzählungen*, or stories, which include jests and the like. The modern Oriental origin of the second class is recognized by all the followers of the Grimm school. The first class Max Müller (Chips, vol. ii., p. 242) calls "primitive ;" the second, "those which were imported in later times from one literature to another, secondary or inorganic." Now, the curious fact is, that these two classes of stories are found side by side among all European nations, and there does not seem to be any noticeable difference in their popularity. In other words, those stories, the Oriental and literary character of whose origin is not disputed, have penetrated among the people and have become as well diffused as those tales for which a primitive Aryan origin is claimed, and it is difficult to see why one class should be more popular *per se* than the other. Another point to be borne in mind in this connection is the ease with which the popular fancy catches at and assimilates material not, strictly speaking, popular, but rather literary. A very remarkable instance of this is the Hungarian version of the Seven Wise Masters. It would not, of course, be strange if the detached stories in this famous medieval collection should become popular ; but it is curious that the whole frame of the original and part of the stories should appear as a popular

¹ This argument is used with much force by R. Köhler in his article on European Folk-Tales in the "Weimarische Beiträge zur Literatur und Kunst, 1865." See also a letter by M. E. Cosquin in "Mélusine, Recueil de Mythologie," etc., Paris, 1878, p. 276. It is not the object of this article to consider the question of the origin of popular tales, except in so far as it concerns their diffusion. An interesting article, "The Origin of Popular Tales," may be found in the *Saturday Review*, Dec. 7, 1878, containing a review of Mr. Bunce's "Fairy Tales and their Origin and Meaning" (London, 1878) ; Mr. Ralston's "Beauty and the Beast," in the Dec. number of the *Nineteenth Century* ; and Mr. Farrer's "Fairy Lore of Savages," in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Dec. 1878.

tale among the Magyars.¹ Still more curious is the fact that the frame of the Oriental collection known as the *Çukasaptati* (*Tûtî-Nâmeh* in Persian and Turkish) is found in the Italian popular tales.² All these cases, it must be remembered, are purely popular, and there is no difference in this respect between them and the first class mentioned above.

While the hypothesis of the primitive Aryan origin of European tales is very fascinating, it must be acknowledged that the theory of "conscious borrowing," so much scouted by late writers (especially by Cox in his *Aryan Mythology*), has many strong supports.³ The most superficial glance at the literature of the Middle Ages will show the enormous popularity of what may be regarded as the universal literature of the day. The manner in which legends, parables, fables, and stories went from one end of the civilized world to the other is too well known to be repeated here. The French *chansons de geste* have their Icelandic versions; is it any more remarkable that a beautiful story like the Three Citrons should be found from Norway to Italy?⁴ The songs of Normandy are repeated in Piedmont, and a given ballad may have versions from Denmark to Catalonia.⁵ Are we in these cases to attribute to these ballads a "primitive Aryan origin," even when their late, if not entirely historical, character can be shown?⁶

Finally, we have the opportunity in some cases to trace the introduction of stories from one people to another. Two of the most curious examples are the introduction into China of Indian

¹ See "La Tradizione dei Sette Savi nelle Novelline Magiare," di E. Teza, Bologna, 1864, 16mo, pp. 56. Detached stories from the "Seven Wise Masters" may be found in Pitrè, 76, 159, 160, 176; Comparetti, 13; Coronedi-Berti, 2.

² Comparetti, 1, 2; Pitrè, 2. See the *North American Review*, July, 1876, p. 42.

³ I owe an interesting example to my friend Professor D. W. Fiske. Professor Gísli Brýnjúlfson, of Copenhagen, the distinguished poet and political writer, told him that while a boy at Akureyri, on the north coast of Iceland, his nurse told him a story that made a deep impression on him. In after years he discovered that this story was Sir Walter Scott's "Kenilworth." The nurse had spent a winter in Edinburgh with an Icelandic family, and there read or heard the story.

⁴ Germania, xx., p. 226; xxi., p. 354, "Zur älteren romantischen Litteratur im Norden," von E. Kölbing. We might have mentioned above the interesting fact that these foreign elements have become popular among the Icelanders. See Germania, xvii., p. 197. "Ueber isländische Bearbeitungen fremder Stoffe," von E. Kölbing.

⁵ "Chants pop. recueillis dans le Pays Messin," par le Cte. de Puymaigre, Paris, 1865, p. xi.; "Volkslieder aus Venetien gesammelt," von G. Widter, herausgeg. von A. Wolf, Wien, 1864, pp. 94, 96, etc.

⁶ Gaston Paris in the *Revue Critique*, May 22, 1866, reprinted in "Mélusine," p. 1.

stories by the Buddhist missionaries, and into Europe by the Mongolians.¹

Enough has been said, we think, to show with what extreme caution these tales should be examined, as far, at least, as drawing from them any general conclusions; and we shall soon see that their ethnological value must be weighed with equal care; for manifestly, if it can be shown that the theory of their introduction by borrowing can be supported, all value as an ethnic test at once disappears.

The most recent attempt to solve by this means a disputed case of nationality is in the work before us. It is well known to our readers that the Basques have been for centuries the puzzle of the philologist and ethnologist, and the question of their origin is as far from being settled to-day as ever. All known tests have failed, and it was a happy thought to apply this new one; and to this thought we owe the collection of Basque tales before us. The two non-Aryan peoples in Europe (besides the Turks) are the Ugrians, or Finno-Hungarians, and the Basques. These peoples are both surrounded by Aryan nations with whom they are obliged to have more or less intercourse, and, in the lapse of time, they seem to have lost all national peculiarities except their language. The popular tales of the Finns and Hungarians have been collected, and do not differ materially from those of their Aryan neighbors.² This result would naturally prepare us for further disappointment in the case of the Basques.

The collector, Mr. Webster, who seems almost entirely unacquainted with the results of the study in this field for the last twenty years, bases his argument on a remarkable syllogism:³ Many of the Basque tales resemble the Gaelic tales in Campbell's "West Highland Tales" (Edinburgh, 1860-1862; 4 vols.); these are Celtic: therefore the Basques are of Celtic origin. Very little

¹ In regard to the discovery by Stan. Julien of Indian stories in Chinese literature, see Benfey, "Pant.," i., p. xii. In regard to the second instance, see "Kalmückische Märchen," von B. Jülg, Leipzig, 1866, and "Mongolische Märchen, eine Fortsetzung zu den Kalm. Märchen," Innsbruck, 1868. The collection is the famous "Vetala-panchavinsati, or Five and Twenty Tales of a Demon." An English version, by R. F. Burton, is entitled, "Vikram and the Vampire, or Tales of Indian Devilry," New York, D. Appleton & Co.

² For Bibliography and general results, see "Kinder-und Hausmärchen gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm." Dritte aufl. Gottingen, 1856, pp. 345-347, 353, 383, 385, 392. The references to Grimm in this article are to the above edition. To the references in Grimm may be added, "Ehstnische Märchen," von Krutzwald, Halle, 1869.

³ See his remarks on p. 76.

study of the subject would have shown that nearly all the stories in Campbell have parallels in the various collections of the North and South of Europe. Indeed, so close is the resemblance between most of these Basque tales and those of the rest of Europe that it is almost impossible to resist the conviction that the Basques have borrowed them bodily from their French and Spanish neighbors. In order, however, that the reader may judge for himself, we shall give a brief outline of each story, and then illustrate it by recently-published material, referring to the older collections merely to let the reader see how widespread these tales are.

Before examining the separate stories, it may be well to see what new figures we have to deal with; in most cases they will prove to be old friends in new masks. The Tartaro,¹ or savage one-eyed giant, is the Cyclops of the ancients, but found, as the reader will soon see, in modern folk-lore. The Heren-Suge, or Seven-headed Serpent, calls for no special comment, as it does not differ from the Dragon (often seven-headed), which plays such a conspicuous part in the popular tales of all countries. The Basa-Jaun and the Basa-Andre are the Wild Man and Wild Woman (ogre and ogress). The latter is often represented as a sorceress. In one story (p. 49) the Basa-Jaun plays the part of a vampire; but this is rare. The Lamiñak are the fairies, who do not differ, as the collector says, p. 47, "more from the general run of Keltic fairies than the Scotch, Irish, Welsh, and Cornish fairies do from each other." It will be seen that there is not a single new character among those just mentioned. Mr. Webster divides his book into seven chapters: Legends of the Tartaro, The Heren-Suge, Animal Tales, Basa-Jaun, Basa-Andre, and Lamiñak, Witchcraft, and Sorcery, *Contes des Fées*: a, Tales like the Keltic; b, *Contes des Fées* derived directly from the French, and Religious Tales. Although several of these chapters do not, strictly speaking, fall within the scope of this article, we shall examine them all briefly, in the order just given.

The chapter devoted to the Tartaro contains three tales, the first of which, "The Tartaro," is a version of the classic tale of Polyphemus.² In the second story, "Errua the Madman," a

¹ Misled by a fanciful derivation of the French *ogre* from *Hongrois*, *Ugri* (it really is the Latin *orcus*), M. Cerquand derives Tartaro from *Tartare*, Tartar. It seems to us more likely to be of Basque origin.

² For the myth of Polyphemus in "Folk-Tales," see W. Grimm, "Die Sage von Polyphem," Berlin, 1857. To the stories in this may be added Pitri, No. 51, "Lu Munacheddu," which was related to the collector by a girl eight years old in Monte Erice. Another Italian version is in Comparetti, No. 70, "I Ciclopi." The speaking

wicked son is sent away from home, and finds a situation with a master who makes a bargain with him that the one who first repents of the contract shall have the skin stripped from his back.¹ After performing difficult tasks in a way very different from what his master had intended, Errua is sent with a herd of swine to the mountain where a Tartaro lived who also kept swine. Errua and he make various wagers as to their strength; the Tartaro throws a stone a long way into the air, but Errua throws a bird that never comes down, etc. The Tartaro confesses himself vanquished, and tries to kill Errua that night by dealing fearful blows on his bed with an iron bar. Errua, of course, is under the bed, and in the morning tells the giant he only felt a few flea-bites. He then cheats the Tartaro out of his pigs, of which he sells all but two, keeping, however, all the tails. When the Tartaro pursues him he pretends to disembowel himself in order to run faster, and the giant, attempting to follow his example, falls down dead. Errua then returns to his master, puts his live pig in a bog near by, and plants there the tails of all the others. When the master asks where the pigs are, he is told they are in the mud. They pull out the live pig, but the tails, of course, come out without the bodies. Errua then thrashes his master, goes home with his pig, and, "as he lived well, he died well too." The adventures of the servant with the Tartaro or ogre are a variant of the widespread story of the giant, or devil, deceived by a weak man who pretends to have enormous strength. A good example, and one that contains some incidents of the Basque story, is in Grimm, No. 20, "The Valiant Little Tailor." The Basque tale may, however, best be found in three French stories from Lorraine, one from Gascony, and one from Italy.²

In the third story, "The Tartaro and Petit Perroquet," the son of a poor woman obtains a situation as gardener to the king, whose

ring in the Basque version is in Grimm, No. 191, "The Robber and his Sons," and in Campbell No. 5, as well as in the Roumanian and Uigur Turkish versions of this myth.

¹ The bargain about repenting or ruing is common to a large number of stories from Norway to Italy. See Köhler's notes to "Italienische Volksmärchen" in the "Jahrbuch für rom. und eng. Literatur," viii., 250; and to Campbell, No. 45, in "Orient und Occident," ii., 682. For the penalty, see Ralston, "Russian Folk-Tales" (New York, 1877), p. 155, and two stories, Nos. 76, 85, in "Norske Fol -Eventyr," Ny Samling.

² See "Romania," No. 19, p. 350; No. 24, p. 562; and No. 28, p. 556, where copious references to all parts of Europe are given by the learned collector, E. Cosquin. The Gascon tale is in Cénac-Moncaut's "Contes pop. de la Gascogne," Paris, 1861 p. 90. The Italian story is in the *Jahrbuch* above cited, vol. viii., 252.

daughter falls in love with him. A jealous prince, one of the princess's suitors, informs the king that Petit Perroquet declares he can steal the Tartaro's horse. This task is accomplished, and Petit Perroquet is sent for the Tartaro's diamonds, and finally for the Tartaro himself. His success is, of course, rewarded by the princess's hand. This story, with trifling variations, is found from Norway to Sicily.¹

The second chapter, devoted to the Heren-Suge, or Seven-headed Serpent, contains some local legends, variations of the myth of St. George and the Dragon, and several stories turning on a dragon slain by the hero and the consequent liberation of an exposed princess (the myth of Andromeda). The first story, entitled "The Grateful Tartaro and the Heren-Suge," so closely resembles Grimm's story, "The Man of Iron," that it does not call for special notice.²

The last story of the second chapter is "The Serpent in the Wood," which is a very incomplete and distorted combination of two stories. The hero is in the disguise of a serpent, and the princess is in search of her husband. There is no motive for separation except the heroine's desire to return home. She is obliged to wear out seven pairs of shoes, one of iron and six of leather, in her search after her husband. She finds him at last, just as he is about to marry another, and is recognized by means of a fine handkerchief he had given her.³

The stories contained in the chapter on the Basa-Jaun, Basa-Andre, and Lamiñak are already familiar to our readers. The first, "The Servant at the Fairy's," is the Grimm story of Mother Frost;⁴ and the second, "The Pretty but Idle Girl," except the

¹ A close parallel from Sicily is in Pitre, No. 33, "Tridicinu." Other Italian versions are: Gonz., 30, 83; Imbriani, "Nov. fior.," p. 340; "Pentamerone," iii., 7; Comparetti, Nos. 5, 6, and finally there is some resemblance to the story in Straparola, i., 2. A Greek version will be found in Hahn, No. 3. See also Köhler's notes in "Jahrb.," vii., 138; "Romania," vi., 587; and "Mélusine," p. 213.

² The only important episode not in Grimm is the liberation of princess from dragon, for which see Grimm, No. 60; Gonz., 39, 40; Bladé, "Contes pop. rec. en Agenais," p. 9; "Contes pop. lorrains," *Rom.*, No. 22, p. 212. See also Comparetti, Nos. 32, 46; Imbriani, "Nov. fior.," p. 386, and *Jahrb.*, vii., p. 132. The first part of the story has a close parallel in Straparola, v., 1; Cp. *Jahrb.*, viii., 253, and a Spanish story in Fernan Caballero's last work, "Cuentos," etc., Leipzig, 1878, p. 11.

³ The iron shoes are in Hahn, Nos. 73, 102; "Pentamerone," v., 4; Comparetti, No. 51; and Pitre, No. 56. For hero in disguise of serpent, see Pitre, No. 56, "Lu Sirpenti;" for princess in search of husband, Pitre, No. 18, "Lu Re d'Amuri."

⁴ Grimm, No. 24, and references to all parts of Europe in Köhler's notes to Bladé, p. 149. A Creole version is in the "Mélusine," p. 43.

ending, is Grimm's "Three Spinsters." In the Basque story the heroine is melancholy and made to laugh by an old woman jumping about. This is the essential trait in a large class of stories extending from Norway to Sicily.¹

The third story, "The Fairy-Queen Godmother," has a very close parallel in the Sicilian tale of "The Fair Angiola" in Gonzenbach's collection.²

The chapter on Witchcraft and Sorcery does not properly enter into the scope of this article, but we will mention a few curious cases parallel with the customs and superstitions of the rest of Europe. In "The Witches at the Sabbat" a lad overhears some witches saying that a certain lady is ill because she let fall the holy wafer in going out of church, and a toad had picked it up. The lady recovers when the bread is taken out of the toad's mouth.³ The second story, of "The Witches and the Idiots," contains some well-known traits which have clustered around the typical idiot in all lands. We have space for but one. The idiot's mother thinks a wife might be able to take care of him, and advises him to cast sheep's-eyes at the young girls after church. He takes this literally, cuts out the eyes of all the sheep they possess, and throws them at the girls. This literal throwing of sheep's-eyes is found in a French story, and is known in Normandy, Scotland, and Germany.⁴ It is amusing after this to hear the collector gravely remark that this story may be founded on fact, "so sad is often the condition of the *crétins* in the mountains."

It is Chapter VI., however, which is the author's *pièce de résistance*, and on the stories in it he depends to prove the relation of the Basques to the Celts. He divides the stories in this chapter into those which have a greater or less similarity to Celtic legends, as recorded in Campbell's "Tales of the West Highlands" and elsewhere, and those which he believes derived directly from the

¹ Asbjørnsen, *Ny Sam*, No. 85; *Pitrè*, No. 26; *Gonz.*, No. 31; *Imbriani*, "Nov. fior.," p. 356, xii.; "Conti pomiglianesi," p. 83. See also Benfey, "Pant.," i., 518. A version of the Basque story from Lorraine is in the *Romania*, No. 24, p. 568, with copious notes by E. Cosquin.

² No. 53, "Von der schönen Angiola."

³ This incident is found in Norway, see Asbjørnsen and Moe, No. 48, and in Töppen's "Aberglauben aus Masuren mit einem Anhang, enthaltend Masurische Sagen und Märchen," 2te Aufl., Danzig, 1867, p. 152. This last reference I owe to the kindness of Dr. Köhler.

⁴ See Cénac-Moncaut's "Contes pop.," p. 203; Campbell, ii., 310; Grimm, No. 32, and Zingerle, "Kinder- und Hausmärchen," p. 258.

French. It is with the first class that we have now to do; the second can be briefly dismissed afterwards.¹

In the first story, "Malbrouk," a future child is promised by a needy father to a gentleman who appears to him in the forest and offers him a large sum of money. The child is carried off immediately after baptism by his mysterious godfather, for whom he was named Malbrouk. When the child was seven years old he visited his home and took back with him his two brothers. Malbrouk's wife wishes to kill them, but young M. saves them by changing their cotton nightcaps for the crowns of Malbrouk's daughters.² Young M. and his brothers escape with the godfather's seven-league boots, and come to a kingdom where the three daughters of the king have been lost. The three brothers set out in search of them, and are told by an old woman that they will find them at the bottom of a well. Young M. alone has the courage to go down, and finds two of the princesses, whom he sends up in a bucket, and then goes off in search of the third. On his way he settles the dispute of a wolf, a hawk, and an ant, by dividing between them the carcass of a sheep, and is rewarded by being shown how to turn himself into any one of them at will. He learns from a bird that the princess is a prisoner in an island of the Red Sea, and, changing himself into a hawk, flies there. The princess is in the power of a monster who has no heart in his body, and can only be killed by being struck on the forehead by an egg that is in the head of a pigeon, which is inside of a fox, which in turn is in a terrible wolf in the forest. Young Malbrouk obtains the egg, kills the monster, and, changing himself into a hawk again, carries the princess home. The king wished to marry them directly, but young M. goes off and steals various objects from his godfather as a dowry for his wife. He is caught while stealing a violin that had only to be touched to play, and could be heard seven leagues off. He is put in an iron cage to be fattened and eaten by old Malbrouk and his wife. He persuades the latter to let him out, kills her, and goes back to the court, where he marries the king's daughter. This

¹ Dr. R. Köhler has given in the "Orient und Occident," vol. ii., 98, 294, 486, 677, numerous parallels to Campbell's tales from all parts of Europe, which show conclusively that they are an integral part of the popular tales of Europe. We shall confine ourselves in our notes, with few exceptions, to materials, chiefly Italian and French, published since Köhler's articles were written.

² This is Tom Thumb's stratagem. See Perrault's "Le Petit Poucet." The same incident is found in a Sicilian story (Gonz., No. 83), in a Milanese story (Imbriani, "Nov. fior.," p. 340), and in a Greek story (Hahn, No. 3).

story consists, as many popular tales do, of a number of separate and distinct incidents united to form a new story. The descent of the brothers into the well and the cowardice of all but the youngest is not so common in the popular tales of the North,¹ but has numerous parallels in the South of Europe. Usually in this class of stories, after the princesses have been sent up, the envious brothers cut the rope, leaving their brother to escape in various ways, as in a Sicilian story where an eagle carries him up on its back.² This story, "La Jisterna" (The Cistern) is a very good sample of the class, and has versions from one end of Italy to the other.³ Settling a dispute of animals⁴ is also a widespread trait, as is, too, the giant with no heart in his body, already familiar to our readers from Miss Frere's charming story of Punchkin in "Old Deccan Days," and Ralston's "Koschei the Deathless."⁵ The ending of the Basque story recalls the Norse tale of Boots and the Troll and the above-mentioned Basque legend of the Tartaro and Petit Perroquet.

The second story, "The Fisherman and his Sons," is identical with the French story from Agen in Bladé's collection, where copious references by Kohler may be found.⁶

"Tabakiera, the Snuff-Box," is the story of a wonderful snuff-box found by a poor lad, which, when opened, asks (in very good *Spanish*, by the way), "What do you want?" and grants any wish. The lad marries the king's daughter, but the mother-in-law steals the box and wishes her daughter and husband on the other side of the Red Sea. The lad recovers his box after a long search, and sends his mother-in-law to the bottom of the Red Sea. The reader will at once think of Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp in the Arabian Nights.⁷

¹ It occurs, however, in Ralston, "Russian Folk-Tales," pp. 80, 145, and in the Norse tale in Asbjørnsen and Moe, No. 15, translated by Dasent in "Tales from the Norse," "The Two Step-sisters."

² Pitre, No. 80.

³ See references in Pitre, and in *Jahrbuch*, vii., 20; viii., 241; Gonz., Nos. 58, 59, 61-64; Comparetti, Nos. 19, 24, 28, 34, 40; Busk, p. 141; "Nov. di Sto. Stefano," No. 19; Zool. Myth., ii., 187; Bernoni, iii., 89; and in general, Zool. Myth. i., 25.

⁴ Pitre, No. 32, Sabatini, "La Lanterna," for Italy; Campbell, No. 4, for Scotland, and in general Benfey, "Pant.," i. 193.

⁵ Italian versions in Pitre, No. 81, "Nov. fior.," p. 347; Norse in Asbj. and Moe, No. 36; a distorted German one in Grimm, No. 177, "The Ball of Crystal," and a Breton one in Luzel, p. 38, "L'Homme aux deux Chiens."

⁶ To these may be added two versions from Lorraine, published in the *Romania*, No. 19, p. 336; No. 28, p. 566.

⁷ Italian versions in Pitre, No. 81, and Busk, p. 158.

The fourth story, "Mahistruba, the Master Mariner," is of a prince who was turned into a serpent by an old woman. He orders a mariner whom he meets one day to prepare a ship with a large chest in the hold, into which he crawls. The crew set sail, and after various adventures the prince is restored to his shape and to his father. There are some points of resemblance between this story and "The King of Lochlin's Three Daughters" in Campbell.¹ The prince in disguise of serpent is a common trait in the class of tales of which "Beauty and the Beast" is a good example.² In the Basque story there is no point in either the enchantment or its removal.

In the fifth story, "Dragon," a dissipated prince, demands his portion from his father, and goes off with a former soldier as bad as himself. They find in a forest an uninhabited castle richly furnished. The morning after their arrival the prince hears a voice under a fig-tree in the garden exclaiming, "What pain you have put me to," and telling the prince that he must pass in perfect silence through a painful ordeal that night in order to see the speaker. He does so, and next morning sees under the tree a young girl coming out of the ground as high as her shoulders. After another night of torment he sees her to her knees, and she tells him to persevere one night more. He does so; the young lady appears in her entirety, and they make off at once. They arrive at a city, and the young lady early next morning leaves word that the prince will find her at the fountain of the Four Cantons, but he must be *fasting*. He unfortunately eats a small nut and falls asleep. This happens three days in succession, during which time the lady leaves with the prince's companion two handkerchiefs and a ring, and says that the prince will find her in the city of the Four Quarters. After a long search the prince finds an eagle, who agrees to carry him there provided he is given a morsel of flesh every time he opens his mouth. The prince mounts him, taking with him an ox which he feeds to the eagle. The ox gives out before the journey is ended, and the prince gives the ravenous bird a morsel from his own thigh, and is deposited in safety in the City of the Four Quarters. There he learns that the king's daughter is to be married that day. He bribes the sexton, gets into the church in time to object to the marriage, shows the princess the handkerchiefs and

¹ See Köhler's notes in "Orient und Occident," ii., 296.

² See Ralston, "Beauty and the Beast," in *Nineteenth Century*, Dec., 1878.

ring, and marries her himself. He remained lame, however, ever afterwards.

This story consists of three parts: first, a person undergoes some painful ordeal, which results in the liberation of a princess; second, the hero, usually when kissed by his mother, forgets the heroine; and, third, the hero's search for his wife and journey on a rapacious eagle, whom he must feed with his own flesh. The first trait is found in the two stories of Grimm, "The Prince who was Afraid of Nothing," and "A Tale of One who Traveled to Learn what Shivering Meant," as well as in a story from Brittany.¹ The hero's forgetfulness after his mother's kiss is common to a large number of stories from every part of Europe.² In the Basque story the prince forgets his bride by eating something. This trait is found not only in Campbell, but also in a Swedish story.³ The journey on the eagle occurs not only in Campbell and a Russian story,⁴ but also in the Sicilian tale, mentioned before, of the Cistern, in which the eagle carries the hero up from the cavern where he was left by his envious brothers.⁵

In the sixth story, "Ezkabi-Fidel," the son of a poor woman becomes the groom of a gentleman who goes away and leaves him in full charge. In the stable there is a white mare which tells him that his master is a magician, and if he finds Fidel there on his return will surely enchant him. The mare directs Fidel to wash in her water, and his hands and hair become gold; a second washing makes them resume their natural condition. Fidel then escapes with the mare, and is pursued by the magician. The mare, however, brings on a fog, a hail-storm, and, finally, a river, in which the magician is drowned. Fidel then becomes gardener to the king, whose daughter falls in love with him. The king allows her to marry him, but exiles them from the court, and the princess is obliged to sell her husband's golden hair to live. Fidel, by the mare's assistance, renders his father-in-law valuable aid in war, and when the king becomes blind goes in search of the water that restores the sight. He discovers it by seeing two animals fighting and one restoring the other to life by touching it with a certain herb

¹ Luzel, "Contes bretons," Quimperlé, 1870, p. 23.

² See Pitre, No. 19, and Köhler's note to Gonzenbach, No. 14.

³ "Orient und Occident," ii., 108.

⁴ Ibid., ii., 299.

⁵ To Pitre's references may be added: Zool. Myth., ii., 186; Benfey, "Pant.," i., 216, 388, and *Rivista Orientale*, i., 27.

which he gathers and boils in water. Fidel cures the king, who abdicates in his favor.

There are several tolerably close parallels to this story : one in Italian, and a number of others mentioned in Köhler's notes—Greek, Norwegian, Austrian, German, and Tyrolese.¹ The subordinate episodes are that the hero goes to war and is helped by a magic horse to win a great victory ;² water which restores sight to the blind and makes the old young ;³ and the life-giving herb, which is found in German, Sicilian, Italian, and Greek tales.⁴

“The Lady Pigeon and her Comb” is the title of the seventh story. In it a poor lad seeking his fortune finds a Tartaro's castle in the wood. The owner tells him that three ladies will come to bathe in a certain place and leave their pigeon robes. The lad is to seize one and not restore it until the owner promises always to help him.⁵ This she does after some hesitation, and directs him to her father's house, where he obtains a situation. The father sets him difficult tasks, which he performs with the daughter's aid. One day he is directed to fetch a ring that has been lost in the river. The daughter directs him to cut her in pieces with a sword and throw her in the river. In the operation a bit of her finger sticks to a nail in his shoe, and when the ring is recovered a part of the lady's finger is gone. After another difficult task the magician promises to reward him with the hand of one of his daughters, but the lad must choose her with his eyes shut. The lad recognizes the one he desires by the loss of her little finger. After they are married they flee from her father's at night, the wife first spitting inside the door of her room, and the spittle answering for her when her father tries to enter. He at last discovers their flight, and pursues them, when the wife with her comb causes various obstacles to rise up, in the last of which—a river—the magician is drowned. The lad leaves his wife to procure a priest to baptize her, as otherwise she can not

¹ See *Fahrbuch*, viii., 253 ; Hahn, ii., 197 ; Asbj. and Moe, No. 14 ; Vernaleken, No. 8 ; Grimm, No. 136 ; Schambach und Müller, p. 278 ; Sommer, p. 131, and Zing-erle, ii., 198.

² See Hahn and Sommer *ut sup.*

³ See Hahn *ut sup.* and No. 30.

⁴ See Grimm, No. 16 ; Pitre, No. 11 ; “Pentamerone, i., 7, and Hahn, No. 64. See in general : Benfey, “Pant.,” i., 454 ; Zool. Myth., ii., 314 ; Cox, Aryan Myth., i., 166, and *Germania*, xxi., 68.

⁵ For the myth of the Swan-Maidens, see Baring-Gould, and Simrock's “Deutsche Mythologie,” p. 360. This incident is found in numerous stories which are cited in Köhler's notes to Gonzenbach, No. 6, and by Cosquin in the *Romania*, No. 28, p. 530.

enter "the land of the Christian." He allows himself to be kissed by an old aunt, and forgets his bride. In order to recover him she builds a hotel with the sign: "Here they give to eat without payment." One day the husband and two friends find this hotel and enter. The wife recognizes her husband, but he does not know her. The two friends are smitten with the hostess, and ask to pass the night with her. She manages to keep them busy all night with absurd tasks. When the husband's turn comes, she asks him to put out the light, which lights itself again directly, and he spends the night trying to extinguish it. In the morning she reveals herself to him, is baptized, and they live happily the rest of their lives.

The main incidents in this story are: the hero in the service of a magician, who sets him difficult tasks, performed with the aid of the magician's daughter; flight and pursuit; forgetfulness of the hero at kiss of some one; and, finally, means employed by bride to restore her husband's memory. Parallels to the whole story may be found in two French stories from Lorraine, one from Scotland, and several from Germany, Italy, and Norway.¹ Several of the episodes have already been considered; one of the most curious, the talking spittle, is found in both a Swedish and Russian story.² The conclusion of the Basque story is found in the Norwegian story of "The Master-Maid," in a Neapolitan, and, finally, in a Sicilian story.³

The eighth tale, "Laur Cantons," is the story of Imogen in Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*, and does not need any particular notice.⁴

In the ninth story, "The Young Schoolboy," a sea-captain sends his son to school, where he learns nothing but the song of the birds. His father takes him to sea with him, and one day a bird alights on the end of the ship and sings. The boy, on being asked to tell what the bird is singing, answers, "It sings that I am under your orders, but you shall also be under mine." The angry father throws his son into the sea in a barrel. It floats ashore, and is found by the king, who carries the boy home with him, and, later, marries him to his daughter. In the course of time the captain is

¹ References to this class of stories may best be found in the *Romania*, No. 19, p. 354; No. 28, p. 530; "Orient und Occident," ii., 103, and Gonz., ii., 237. See also Grimm, Nos. 56, 113, 119, and Asbjørnsen and Moe, No. 46.

² Cavallius, p. 378, and Ralston, p. 151.

³ "Pentamarone," iii., 9, and Gonz., No. 55.

⁴ References to this class of stories will be found in Liebrecht's translation of Dunlop's "History of Fiction," Berlin, 1851, p. 224, and in Von der Hagen's "Gesammtabenteuer," Stuttgart, 1850, iii., p. lxxxiii.

wrecked on the same shore and becomes his own son's servant. One day the son revealed himself to his father, forgave him, and they all lived happily together.

This is the story technically known as *Vaticinium*, in the famous medieval story-book "The Seven Wise Masters."¹

In another version of the same story the son hears voices which tell him that his mother and father will one day be his servants. Enraged at this prediction, his parents send him off into the woods to be killed by two servants. They kill in his stead a dog, whose heart they show their master. The lad finally becomes Pope, and forgives his parents, who come to Rome to confess their sins.

This version is, in the main, the Grimm story of "The Three Languages," of which there are Greek, Italian, and French versions.²

The tenth story, "The Mother and her (Idiot) Son ; or, The Clever Thief," is merely a version of the widespread story of "The Master Thief" in Grimm.³

The most interesting story, in many respects, is the eleventh, "Juan Dekos, the Blockhead" (Tontua). The parents of a stupid son buy him a ship and send him on a voyage as master. They land, and, after selling their cargo, the master sees a dead body at a church door and all the passers-by spitting on it. He learns that it is the body of a man who died in debt, and therefore can not be buried. Juan pays the dead man's debts and returns home. On a second voyage Juan buys all the Christian slaves at a certain place and sends them all to their homes but one, a beautiful girl named Marie Louise. Juan had a portrait of her made for the figure-head of the ship, and undertook a voyage to her country. The second in command of the ship became jealous of Juan, and one day threw him overboard. An angel, however, conveyed Juan to an island, and provided him with all the necessities of life. Meanwhile the ship reaches Marie Louise's country, and by means of the figure-head she is recognized as the king's daughter. The wicked mate

¹ The copious references to this story may best be found in D'Ancona, "Il Libro dei Sette Savj di Roma," Pisa, 1864, p. 121. The Basque version is not accompanied by the story of "Amis and Amiles." In several versions of the "Seven Wise Masters" the two stories are united.

² See Grimm, No. 33 ; Hahn, No. 33 ; Comparetti, No. 56, and "Mélusine," p. 300.

³ This story has been treated in the most thorough manner by Köhler in "Orient und Occident," ii., 303, 677. Italian versions are Straparola, i., 2 ; Pitre, 159, 160, and Comparetti, No. 13. A French version, Breton, is in "Mélusine," p. 18.

wished to marry her, and gave himself out as her deliverer. After much tormenting Marie Louise promised that if Juan DeKos did not return at the end of a year and a day she would marry the mate. At the expiration of the appointed time the angel conveys Juan to Marie Louise's house, on condition that he would give him half of the child that Marie Louise will bear. Juan is recognized, of course, and the wicked mate punished. Juan and Marie marry and have a child, of which at the end of the year the angel claims the half. "Juan was very sorry ; but, as he had given his word, he was going to cut it in half." The angel seizes him by the arm, and says to him, "I see your obedience ; I leave you your child." "If they lived well, they died well too."

There is another version called "Juan de Calais," which does not differ materially from the above. The soul of the dead man appears as a fox instead of as an angel.

This curious story is found in Campbell—"The Barra Widow's Son"—and Mr. Webster at once jumps at the conclusion that the Basque story must have been borrowed from the Celts since their occupation of the Hebrides, an important argument being that Juan DeKos is simply "Jean d'Ecosse"—"Scotch John." The same story, however, in the second version is called "Juan de Calais," and there is, therefore, the same reason why the Basques should have borrowed the story from the French. We think there is no reasonable doubt that the latter is the case. Mr. Webster does not know apparently that the story of "Juan de Calais," or Juan DeKos, is a version of the famous story of "The Thankful Dead," which is found from Norway to Sicily, from India to Spain. The origin of the story is not settled. Benfey¹ is inclined to believe it Oriental, and thinks the Russian² version may be the connecting link between India and Europe. Simrock believes the story to be German, and mythological in its signification ;³ and, finally, Comparetti⁴ thinks that the fundamental idea of "The Thankful Dead" is to be found in a passage of Cicero.⁵

¹ "Pant.," i., 219.

² Schiefner in "Orient und Occident," ii., 174.

³ "Deutsche Mythologie," p. 478.

⁴ Preface to the "Novella di Messer Danese e di Messer Gigliotto," Pisa, 1868.

⁵ "De divin.," i., 27 ; see also Valerius Maximus, i., 7, 3 ; D'Ancona's remarks on the twenty-first novel (Testo Papanti) of the "Cento nov. ant." in "Le Fonti del Novellino," *Rom.*, iii., 192, and Simrock, "Der gute Gerhard und die dankbaren Todten." The most important versions are : the French, see Köhler in *Germania*, iii., 199, and *Jahrb.*, v., 2. A version from Lorraine is in *Rom.*, vi., 534 ; and an extract from

The twelfth and last story of this chapter is "The Duped Priest," which is a version of a well-known story in Straparola, and of which there are several French versions, from which the Basque is probably taken.¹

In addition to the stories analyzed above, Mr. Webster gives a number which he believes derived directly from the French.² It will, we think, be easily seen that they stand on precisely the same footing as his other stories, and are no more nor less derived from the French than the stories he thinks derived from the Celtic. In the last chapter Mr. Webster gives some religious tales, two of which are very widespread. The first, "Fourteen," is a combination of the legend of St. Christopher and the story of *Le Sac de la Ramée*.³ The second is the famous legend of Amis and Amiles.⁴

It is quite evident, we think, from the parallels we have given above to the various stories in Webster, that we are dealing with an integral part of European folk-tales. A few names of familiar characters are new, old traits have been woven into new combinations, but there is nothing original. The fact is, undoubtedly, that the Basques (as far as we can judge from the collection before us) have appropriated bodily the tales of their neighbors, or rather that a sort of *endosmose* has taken place, by which the tales of one country have penetrated into and displaced the tales of the

one of the French versions may be found in Nisard, "Hist. des Livres pop.," Paris, 1864, ii., 407. Italian, besides the versions just mentioned, in the "Cento nov. ant." and "Novella di Messer Danese," etc.; Straparola, xi., 2; Gonz., No. 74; and Ive, "Fiabe pop. roviginesi," 1877, p. 19. Norwegian, Asbj. Ny Sam., No. 99, 100; and Grundtwig, "Gamle danske Minder," i., 81. Additional references may be found in "Orient und Occident," ii., 322; "Germania," xii., 55, and "Heidelberger Jahrb. der Lit.," 1868, No. 29. A Catalan version is in "Quentos pop. catalans," por Maspons y Labros, Barcellona, 1872, ii., 34, and Spanish ones in Patrañas, p. 234, and Caballero, "Cuentos," etc., p. 23.

¹ French versions in Cénac-Moncaut, p. 173, and *Romania*, vi., 543, No. 24, 539. The story in Straparola is i., 3. See also *Jahrb.*, v., 11; vii., 278, and "Orient und Occident," ii., 486, 503.

² They are: "Ass' Skin" (Grimm, No. 65); "Beauty and the Beast" (Grimm, No. 88); "The Cobbler and his Three Daughters" (Bluebeard, see Pitre, No. 19); "The Singing Tree" (Grimm, Nos. 96, 97); "The White Blackbird" (See Brueyre, "Contes pop. de la Grande Bretagne," p. 145), and "The Sister and her Seven Brothers" (Grimm, Nos. 9, 25).

³ For the first, see "Dictionnaire des Légendes," p. 290; for the second, *Jahrbuch*, v., 4; vii., 128; Grimm, No. 82; *North American Review*, July, 1876, p. 51, and Gianandrea, "Nov. e Fiabe pop. marchigiane," p. 24.

⁴ See D'Ancona's notes to the "Rappresentazione di un miracolo di due Pellegrini" in "Sacre Rappresentazioni dei Secoli, xiv., xv. e xvi.," vol. iii., 435.

other. Although Mr. Webster's collection throws no new light on the question of Basque nationality, it is a very interesting contribution to European folk-tales, and we trust it may lead to an interest in the subject on the part of the native scholars, and that they will soon give the world a collection worthy to stand by the side of Pittrè's great collection of Sicilian tales.¹

¹ The writer has not been able to procure M. Cerquand's "*Légendes et Récits pop. du Pays Basque*," i., ii., Paris, 1875-76. From the references in Webster, and from Ralston's review in the *Academy*, Feb. 17, 1877, it would not appear that they contain any new material that would modify the views expressed by the writer in the above article.

THE CIPHER DESPATCHES.

ON the night of Tuesday the 7th of November, 1876, all the returns of the Presidential vote were not yet received in New York. There were 185 electoral votes required for a choice. The States of Florida, Louisiana, Oregon, Nevada, Colorado, and South Carolina were distant, and in all of them the voting was expected to be close. The telegrams received in the early hours of the evening were from the nearer States, and strongly indicated the election of Mr. Tilden, if any single one of the doubtful States went with him. At three o'clock in the morning of the 8th the rooms of the Republican National Committee in the Fifth Avenue Hotel were vacant. The hotel was quiet, only the clerk in the office and a few sleepy porters were stirring. The Republican officials had gone off to their beds to drown in sleep the disappointment of anticipated defeat. At the Democratic headquarters at the Everett House there was more activity and great elation. To quote from high authority on this side, "Uncle Sammy was to be pulled through."

But even elation is tiring, and by three o'clock in the morning these rooms too were nearly empty. The telegrams came in slowly. The tune of the later ones was "Hayes," "Hayes," "Hayes," until it became monotonous and droning, as well as alarming, to the sleepy ear.

In the newspaper offices the night-editors were busily compiling returns and seeking the impersonal fame of a well-edited outside page. They too, according to political complexion, had been elated or alarmed; and alarm and elation were changing sides with them also. Still the Republican journals had small hopes, and one of the most prominent of them even published two editions, the first conceding the election to Mr. Tilden and the next denying it.

At 3.45 A.M. the alarm at the Everett House took shape in the following telegram : ¹

EVERETT HOUSE, New York.

New York Times :

Please give your estimate of electoral votes secured for Tilden. Answer at once.

D. A. MAGONE, JR.,

Chairman, Democratic Committee, Everett House.

(Time, 3.45 A.M.)

So there was doubt in the Democratic camp? Doubt there meant victory, or at least the claim of victory, to the *Times*. Take out the obnoxious leader, foreman of the composing-room, but leave it standing with due prudence ; we may need it to-morrow. Write a new leader of different tone, editor prothonotary, and call me a carriage, boy, and look sharp. This is news for your betters at the other headquarters.

So the news-editor of the *Times*, with the telegram in his hand, drives furiously to the Fifth Avenue Hotel, waking clerk and porters with the noise of his wheels. It was but a chance that the rooms were not empty. "They had been until nearly daylight." But one of the faithful was there, so he states in his testimony (p. 527), Mr. William E. Chandler, "counsel" for the Republican Executive Committee, or for the Republican Party : "I do not know the name of my client." At once the situation changed. The telegraph operator was waked up. Despatches went promptly to the doubtful points :

"Without Nevada, Hayes is defeated. Telegraph again when Nevada is sure."

To Florida :

"The Presidential election depends on the vote of Florida, and the Democrats will try and wrest it from us. Watch it, and hasten returns."

The same despatch was sent to Louisiana. The next went to South Carolina :

"Hayes is elected if we have carried South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana. Can you hold your State?"

And to Oregon :

"Without Oregon, Hayes defeated. Don't be defrauded. Hasten returns."

Now, return to your newspaper. I have set the wheels in motion, and I am instantly going to Florida, by way of Lynchburg and Raleigh. Answer your Democratic friend that Mr. Hayes is the President. Here is a "weak cipher code." It may be needed.

¹ See Report of the Presidential Election Investigating Committee, 1878, p. 527.

In my despatches, which I shall sign "Everett Chase" (in subtle jeering of the Democratic headquarters), I will use these feeble synonyms :

William in cipher means.....	Send in English.
Rainy " "	Things look favorable.
Warm apples " "	Majority.
Cold fellows " "	Democrats.
Oranges " "	Florida.
Cotton " "	Louisiana.
etc., etc., etc.	
Robinson in cipher means.....	\$3,000
Jones " " "	2,000
Brown " " "	1,000
Smith " " "	250

"but don't telegraph unless necessary" (p. 526). The second campaign has begun.

With this Mr. Chandler vanishes into Florida for the present. Other Republicans go to the other doubtful States. They have the start of their Democratic rivals by several days, for the Everett House wakes up all too slowly to the situation. In the meantime two campaigns are being organized on the Democratic side. One by the National Executive Committee, and one more secret by a power behind this, or within it.

It has been the province of the committee from whose printed reports the foregoing excerpts have been taken to sift the political history of the months of November and December, 1876. The writer is by no means capable or desirous of doing this. But it has fallen quite naturally in his way to examine many of the cipher despatches which were sent to and fro by both sides ; and the purpose of this article is to record the first public appearance of the cryptogram as a factor in American politics, to give some explanation of the codes used, of their excellence or demerits, and to explain the methods employed in deciphering them—a work which he shared with others. The desire of the reader is chiefly to appreciate the semi-scientific nature of an unusual problem, which is however quite simple in itself.

The rarity of the need for the exercise of certain faculties may make these appear elevated when they are seen in action. A little thought will however put them in their true place, along with the

others that constitute the essence of any success. The chief of these is Buffon's *sine qua non*, "une attention suivie."

To avoid explanations throughout, it will be necessary to state that what is here given of the history of the deciphering is purely from one point of view—my own—and that it is sought to make every thing as impersonal as possible. It is desired to present only a contribution to contemporary history which may some day come to be of use.

In August, 1878, the New York *Tribune* began to publish every day or so telegrams which were plainly in cipher, and which were generally and naturally supposed to relate to political subjects. Here is one of them :

COLUMBIA, Nov. 13.

Very news say Copenhagen to from can Florida you count much in be give what Louisiana am placed if mixed insure London Oregon few intend things out a us here.

WEED.

[Translation.]

Am here. Things very much mixed. Intend to count us out. If a few dollars can be placed in Returning Board [to] insure, what say you? Give news from Louisiana, Oregon, Florida.

This one and its fellows were then, of course, untranslated and their contents unknown, but they furnished the text for effective comment of a jocose sort.

It is now known from the testimony of Mr. William E. Chandler and others,¹ how these cipher telegrams came to light at all, instead of being destroyed in the usual course of business by the Western Union Telegraph Company.

By the order of the president of that company, all recent telegrams of a political nature (some 29,275 in all) were collected in December, 1876, and were placed in one receptacle in the New York office. This was done simply to avoid a subpoena from Washington. It was intended that these should never see the light, as it would be a good point for the company to show that correspondence conducted through its agents was absolutely safe. The Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections (Hon. O. P. Morton, of Indiana, chairman) finally succeeded in having the whole mass delivered to them by the agents of the telegraph company, and while in their committee-room the telegrams were inspected and handled by various persons.

¹ About January 28th and 29th, 1879.

Mr. Evans, a member of the House of Representatives from Indiana, received a large number of these originals from the committee-room by the hands of Mr. Bullock, Assistant Clerk to the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections. From his hands they passed to those of General Brady, Second Assistant Postmaster-General.

Their subsequent wanderings are recounted in the following extract from the New York *Tribune*, January 29th, 1879 :

"After General BRADY received the bundle of ciphers from Congressman EVANS, he looked them over, and said that they were cipher telegrams relating to the last Presidential election. Soon afterward Mr. EUGENE HALE (member of the House of Representatives from Maine) learned in some way that General BRADY had these documents. Mr. WILLIAM E. CHANDLER ("counsel" for the Republican party) had made frequent complaints because all these telegrams had, as he supposed, been returned to the Western Union Telegraph Company and destroyed, and the interesting story, which he was sure they must tell, lost to the world. Mr. HALE told Mr. CHANDLER of the preservation of some of these despatches, and the latter called on General BRADY at his office, and went with him to his house and examined the despatches. At his suggestion, copies were made of those telegrams in the bundle which seemed to be most important.

"About the time that the POTTER Committee (to investigate the Presidential Election of 1876) was organized, Mr. CHANDLER took what he supposed were all the originals, and left them on the table in General BUTLER'S (member of Congress from Massachusetts) office in this city. General BUTLER was not in his office at the time, and Mr. CHANDLER'S object in leaving them there was to get them investigated. He never told General BUTLER that he had left them there, but he suspected that General BUTLER had an idea where they came from. Of the copies that were made, General BRADY gave those relating to Florida to Mr. CHANDLER ; and he made other copies and gave them to Mr. HISCOCK (member of Congress from New York) before he went to Florida with the sub-committee last spring. The remaining copies General BRADY kept until last August, when, at the request of Mr. CHANDLER, he sent them to Mr. HISCOCK, at Syracuse.

"When Mr. MANTON MARBLE'S 'ark and shechinah' letter appeared, Mr. CHANDLER sent to the editor of *The Tribune* about a dozen despatches, some in plain English and some in cipher, with the suggestion that it might be agreeable to Mr. MARBLE to read them in print. The publication of these despatches was begun by *The Tribune* in editorial articles. Subsequently Mr. CHANDLER sent to *The Tribune* his Florida copies. After the translations had been made General BRADY sent anonymously to the editor of *The Tribune* a few originals which he had not given to Mr. CHANDLER. Since the meeting of Congress he gave to Mr. CHANDLER what remained in his possession, some forty or fifty originals, which Mr. CHANDLER also sent to *The Tribune*."

To complete the story it may be said that some 641 originals were placed in the hands of the Potter Committee by General Butler, and that these, together with a few taken out and sent to

the *Tribune* (as above), are all that remain of the 29,000 originally collected. The rest were kept until May, 1878, and then destroyed by fire by the confidential clerk of the President of the Telegraph Company in the regular course of business.

Such is the tedious and yet instructive history of the means by which these telegrams were finally brought to light. Comment is actually impotent before the case as it stands, and considering what it implies.

To leave the region of ethics and descend to that of facts, we now know how some of these ciphers came to be printed. It is possible that this never would have been done had it not been for the "ark and shechinah" letter of Mr. Manton Marble before referred to. But this provoked reply, and the materials for reply were quickly utilized.

At this point reference must be made to the enormous disproportion between the number of Republican and Democratic ciphers in the collection. This appears suspicious when one considers that the package was constantly in Republican hands from the time of its original abstraction from the files of the Senate Committee until deposited with a member of the Investigating Committee. It must, however, be carefully remembered that the key-note of the contest which succeeded the election on the Republican side was struck by Mr. Chandler (November 9th): "Don't telegraph unless necessary." A consultation of the report of the committee, or of the *Tribune* Cipher Extra No. 44 (1879), will show that the unexpressed motto of the campaign of the Democratic leaders (headed perhaps by Mr. Marble) was precisely the reverse of this: "Use one hundred and forty ciphers." It is worth while to mention this, as the secrecy of a cipher depends not only on its mysteriousness, but on the rarity with which this mysteriousness is paraded; and it thus bears directly on the question in hand.

Leaving now the history of the case altogether, we may examine the ciphers themselves and the means by which they were solved.

First of all in chronological order came the dictionary cipher used in Oregon. On November 9th the Democratic Governor of Oregon had sent several despatches to various persons announcing that "Oregon has gone for Hayes by over 400." He was asked from New York (November 9th and 10th) not to "express any opinion as to result in State," and from that time forbore. On the 19th of November Mr. W. T. Pelton, "Acting Secretary of the National Democratic Committee" in New York City, a

nephew of Mr. S. J. Tilden, and living in his house, telegraphed to Dr. George L. Miller in Omaha to go to Oregon and to arrange whatever matters were necessary. Dr. Miller, a member of the Democratic National Committee, could not go to Oregon, but sent one J. N. H. Patrick, who required a cipher to communicate his secret affairs. This cipher there was no time to arrange, and one was taken which had formerly been used by Patrick in his ordinary business.

This was a code founded on the Household English Dictionary (8vo. London: Nelsons, 1876). The key to this was disclosed after the publication of the ciphers by a former partner of Patrick's, to whom it was familiar. The following is a despatch sent as soon as Patrick had matters in train, with its translation:

W. T. PELTON, *New York*:

PORTLAND, Nov. 28.

By vizier association innocuous to negligence cunning minutely previously readmit doltish to purchase afar act with cunning afar sacristy unweighed afar pointer tigress cuttle superannuated syllabus dilatoriness misapprehension contraband Kountze bisculous top usher spiniferous. Answer.

J. N. H. PATRICK.

[Translation.]

Certificate will be issued to one Democrat. Must purchase Republican elector to recognize and act with Democrat and secure vote and prevent trouble. Deposit ten thousand dollars my credit Kountze Brothers, 12 Wall street. Answer.

J. N. H. PATRICK.

The translation is performed in the following way: the first cipher word is "*by*." It is found on page 30, and is the 29th word in the left-hand column of the dictionary.

The 29th word in the left-hand column on page 34 ($30 + 4$) is *Certificate*, which is the first word of the message. "*Vizier*" is the 14th word in the right-hand column on page 206, and its translation, *will*, is the 14th word in the same column on page 210 ($206 + 4$), and so on. That is, the translation is always made by finding the cipher word in the dictionary agreed upon, and noting the column and the number of the word in this column. Then turn forward or back *so many* pages (four forward in this case) and take the corresponding word. The same rule applies to writing the cipher originally. This is a slow and cumbrous cipher, but it has

always been considered safe. It could be improved as to security by complicating the method of taking out the corresponding words ; by alternately going forward and back, by taking some word on the same page, or by other simple and previously agreed upon devices. But it is not worth while. With patience a dictionary code of this class can be discovered, provided there are enough ciphers.

The case of the Florida dictionary cipher is one exactly in point. By October 8th, 1878, the most important ciphers used in 1876 had been translated and published in the *New York Tribune*. These were mostly in the "Transposition Cipher," a novel and ingenious code of which more will be said. But there had been published in *The Tribune* a few ciphers, some four or five, which were plainly in a dictionary code, and the dates of which indicated that they might cover important points if translated. On October 8th a general method of determining the (unknown) dictionary in such a case had been thought out and committed to writing, and despatched to the *New York Tribune*. The plan proposed was simple but laborious, and my own time was too much occupied with my professional duties for me to be willing to waste so much as might be necessary in a purely routine search. A similar plan was actually being carried out in New York before my letter arrived, and it eventually must have succeeded, although it involved great labor. A simpler way, however, occurred to me to solve this particular case, which was at once tested.

In one of the telegrams the word "*Geodesy*" occurred. Now this is a rather unusual word, and does not occur in all small dictionaries. It was assumed as a principle that a pocket dictionary which could be readily carried was used, and I had then, *first*, to collect all small dictionaries ; *second*, to eliminate from these all which did not contain the word "*Geodesy* ;" and *third*, from the small number remaining to select the correct one. This was done in ninety minutes at the Library of Congress on October 9th. All the dictionary ciphers which I then had at once yielded to a code founded on Webster's Pocket Dictionary, by turning back or forward a proper number of pages. This number was variable, and instructions regarding it may have been transmitted by post or telegraph.

A specimen of this cipher code, with translation, is given below (it is necessary to turn back *one* page in the dictionary to translate this) :

[52.]

TALLAHASSEE, Dec. 4.

HENRY HAVEMEYER, 15 *West 17th Street, N. Y.* :

Scarify recured shear distances settee you advanced to husky heart affectioned with functionary sleeper sauce-box exempt tidewater undertaker wretched school plinth settee you scarify nascent beehive admonish upon implacable overhung worry underbrush plinth unlandlocked to unhandsomed. Sixteen twenty-one twenty-three kneel pre-eminenced your lightning. [No sig.]

[Translation.]

Saturday received several despatches sent you addressed to house. Have advised with friend. Situation same; every thing uncertain. Wool-ly=C. W. WOOLLEY says plan sent you Saturday must be acted upon immediately, otherwise unavailing. Plan unknown to undersigned. Sixteen, twenty-one, twenty-three just presented your letter.

It is possible to be jocose in this cipher even when engaged in doubtful transactions. A despatch in this code reads : "*Peruse 23* [this in another code means "agrees to supply"] *Socinian she castelated research you leave distance.*" Turning back one page this gives "Peri [= a person] agrees to supply Smith she-cargo [Chicago = expenses]. Repeat your last despatch."

An excellent example of a simple cipher which consists in arbitrary and agreed upon substitutions of one letter of the alphabet for another is afforded by the two following telegrams, which alone sufficed for the detection of the whole key.

It will be noticed that they contain but 16 words in cipher, having 77 letters. Only 22 of these 77 letters are independent, so that at the most one would expect some letters of the alphabet to remain doubtful. That they are not so is a good example of the difficulty with which one can divest one's self of *à priori* ideas and appeal to pure chance. In other words, it requires no small judgment and skill to make any given trial absolutely fortuitous. This will be clearer later on.

The two telegrams are :

TALLAHASSEE, November 21, 1876.

To EDWIN HIGGINS, *Jacksonville, Florida* :

¹ Gree — ² Vermont — ³ gang — ⁴ Timothy — ⁵ znlz — ⁶ zruq — ⁷ Cooper — ⁸ jbga —
⁹ Frd — ¹⁰ gv — John — BROWN.

To H. BISBEE, JR., *Jacksonville* :

TALLA., Nov. 21.

¹ Timothy — ² znlz — ³ anir — ⁴ ovga — ⁵ Chqtrz — ⁶ zhwyrf — ⁷ Pvh yg —
⁸ p v f r — ⁹ b f f r q b n g r e l — ¹⁰ N u z j r y — F. A. DOCKRAY.

If any one desires a test of his own readiness at deciphering

simple messages like the two preceding, let him endeavor to deduce the key before looking farther in this text. He should have 22 letters in about 20 minutes, and the whole alphabet in 30.

The method adopted is as follows: "g v—John" possibly means "at John" or "to John," "John" being in all likelihood a substitution cipher for a place or person. Try $g = t$, $v = o$: gang is then t — $t = that$; or $a = h$, $n = a$. "Gree-Vermont *that Timothy*," etc., is *T-ee*, or *tell*. Thus $r = e$, $e = l$; *znlz* is then *z(a)lz* (English being printed in italics, cipher in Roman). The first and last letters of this are alike; the second is known, *a*; the third is unknown. Here are all our facts. It must fall somewhere in a scheme like this:

ba - b	ga - g	la - l	pa - p
ca - c	ha - h	ma - m	qa - q
da - d	ja - j	na - n	ra - r
fa - f	ka - k	oa - o	sa - s

Clearly *sa - s* is right, and $l = y$. As a matter of fact, in deciphering these two messages the letters were found in the following order:

	<i>English.</i>	<i>Cipher.</i>		<i>English.</i>	<i>Cipher.</i>
1st	t	g	12th	v	i
2d	o	v	13th	m	f
3d	c	r	14th	i	b
4th	l	e	15th	w	j
5th	h	a	16th	r	y
6th	a	n	17th	c	p
7th	s	z	18th	u	h
8th	n	u	19th	p	w
9th	d	q	20th	j	c
10th	b	o	21st	g	t
11th	y	l	22d	?	d

The next step is to arrange what we have of the key in alphabetical order:

<i>English = Cipher.</i>	<i>English = Cipher.</i>	<i>English = Cipher.</i>
a = <i>n</i>	j = <i>c</i>	s = <i>z</i>
b = <i>o</i>	k = (<i>d</i>) not used.	t = <i>g</i>
c = <i>p</i>	l = <i>e</i>	u = <i>h</i>
d = <i>q</i>	m = <i>f</i>	v = <i>i</i>
e = <i>r</i>	n = <i>u</i>	w = <i>j</i>
f = (<i>s</i>) not used.	o = <i>v</i>	x = (<i>k</i>) not used.
g = <i>t</i> " "	p = <i>w</i>	y = <i>l</i>
h = <i>a</i>	q = (<i>x</i>) not used.	z = (<i>m</i>) not used.
i = <i>b</i>	r = <i>y</i>

f, q, and x are not used at all ; k and j are only used once ; yet it is a certainty that the above key is complete. It illustrates exactly what was said about *chance* a few sentences back. The lazy mind of the maker of this code droned on through the alphabet, *n, o, p, q, r, s, t*, mechanically, and really was putting into this small mystery of its own only recollections of its early primer.

If the twenty-six letters had been put into an urn and then drawn out at random, one at a time, and if then a few more symbols for the letters *c, a, t, s, c, p, o, i* had been added, the deciphering of these short messages would have been much less easy, and might have been impossible.¹ As it is, the meaning is known except for the words "Vermont," "Timothy," and the like. These are pure substitution ciphers, and can not be discovered without a knowledge of the local incidents, either from complete familiarity with the transactions or by a slighter acquaintance with them aided and corrected by many messages.

We may give one other example of this simple cipher and leave it to be translated ; enough data have already been given for this purpose :

COLUMBIA, S. C., Dec. 1, 1876.

HON. J. J. PATTERSON, *U. S. Senate, Washington, D. C.* :

Y, k, p, v, — r, c, s, x — v, p, o, v, x — r, s, x, f, p, v, e, k, — b, s, p, d, — y, s, — e, p, d, d, c, v, — x, v, p, d, r — l, v, — p, d, x, y, s, u, — w, z, l, e, g, —

D. H. CHAMBERLAIN.

To aid in this and similar translations the following lists are given. They are not complete, but are specimens of tables that might be formed if there were any great demand for such information.

Words of three letters which occur most frequently in telegrams :

Can, may, are, you, say, did, let, why, for, not, yes, get, got, the, you, she, try, and, ask, buy, big, was, has, Gen., Col., Maj., Hon., aid, act, but, day, one, two, six, ten, men, now, old, use, put, try, see, etc.

Words of two letters :

of, on, or, as, at, an, to, if, in, it, is, he, no, do, be.

Double letters :

ss, tt, ll, dd, oo, mm, nn, ee.

Single letters :

I, a, o, k.

Terminations :

ed, s, ing, tion, ty, ly, etc.

¹ The interest of the celebrated tale of Edgar A. Poe, "The Gold Bug," hinges on the solution of a simple cipher like this. It is sometimes overlooked in commenting upon Poe's tale that the code was originally invented by its decipherer.

Other ciphers of this kind were employed, in which two numerals or two letters were substituted for each letter of the alphabet.¹ As these were sent without division into words, this system was difficult to decipher, although cumbrous to use, and liable to mistakes in transmission. The following is an example of the double-letter cipher. It will be seen that the division of the words is quite broken even in the original message, and this must have trebled the difficulties of the decipherer (Mr. Hassard, of *The Tribune*, I believe) :

“ Why not imnsss ityep iaan yianse nspnsi mpe ? ”

The message must first be arranged as follows :

“ Why not im ns ss it ye pi aa ny ia ns en sp ns im pe ? ”

and is translated :

“ Why not s-e-n-d — f-r-o-m — K-e-y — W-e-s-t- ? ”

By far the most ingenious and novel system of cryptograms developed by the needs of the campaign is the transposition cipher. Here is an example of it, with its translation :

COLUMBIA, Nov. 13.

HENRY HAVEMEYER, No. 15 West Seventeenth Street, New York :

Absolutely Petersburg can procured be Copenhagen may Thomas prompt Edinburgh must if river take be you less London Thames will.

[Translation.]

If Returning Board can be procured absolutely, will you deposit 30,000 dollars? May take less. Must be prompt. Thomas.

From an inspection of the message itself, it is obvious that by some law the words have been removed from their proper order and telegraphed in a different one. The sentence has been shattered, as it were, and of course there must be some rule by which the scattered members can be assembled. To determine this unknown law was naturally an interesting question, and all the more so as this cipher is, I believe, absolutely new. One's first thought is, naturally, to number the words of the cipher message ; for on some transposition of these numbers the key must depend. Then a question arises as to whether these numbers are arranged in the key by any geometric law. That is, there are twenty words in this dispatch ; are they arranged—

¹ For an account of the ingenious solution of a message of this kind, see *The Tribune* Extra No. 44, p. 43.

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.		1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
6.	7.	8.	9.	10.		10.	9.	8.	7.	6.
11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	or	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.
16.	17.	18.	19.	20.		20.	19.	18.	17.	16.

or 1

7

2 - - - - 12

8 - - - 16

3 - - - 13 - - - 19

9 - - - - 17

4 - - - 14 - - - 20

10 - - - - 18

5 - - - 15

11

6

etc., etc., etc.?

Much time was spent on such questions for their purely mathematical interest, and the conclusion was finally reached that these numbers were originally arranged by pure chance, as if they had been drawn out of a bag at random. This made the discovery of the key (for it was then supposed that there was only one key) depend on quite other principles. How could it be formed? Clearly this much was true, however it was formed. Two messages of the same number of words, written by the same key, must be transposed by this key into the same order in the cipher; and conversely, if one of these ciphers had its words transposed in any order which would make sense, the corresponding transpositions of the second message would furnish a test of the correctness of the first transposition. That order could alone be right which made sense for both messages at the same time. At this stage of the investigation two messages came under my eye, both of fifteen words:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
A.	That	by	it	green	Cole	Judge	is	
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
	Ashbel	a	Thomas	you	advised	Chas.	H.	See
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
B.	Committees	none	London	sub	with	but	met	
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
	Moselle	canvassed	our	Thames	admitted	count	tally	counties

I made thirty small counters, fifteen for each message, on each of which was written one of the cipher words, with its cipher number, as—

6.	6.
JUDGE.	BUTS.

The two messages were then laid on the table in the cipher order, and the problem was to discover the English order.

The first step was to make "blocks" of words which must necessarily go together. Thus, in message B. "none but" (or 2—6—) are almost certainly connected. The corresponding combination in A. is "by Judge," which makes sense. It was easy to try these combinations by means of the counters. One had only to shift them bodily and a trial was instantly tested. To go on with the making of our "block:" We have now 2—6—? "by Judge—?"

In A. it could be

by Judge green.....	4
" " Cole.....	5
" " Ashbel.....	8
" " Thomas.....	10
" " Charles.....	13
" " H.....	14

which makes in B.

none but sub.....	4
" " with.....	5
" " Moselle.....	8
" " our.....	10
" " count.....	13
" " tally.....	14

There is nothing *conclusive* here, but this table was useful later on.

In message B. "sub-committees" (4—1) is almost certainly right, and it makes in A. "green that." At this stage I learned that there was a Judge Ashbel Green in New York City—a Democrat. He furnished a block, 2—6—8—4—1, which makes in the message, B. "none but Moselle sub-committees." The next word is probably 3, 5, 11, or 13.

For in A. we have

that by.....	2
" it.....	3
" Cole.....	5
" Thomas.....	10
" you.....	11
" Chas.....	13
" H.....	14

which makes in B.

Committees none.....	2
" London.....	3
" with.....	5
" our.....	10
" Thames.....	11
" admitted.....	13
" tally.....	14

This, again, is not conclusive as to translation, owing to the words Moselle, London, Thames, which were plainly substitutes for other words (substitution-ciphers). The absence of meaning and connection in these words produced just the difficulty that was intended, and the translation could hardly go much further with these two messages. The block "tally with" (14—5) makes "H. Cole," which is possible, but not conclusive.

The *method* of translating was plainly correct. To obtain the veritable translation more material was required. When this came, the sequences that were suspected, as 2—6—8—4—1 ; 14—5 ; 1—3 ; 1—5 ; 1—11, etc., were tried in succession by moving the little counters representing the words, and after a time a key was obtained which satisfied all the known conditions.

By chance it happened that these two messages of fifteen words were perhaps more unfavorable than any other two of the same number of words for the purpose, as they contained so many proper names and substitution cipher-words. The method which they suggested proved very fruitful, however, when tried on longer messages, of which a few were on hand.

The first step was always to try the *possible* grammatical connections of the words in message A., for example, and to test these by messages B., C., D., etc. Some of them were at once negatived, some were left doubtful, some confirmed. Then, by writing out the messages on counters, arranging the *certain* blocks, and permuting the others through the doubtful or possible connections, long blocks of five or six words were found. A set of messages would then yield a certain amount of evidence with regard to any single message, and no more. Thus, I had a telegram of twenty-five words, as follows :

NEW YORK, Dec. 1.

MANTON MARBLE, *Tallahassee, Fla.* :

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Meet	supplied	consult	read	may	yes	able	been	to	but	be	to	to
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23			
be	who	Smith	with	request	has	Daniel	can't	telegram	your			
24	25											
and requirements.												

P.

Comparison with other telegrams had given me the blocks "to your request," "who has been supplied," "consult with Daniels," and there was no more evidence to be obtained from any of the telegrams then in my possession. The other words were all doubtful as to place in the sentence. The trials were quickly made of every possible combination. For example, the first word, "meet," *might* stand in any of the following relations: "meet READ," "meet telegram," "meet requirements;" "may" would form "may meet," "may consult," "may read," "may be" (5—11), or "may be" (5—14); and so on with the rest.

The solution came in this case, as in others, with a sudden flash. One can not say why, but all at once the right order of words comes after the mind is sufficiently permeated with their sense. The practical process of solving such a cipher is very like waiting for an in-

The capital discovery was made by Mr. Hassard just as he was preparing an article on the ciphers for the press that these keys were correlated. The following despatch illustrates this. I quote the discoverer's own words :

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Want	Holcomb	me	you	or	would	judge	if	Warsaw	name	come	same	Matthews
						14	15					
						on	by.					

"The key to the transposition in the group to which this belongs was found by the inductive process already described to be : 8, 4, 1, 7, 13, 5, 2, 6, 11, 14, 9, 3, 15, 12, 10 ; that is to say, the 8th word of the cipher is the first word of the translation, the 4th word of the cipher is the second word of the translation, and so on ; and the translated message accordingly reads :

8	4	1	7	13	5	2	6	11	14	9		
If	you	want,	Judge	Matthews	or	Holcomb	would	come	on.	Warsaw	[telegraph]	
				3	15	12	10					
				me	by	same	name.					

"But this message can be equally well translated by the other sequence of the 15-word group, 3, 7, 12, etc., which had been found by an independent process of induction. In using this correlative key we write the numbers of it over the words of the dispatch as they stand in cipher—thus :

3	7	12	2	6	8	4	1	11	15	9	14	5
Want	Holcomb	me	you	or	would	Judge	if	Warsaw	name	come	same	Matthews
						10	13					
						on	by.					

"Now pick out words 1, 2, 3, 4, etc., in the natural numerical order, and it will be seen that we have precisely the same translation which was obtained before. As a rule, when Key I. for example was used at this end of the line the correlative Key II. was used at the other end ; so that the translation of one despatch gave the sequence upon which the receiver constructed his answer. This law holds good with all the sets of keys, If it had been discovered at first, it would have saved half the labor of translation ; but as it came at the end of the work it serves as a striking mathematical demonstration of the accuracy of the keys constructed without knowing the relations that existed among them."

A necessary consequence of the limited number of keys was that the messages longer than thirty words must be translated by a combination of keys. Thus a forty-word message would be translated by Key 20 used twice, a seventy-five word despatch by Key 15, Key 30, and Key 30 again, and so on. I quote a despatch without translation as an illustration :

TALLAHASSEE, Nov. 16.

COLONEL PELTON, 15 Gramercy Park, New York :

Use hundred and forty cipher all to there advice some our must everything cordially necessary one coming remain our head received was absolutely driving no

probably month was result this business to majority being evidence will truth but afoot Democratic establishing be that distances contriving but unquestionable clear nothing Democrats slow well followed preserve now be returns doubtless to may enormous claim county first board wrongly travel to be will move may canvassing purge and will our difficult Governor canvasser received Democrat three egregious action require returns able county of canvassing of already fraud one where State board being officers Republican with the immediate beginning legal other Georgia helpful very Governor while need Brown help questions counsel Sellers the arising no in we possible best also and Saltonstall remain can he Moses along and here on general called on army road to-day officers attorney Governor.

[No sig.]

Here we must use Key VII. four times in succession, and then Key V. twice. The translation can easily be made by any one interested.

By these processes the words were finally arranged in their proper order. But arbitrary words like "Warsaw," "London," "France," etc., constantly occurred. By a careful study of the political history of the days immediately adjacent to the dates of the despatches the meaning of these was discovered. Each meaning was at first a guess, then a "working hypothesis," and finally a demonstrated fact. Numbers were represented by the names of rivers, as "Moselle" = 2, etc. "River" stood for zero. Every want of the cryptographer had been provided for by the ingenious and thoughtful inventor of this cipher. One might want to write a message of 11, 16, 21, or 26 words. To fill out the scheme to 15, 20, 25, or 30 words certain "dumb words" of no meaning were provided, as "Lieutenant," "Thomas," "Charles," etc. (two of these being, by the way, in the first dispatches quoted here), and these appeared interjected confusingly in the cipher message.

Such is a brief account of the transposition cipher. It is the most ingenious and elaborate of such systems, and reflects credit on its accomplished inventor. That it was discovered seems extraordinary, simply on account of the succession of apparent accidents which led to its publication and examination. These we have sketched in the first pages of this article. All this would have been useless, however, had not the Democratic leaders trusted it too implicitly and telegraphed long messages in it, many of which might well have gone in English or in a less elaborate code. Its very perfection was an aid to its solution. The clumsy transposition ciphers used by Governor Stearns in Florida (which there is not space to describe) were a protection in themselves. They were so simple as

not to tempt the user of them to be "too clever by half." The substitution ciphers within the Democratic messages were most elaborate, and necessarily required immense pains for their detection. A list of a few of them will illustrate their nature. They were for the most part discovered by *The Tribune* editors.

Copenhagen.....dollars.	Ithaca.....Democrats.
Denmark.....Colonel Pelton.	London.....Canvassing Board.
Europe.....Louisiana.	Louis.....Governor.
Europe.....Governor Kellogg.	Max.....John F. Coyle.
Fox....C. W. Woolley.	Monroe.....county.
France.....Florida.	Moses.....Manton Marble.
France.....Governor Stearns.	Paris.....draw.
Greece.....Hayes.	Petersburg.....deposit.
Havana.....Republicans.	Russia.....Tilden.

A second system of cipher was much used in Florida by the Democratic politicians. It was a pure substitution cipher, in which phrases or words were replaced by numbers. A portion of this vocabulary (deduced, I believe, by Colonel Grosvenor, of *The Tribune*) will make the system plainer :

Five.....Will send, or remit.	Thirteen.....Necessary.
Seven.....Draw, or draft.	Sixteen.....Canvassing Board.
Nine.....Bank.	Nineteen.....Received.
Ten.....Dollars.	Twenty.....Agree, agreed, agreement.
Eleven.....Thousand.	Thirty.....Republicans.
Twelve.....Hundred.	Thirty-seven.Member.

Following is a telegram in this code :

TALLAHASSEE, Dec. 4,

HENRY HAVEMEYER, 15 *West Seventeenth Street, N. Y.* :

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Half	twelve	may	less	thirty	eleven	winning	ten
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	
additional	seven	for	give	lieutenant	sixteen	Russia.	
							Fox.

This must first be transposed by Key IV., when it will read :

May Winning give twelve eleven ten less half for Russia additional sixteen thirty seven. Lieutenant.

Now turn it into English by means of the vocabulary, and it will read :

May Winning [Woolley?] give hundred thousand dollars less half for Tilden additional member? Lieutenant.

Like all complex substitution ciphers, this is difficult to translate, since something always is left to the judgment of the decipherer. In this code, however, the accuracy of the ingenious solution has not been questioned even by those who received the despatches.

A few other codes were used, more or less simple. They have nearly all been translated, but none of them have the interest of the excellent systems heretofore described.

It is not within the province of this article to go further into the subject of cipher-writing than is necessary in order to understand the codes used in the campaign of 1876—our centennial year. An excellent article on cipher-writing may be found in Rees' Encyclopædia, which will give the elements of the subject, and *The Tribune* Cipher Extra No. 44 (1879, January) should be consulted for a connected history of the months of November and December, 1876, as it is disclosed by the translated ciphers.

The question is often asked, "Is there no safe cipher?" The answer is: there are many such, if one means by a safe cipher one which is almost or quite impossible to translate. The question should be modified so as to include convenience of use, and then the "safe ciphers" are few in number. Perhaps the best and safest cipher for general use is found in Slater's Telegraphic Dictionary of twenty-five thousand words. In this each word is numbered from 00001 to 25000 consecutively. Suppose the message to be sent was *Rely upon plain English*. The words Rely, upon, etc., would be looked out in the Dictionary, and the numbers opposite them set down. To these numbers the sender adds a previously agreed upon number, as 4397, 21, 171, etc. He thus obtains four new numbers. These *numbers* are looked out in the Dictionary, and the words standing opposite to them are sent. The process of reading the telegram by the receiver of the message is simple. It is not likely that messages of this kind can ever be read by one not acquainted with the key, if this key is occasionally changed, say at the 7th, 10th, 16th, 21st, etc., words. If it is not so changed and there are enough messages, even this code can be read. For political purposes the plainest cipher is the best, and while the post-office and the express companies are so prompt, the golden rule should be—

"Don't telegraph unless necessary."

PRINCE BISMARCK DURING THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR.

DR. BUSCH'S book¹ can not lay claim to any particular value of its own beyond what it derives from Prince Bismarck's conversation. It is only too clear that the 776 pages, of which the two volumes consist, might easily have been reduced to 150, or 200 at the outside; and it is equally clear that the author's prose would hardly be readable were it not for Prince Bismarck's sayings, which alone prevent the reader from letting the book drop from sheer weariness. Nevertheless, however idle may be many details given us by this inexhaustible chatter-box, who has not even the talent of a sharp observer, they are all of more or less use, for they carry us into the very center of the atmosphere that gave rise to the sayings of the Chancellor which have surprised, amused, and scandalized the world at large. Such minutiae are not only useful, they are even necessary if we are to judge the book with equity and to see things from their true point of view, *i.e.*, Dr. Busch's point of view—through the key-hole. No doubt Bismarck loses nothing of his greatness as a man and as a genius by all this. He is, luckily, one of those who can afford to undress before their *valets de chambre*. Still, it is but fair that the reader should know the position of the tell-tale who reports these sayings and doings, as well as that of the man of whom they are reported. The book belongs to the time of the war. Every one was out of his usual element, men's passions were roused, and they were apt to be unjust from excess of feeling. No one took the time to weigh his words, or thought of asking himself whether he was prepared to answer for every syllable uttered and every impulse inspired by the situation and the moment, in the face of a judge, be it of the Almighty or of posterity. Even had there been no such fever as the excitement of war, there is a great difference between things printed, published, or proclaimed

¹ "Graf Bismarck und seine Leute während des Kriegs mit Frankreich. Nach Tagebuchblättern." Von Dr. W. Busch. Vierte und veränderte Auflage. Leipzig: Grunow, 1878. 2 vols. 8vo. "Bismarck in the Franco-German War." An authorized Translation from the German of Dr. Moritz Busch. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1879.

from a tribune, or even said deliberately in a letter or a drawing-room, and those uttered among a circle of intimates, elbow on table at the Club or at Magny's, when one's colleagues in the House or in journalism are being discussed, or anecdotes told of one's University chums. May he to whom it has never happened under such circumstances to smile at a comrade's weaknesses, or to find fault with a friend, be the first to throw a stone at him whose table-talk is now so indiscreetly delivered up to the tender mercies of the public at large. But, it may be asked, why has Prince Bismarck allowed this work to be published? In Luther's case, at any rate, they waited till he was dead to publish those convivial effusions which have in our day become popular, even outside Germany, through Michelet's translation. The question is a difficult one to answer, as we have only suppositions to trust to. The *Post*, which is considered the Chancellor's mouthpiece, declares that the law does not empower Prince Bismarck to prevent the publication of this diary, "as he tried to do." The only means at hand, the admonition (*Vorstellung*), having been of no avail, the Prince can do no more than trust to the intelligence of the readers before whom his sayings are thus placed detached from their natural connection. The *Provinzial-Correspondenz*, another still more direct political organ of the Chancellor, says that the Prince is of opinion that documents of any kind which are in private hands, and beyond the control of government, were better published as soon as possible, this being preferable to having them kept back as an uncertain threat to be used in important eventualities against the government's political views.

At all events, the Prince has no more cause for complaint in this publication than he had some years ago in a similar indiscretion which brought to light his private letters. It may alienate a few political men from him; it may exasperate the animosity already felt against him by others; but as a man and a man of genius he can only gain by it in the eyes of all readers unfettered by modern sentimental conventionality.

As regards the motives of Dr. Busch in this publication, they are but too evident. Admitting them not to be editorial motives (although as a mere pecuniary speculation the editor must have done a pretty good stroke of business with this book, to say the least of it), it is beyond all doubt that the author's name has attained by it a celebrity which he had vainly striven to acquire before; a not very desirable or enviable celebrity perhaps, but an undeniable one nevertheless.

But who and what is this Dr. Busch? How came the Chancellor to surround himself with people capable of giving so compromising a shape to their admiration? The first of these questions is easier to answer than the second. The *Magdeburgische Zeitung* has printed the following notice from a "sure source" without experiencing a denial:

"Busch after having studied theology at the University, threw himself into the revolutionary movement in 1848 as a 'red Democrat.' Soon after 1850 he went to America and became preacher to a German community. Having, however, shown himself unfit for the clerical career, he returned to Europe in 1855 or 1856. He then took to traveling in Greece and Palestine for the Austrian Lloyd, and when he returned to Germany, succeeded Julian Schmidt in the post of editor of the *Grenzboten* which he continued to direct up to 1866. It was at this time that he publicly insulted Gustav Freitag, in a Leipzig 'restaurant,' calling him a 'damned traitor.'" (The celebrated novel writer was then already a German patriot, whereas Mr. Busch's patriotism at that time did not go beyond the limits of Saxony, and he was therefore an enemy of Bismarck.) "After a time he was dismissed from his post as editor of the *Grenzboten*." (If we are not mistaken he had been guilty of a rather too bold piece of plagiarism.) "In 1863 he had been for some time secretary to the Duke of Augustenburg, and resided at his court; this, however, did not prevent him, while enjoying the Duke's intimacy, from writing certain articles in the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, which, though not without value, were, to say the least, inexcusable, considering his intimate intercourse with the Duke. He soon was dismissed from this as well as the other places." (In his book on Count Bismarck, Dr. Busch lets no opportunity slip to be hard upon the unlucky Pretender whom, when in a prosperous and hopeful position, he had been only too ready to serve.) "In 1866, during the 'transition,' Dr. Busch assumed the direction of the Hanoverian press. On the first of April, 1870, he was appointed as reporter on the press to Prince Bismarck, in which post he remained during the whole of the war, and made all those notes upon the Prince's sayings and doings which he has since published. His office at that time was to draw up and place, according to the Chancellor's instructions, such articles as he wished to appear in one or other of the leading papers, in order to further his political views. Busch was in receipt of 2000 dollars (2500 thalers) for this work, with the promise of a pension. He remained thus in the Prince's service up to Easter, 1873, without any clearly defined position, title, or appointment on the budget. About this time he suddenly turned his back upon Berlin; his own account of this being that he was overworked, that of others that he was unable to agree with any of the counsellors surrounding Bismarck, as he appeared to have a conviction that the whole merit of founding the German Empire and directing its foreign policy belonged to himself." (A third version was, that Bismarck dismissed him because he had come to the conviction that Busch was a spy upon his words and deeds.) "Dr. Busch was subsequently for some time a contributor to the *Hannöversche Courier*, but a too high estimate of his own value caused him to be dismissed from that paper also. Since 1876 he has again been living in Leipzig as a writer and translator."

It is easy to perceive that Dr. Busch has been greatly honored by being treated, as he has been by some serious writers, as a colleague of Mr. Abeken, one of the most deserving *chefs de département* in the Berlin Foreign Office, a man of culture, and held in high estimation throughout Germany ; or of M. Lothar Bucher, who occupies an important position in the State, and has been Prince Bismarck's confidential and right-hand man for the last fifteen years. Nor would it be just to place Dr. Busch on a line even with the *geheim-räthe* (*chefs de département* and head clerks in the ministry) who accompanied the Chancellor during the war. A careful perusal of Dr. Busch's book ought to suffice to show that he occupied indeed quite a subordinate place at the table, where he never speaks unless addressed, and where hardly anybody speaks to him except in an off-hand manner, and without putting even the " Mr." before his name. Dr. Busch is simply a second-rate newspaper writer, whom Prince Bismarck employed in his intercourse with the English and German press, on account of his knowledge of the English language acquired in America, and because he was recommended by a relative of the Prince. It is well known that Bismarck never has been over-particular in choosing his secondary instruments, especially where journalism is concerned. This proceeds mainly from his ignorance of journalism in general, and from a false idea which he entertains of its nature and influence. The writer's personal convictions, in fact, play a far greater part in the press than is usually supposed by persons who have passed their lives out of journalistic circles.¹

We are far too prone to assume that the daily writer is accessible to bribery, and too ready to believe in the possibility of influencing him, and too apt to exaggerate the influence exercised by newspapers. Party spirit is nowadays a far more powerful agent than public opinion on the writer, as well as on the reader. Now, Prince Bismarck is *naïf* enough—and who so *naïf* as a great genius?—to believe that there are actually people who change their opinion after reading an article refuting it in an adversary's paper,

¹ It is difficult to form an idea how little even of the simplest details of the daily press are known outside these circles. A justly celebrated writer, a great publicist, and one who is familiar with two civilizations, while giving an account of the " Berlin Correspondence," attributes to the Chancellor the merit of having it printed on one side only and on colored paper ; but any one familiar with the mode of proceeding in making up a newspaper is aware that all the news agencies in Rome as well as in London, in Paris and in Vienna, print their correspondence on one side and on colored paper, and that the " Berlin Correspondence," one of the latest, has merely followed a custom generally adopted.

or, at any rate, that certain information which he gives to the papers may be favorably interpreted by the organs of the press of the opposition. Can we wonder, then, that he should seek to influence the press and employ a Dr. Busch to do so? Yet no one knows better than Bismarck himself how what we call an "opinion" is formed. Was it not he who said, alluding to Berlin

"Where so many men live together individuality is easily effaced : they blend together. All sorts of opinions are formed in the air by hearsay and repetition, which are not at all based upon facts, but are spread abroad through the papers, meetings, cafés, gossip, and which establish themselves and become ineradicable. There is a second false nature side by side with the first, a collective belief, a collective superstition. Men persuade themselves of the existence of things which are not, and think themselves obliged to remain true to their convictions, and to go into raptures over narrow and absurd ideas. . . ."

Besides this, however, there is another side to the Chancellor's relations with the press which may seem more plausible. Setting aside opinions difficult to change on account of the party spirit which reigns paramount everywhere nowadays, there are erroneous facts to be rectified—not, as Prince Bismarck would seem to imagine, in order that public opinion should be influenced in one sense or another, but in order that the small number of really impartial men, *i.e.*, the superior or skeptical ones, whose judgment is destined to become that of history, may have exact *data* to rely upon and refer to. The great and only difficulty on this point is to ascertain all the calumnies which have been spread abroad, many of which have originated in mere private gossip. As for those in print, the Chancellor has always taken good care to have them formally refuted as soon as he has heard of them. This will, of course, not prevent numbers of persons from repeating that he has said that "might should go before right ;" that "blood and iron" are the only remedies for political difficulties ; that he tempted Count Benedetti by offering him a portion of German territory ; that he caused French villages to be burnt for his own amusement, etc., etc. Still, he has given the serious historian of the future the means of knowing exactly what he has said and done. But let us return to our book and its revelations.

We have said that it is not useless to read the gossip and twaddle in which Dr. Busch has thought fit to drown the Chancellor's detached sayings. In fact, it would be well to read at least some fifty or sixty pages of it—for I hardly think more of it would be tolerable—in order to feel, as it were, transported into the midst of

the scenes where Dr. Busch's hero has uttered all these curious things. Of course a great writer would have done amusingly in ten pages what Dr. Busch does tediously in six hundred. Only think, for instance, of the first chapter of the "Chartreuse de Parme" and of the battle of Waterloo, at which we therein assist in such a strange way. But we must make the best we can of it. Dr. Busch is not Stendhal, and one must take him as he is ; that is to say, we must eat his somewhat heavy pie-crust in order to come to the exquisite fruit it contains. The journal of any corporal would have done as much at least, to picture the surroundings of the actors, the dead and dying, parks of artillery and camp-fires, hastily-arranged quarters and hastily made up messes, sutlers and surgeons, princes and generals, obstructed roads and the rolling of drums, thundering of guns and smoke of powder—in a word, the atmosphere of a country invaded by a war still undecided, but full of promises. In the midst of all this uproar one sees the Chancellor now and then when he has done conferring with the king, the generals, the diplomatists of the neutral powers, the enemy's negotiators. When he has finished his notes and despatches he makes an appearance among his subordinates, either to give them orders and instructions or to admit them to his table, where his intimate friends, his cousin Bismarck Bohlen, the Count Hatzfeld, the Baron von Kendell, Abeken, and Lothar Bucher come to join him. It is here one must see him, while his meal is at all moments interrupted by telegrams requiring a ready answer ; by visitors coming from America, England, and everywhere ; by the announcement of changes in the route that oblige the whole of the company to pack up and leave during the night. It is only by this picture that you can have a fair view of the subject, and even so it is very difficult to judge quite rightly ; for Dr. Busch has not only left out all that may offer political interest, announcing almost at every line that he leaves a blank to be filled in future, but he also seldom tells us how a remark has been brought forward, what was the general subject of conversation, or the association of ideas which may explain what has been said. All this has to be supplied by our imagination ; and, to say the truth, it is no very difficult task to do so. The Chancellor's grand figure stands out from this background in full relief. Each one of his words bears the stamp of a distinct and peculiar individuality. What is said could only have been said by him, nor could he have said it otherwise. That which constitutes the very essence of genius, *i.e.*,

the faculty of seeing things as they really exist where the common mortal is forced to see them through a mist produced by the spectacles of conventionality and prejudice, and of telling what he sees in just the right way, is apparent on every page. It is Columbus's egg over and over again. Every word opens out a new horizon without any paradox or show of originality in thought or expression. One says to himself, "Yes, so it is," as if one could not understand that the thing could be seen in a different light. From this comes also the contempt of all phraseology, and of all that is called "la pose," that strikes one almost in every word of the Chancellor. He is veracity itself everywhere and always. Not that he might not—at least we think so, for we have not yet been able to catch him *in flagrante*—not that he might not, when absolutely required by circumstances, tell a big lie. Whatever Kant may say to the contrary, the most sincere of men must be capable of it when they have to defend a vital cause; and a good round lie is much better than the hypocritical sincerity of virtuous people who tell things materially true so as to convey a contrary conviction to their hearers' minds. Bismarck never plays a part, and he is unmerciful in tearing away other people's masks. National hatred has nothing to do with this antipathy, as was the case with Englishmen in 1810 and 1815, who thought every Frenchman an actor, and failed to see the beam in their own eyes, because, perhaps, it was the beam of a tragedian instead of a comedian. To Bismarck one is as disagreeable as the other, and what he said about Jules Favre he said as well of his own countryman Baron von Gagern, who in 1848 was considered as a great man and the founder of German unity:

" 'I remember that in 1850 or 1851, Manteuffel had received orders to try to bring about an agreement between Gagern's party and the Prussian conservatives, and he invited us one day to a supper of three. At first we did not talk politics, but Manteuffel found a pretext to leave us alone. As soon as he was out of the room I entered directly upon politics, and exposed my views to Gagern in a quite sober and matter-of-fact way. If you had seen Gagern! He put up his Jupiter's face, raised his eyebrows, shook his hair, rolled his eyes almost to make them crack, and answered me in big words, just as if I were a meeting; of course that was of no use to him with me. I answered coldly, and we remained as separated as before. When Manteuffel came back and Jupiter was gone, he asked me: "Well, what have you fixed together?" "Ah," said I, "nothing was fixed. He is a fool. He takes me for a popular assembly. He is a regular shower of phrases. With such as he no discussion is possible." ' "

And elsewhere speaking of the old Progressist chief, Waldeck :

“ ‘Dispositions similar to Favre’s, always consistent, ever ready beforehand with his opinion and his resolution, besides stately figure, venerable white beard, sentences fetched deep from the chest even in the smallest things—that is what makes an impression. He would utter a speech with a voice, which trembled from deep conviction, on the fact that this spoon is in this glass, and proclaim that whosoever did not agree in that was a knave ; and all believed it and praised at all times his energetic feelings.’ ”

It is this antipathy to all phrases which are not the expression of a fact, an idea, a feeling, which explains also the Chancellor’s unpopularity in the upper ranks of society in Berlin as well as in London and St. Petersburg. Never, under an appearance more sober than other centuries, never has the world shown so much “pose” as in our times. And we do not mean only the almost inevitable “pose” of the political orator, the clergyman, the judge, which is, so to say, the conventional garment of public life, but the true “pose,” by which one deliberately deceives one’s self and others—a certain sentimentality destined to hide the weakness of our characters ; certain great principles with which one covers one’s personal ambitions ; a certain ostentation of legality under which lies hidden a miserable fear of responsibility. Bismarck not only dives into all these masquerades at first sight, but he has no regard for them when all the rest respect them as an admitted fable and bow down before them. It is not he who would have made the inhabitants of Nice vote for their nationality. When somebody talks to him of Alsatia as being a population of German language and a land that belonged to Germany till two centuries ago, he shrugs his shoulders and calls all that “ professors’ ideas.” It is the fortresses of Metz and of Strasbourg that he wants, to cover the border from all new aggression. When one speaks to him of national colors to give to the new empire, that is quite indifferent to him : “ For me whatever they like—green, yellow, the rainbow, or the Mecklenburg Strelitz flag ! Only red, black, and gold (the revolutionary flag) the *troupier* will not have, because it reminds him of the days of March.”

This contempt for appearances and thought only of hard realities is everywhere a marked feature of Bismarck’s character. It explains many of his words and deeds which are otherwise incomprehensible.

One comes to ask one’s self from time to time how it is that Napoleon, who was so much harder toward the Church and

toward his enemies on the battle-field than Bismarck ; Napoleon, who conquered half the earth, drenched it in tears and blood, and covered it with ruins, could even during his lifetime be as popular as Bismarck is unpopular everywhere except in his own country. True, the world in which mediocrity has step by step obtained the supremacy is becoming daily less inclined toward "hero-worship." The great men it used to admire now begin to pall upon it. True, also, that Bonaparte had been greeted as a messenger of peace at the outset of his career, when he appeared to have closed the era of revolutions and the reign of disorder on the 18th Brumaire ; whereas Bismarck's first *début* on the theatre of politics was to open the bags of Æolus. Add to this that Napoleon was the greatest lawgiver the world has seen since Charlemagne, and that Bismarck does not shine in his most brilliant light from a legislative point of view. Nevertheless it appears to me that the true origin of the difference of feeling inspired by these two great men lies in another direction. Napoleon, conqueror of Italy at twenty-seven, head of the State at thirty, to-day in Egypt, to-morrow at Madrid or Moscow, impressed the popular imagination by the very exaggeration of his policy and the adventurous character of his enterprises ; not a little, also, by the *mise en scène* and *coups de théâtre* and the rhetorical phraseology of his proclamations. Now, when a man wishes to ingratiate himself with what Shakespeare calls "the general," and to obtain a hold over it, it is to the imagination rather than to common sense or justice that he will have to address himself. The sole fact of Bismarck's moderation, of the simplicity with which he is wont to call things by their names, the absence of all exaggeration which forms one of his chief characteristics, would alone suffice to account for his not being a popular hero ; while his severity against all that borders on the theatrical explains his unpopularity in higher European society. He never stretches out a covetous hand to grasp all that might be got ; he limits himself to what is wanted. His moderation showed itself as early as 1866, when he had to remind those near him that Germany had not conquered the world, and that she was not alone in Europe. When, on the 23d of November, 1870, after long negotiations, the treaty with Bavaria was signed, he came at ten in the evening to see his fellow-laborers, who were at tea.

" 'It is done and signed,' said he with emotion. 'German unity is made, and the Emperor too. The newspapers will not be satisfied, and the man who one day will write the history in the usual way may blame our transaction. He may say,

"How stupid; he ought to have asked more; he would have had any thing; they would have been compelled," and perhaps he would be right as to compelling, but to me it was more important to have the people satisfied with the business. What are treaties when people are *compelled*? I know they have left fully satisfied. I did not want to press them, nor to take advantage of the situation. This treaty has its defects, but it is more solid thus.'"

Again, on the 28th of October, after having spoken of the necessity of coming to an understanding between the different fractions of Parliament—

" 'I was obliged to leave out of count the extreme left because they only want what is impossible. They are like the Russians, who eat cherries in winter and want oysters in summer. When a Russian enters a shop he asks, "Kak nji bud" ' (what is not there)."

In the same way, as he only wishes what is possible, and dreams of no empire of seventy millions, like the Liberals in 1848, nor of the suppression of all thrones and all rights, the better to unite his country. He never allows his feelings to interfere with his policy. When the German papers find that he has too much regard for the Emperor Napoleon, the author of that unhappy war, he defends himself:

" 'They ask that in conflicts between States the victor should set himself up to judge the vanquished with his moral code in hand, and punish him for what he has done against him, or even against others. Such a demand is unjustifiable; to make it, is to misunderstand entirely the nature of political things, which have nothing to do with reward, punishment, or revenge; to satisfy it would be to pervert the very essence of politics. Politics must leave to divine providence the punishment of peoples' and kings' sins against the moral law. It has neither the right nor the obligation to take upon itself the part of a judge. It must only ask itself in such circumstances what is most to the advantage of the country? How can it be best attained? Sentimental motives must have as small a place in politics as in commerce. Politics have not to revenge what has been done, but to take care that it is not done again.' "

And he comes back to this point several times. He does not cease requesting his journalists to be moderate and polite toward France, toward the Church.

" 'You do not speak politely enough. Yet you told me that you were a master of clever malice; but here I see much malice and no cleverness. Do just the contrary. Write in a politic way. In politics offense can never be an aim.' "

He has been represented as a man without regard for right and law. Still, it was he who gave a lesson of respect for legality to J. Favre, when this champion of right advised him to take up a loan without consulting Parliament. "Not even five francs would

I borrow without its consent," he answered to the astonished Frenchman, who was of opinion that they in France would not take things so literally in such a moment. And when his cousin rejoices at the arrest of Dr. Jacoby, the chief of the advanced democratic party at Königsberg, the Chancellor gets almost in a passion :

" 'I do not rejoice at all. The party man may rejoice because his revengeful feelings are satisfied. The political man knows no such feelings. He merely asks himself whether it be useful to ill-treat a political enemy.' "

At first sight it may seem illogical when the Chancellor repeatedly denounces Garibaldi's ingratitude, and when he proposes that a signboard be fixed on the Italian prisoner's back with the word "Gratitude" written on it. This want of logic, however, is but apparent. Garibaldi was not a political man in his eyes, but a mere fanatical enthusiast who worked himself up into a frenzy *mal à propos*, and for a mere word, "*Republic*," forgot "gratitude." With the man who sentimentalizes Bismarck appeals to sentimentality, but never thinks of doing so with the Italian Government. He is convinced that if Wörth had not intervened, Victor Emanuel would have joined France ; but he is none the less ready to take his part against the court party when, a month after, the king of Italy went to Rome and put an end to the temporal power. Bismarck has always had against him, ever since his coming to the ministry in 1862, the influential circles at court, as well as the Church, the press, the Liberals and the Patriots of Parliament, the opinion and the cabinets of Europe. It was with the king alone on his side, but knowing well how powerful a root royalty had in the nation, that he ran the chance in Holstein and won it ; then against Austria and won it ; refused to run that of Luxembourg, and was found right ; accepted the challenge in 1870, and was again the winner ; threw the gauntlet to the Church and reduced her—because she has been "brought to bay," whatever Catholic papers may say ; vouchsafed not to let the Russo-Turkish conflict degenerate into a European war, and succeeded. The only things he did not succeed in—because we can not yet know whether the law against Socialists is a failure, as we firmly believe—the only things that have not succeeded, till now, in German politics were done in opposition to him, as for instance the new penal laws and the extension of the self-government of the towns, where it has existed for seventy years, to the country, where it does not prove good. And yet a well-known writer did not hesitate to say in an accredited review that he only

saw in all that "un joueur heureux." Call him a "joueur," if you like, provided you own also that he is not a gambler, but a chess-player, and one of those who begin the game when there is neither pawn, knight, nor bishop left. When, with such odds against him as these, a man wins nine games out of ten, one is, of course, free to say that he is a "lucky player," but one may also be excused for the weakness of attributing some part, at least, of his good fortune to his own ability.

We have alluded above to Luther's Table-talk; in fact, on looking about us in history, we can find no figure which calls so much to mind that of the country gentleman of the Mark, who has become the creator of the German State, as that of the Thuringian monk who founded the German religion. There is in both the same passion, united to a vivid sense of what is within the limits of possibility; the same moral courage, which never shirks responsibility and bears bravely with the unpopularity and injustice of his people, while keenly sensitive to both; the same unflinching faith, side by side with a superstition which borders on heathendom; the same mystical tendency, coupled with the same perspicacity of intellect; the same warlike disposition, together with the same deep attachment to family and home; the same jovial temperament and dry humor, united with a lurking turn for sentimentality which is so touching in the character of the great Reformer. There is also the same harshness of surface covering an undercurrent of love and tenderness which caused the Wittenberg monk to say of himself, "My rind may be hard, but my core is soft and sweet."

It must be remembered by all how unrelenting Luther was in his demand that the "Jacquerie" of 1525—*i.e.*, the Internationalists and Communists of those days—should be crushed. There is something of this inexorability also in Bismarck when he urges that Paris should be bombarded without mercy and without delay—the bombardment being deferred and strongly deprecated by ladies of high position,—or when he orders that all *franc-tireurs* shall be hung "high and short." At the bottom of all this relentless harshness there lay nevertheless a deep undercurrent of pity, pity for his countrymen, the poor soldiers, sons of Pomerania torn from their plows and exposed to peril of death on the battle-field, to privation and to fatigue for a cause they are hardly able to understand, and who ought not, he thinks, to be further exposed to the assassin's bullet. Besides, his severity never degenerates into cruelty, never even into moral condemnation of the guilty. It is a feeling more akin to that

of the surgeon, who, finding a painful operation necessary, performs it without hesitation rather than allow the malady to spread by sparing the patient a momentary pang. He contends that Napoleon was in the right when he had the German *franc-tircurs*, and even the companies of volunteers not belonging to the regular army, hung not by scores, but by hundreds, in 1809. It is true, in a moment of passion excited by the death of a poor soldier who had fallen a victim to assassins in ambush, he can also forget that, after all, it is no base motive, but merely mistaken patriotism, which prompts the *franc-tircur* to take up arms. But immediately afterward, when speaking of the Duc de Grammont, we find him wondering that he, so tall and strong, had not enrolled himself, after all the mischief he had made. "If I were he," says Bismarck, "I would rather have become a *franc-tireur*, even at the risk of being deservedly hung." He is of opinion that the fact that Frenchmen bombarded Rome, in spite of the art-treasures it contained—perhaps worth as much as those of Paris—would have been no excuse for bombarding Paris if Paris had not been fortified; but, "Museums ought not to be placed in fortresses." He protests against all cruelty as well as all impoliteness in the execution of orders hard in themselves. One day a *franc-tircur* who, in ambush, had killed a soldier, was brought before him. "He must be hung," said he; "but we must be polite to him, polite even to the last step to the gibbet; but hung he must be. One ought never to be rude except to one's friends. . . . Just think how rude one sometimes is to one's own wife, in comparison to other ladies!"

Never is he wanting in courteousness toward the vanquished, as Napoleon was so often—increasing in this way a necessary hardness with gratuitous insults unworthy of a gentle heart as well as of a gentleman. When General Sheridan is of opinion that an invaded country ought to be devastated, in order to make war so irksome to the inhabitants that they force their own government to peace, he contradicts strongly his American guest. Whenever he can afford to be merciful and compassionate, he is so. He shares his last drop of brandy with simple soldiers; he speaks to every one of them, and is always thoughtful of their comfort. He goes continually to visit the wounded, French as well as German, to see that nothing is wanting, and causes inquiries to be made whenever there is the smallest suspicion that they have not had their due. He goes out of his way day by day in order to procure some preserved apples for a poor wounded soldier who longs for them. Another man,

from Posen, having expressed the wish to have a prayer-book in the Polish language, he does not rest until he procures it for him. Yet, in the midst of all this, he can often be more than unjust toward his enemies. When Abeken says that the word "*politesse de cœur*" is a word of Goethe's which the French have attributed to themselves—

" 'Yes,' says he, 'I am sure it has come from us. That is a thing not to be found out of Germany. I would rather call it, "*politesse de bienveillance*," or "*bonhomie*" in the best sense of the word. You will find it also amongst our simple soldiers, thought in a very primitive shape, but the French do not know it. They only know the politeness of hatred and envy.' "

Nothing can be more unjust. "*La politesse de la bienveillance*" is one of the features of the French character. The excitement of the moment is not enough to explain this sentence and others of the same kind in the mouth of the Chancellor, who ought to have known France better. The fact is, that nothing differs more from the Frenchman in his ordinary life than the Frenchman when he is over-excited, maddened by a collected passion. The Frenchman of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, of the days of September, of the Commune, is none the less that same gentle, benevolent, helpful being that we have all known. Bismarck saw him then merely under the paroxysm of fever caused by grief and shame at his country's humiliation. That Frenchmen—like all other people in fact—lose some of their qualities when passion takes hold of them, is seen even in the way in which they judge the "man" in Bismarck. Those witty writers who guess at a witticism even before it is uttered, every moment take the irony of this table-talk "*au pied de la lettre*." Did they not seriously believe that the Princess Bismarck wished to eat little French children for dinner, because her husband, smiling at her feminine passion, said something that recalls the famous receipt of Swift for making a ragout of small Irish children? There is something quaint in the Chancellor's dry humor. When Mme. Gessé, at whose house he had lodged at Versailles, offered him for five thousand francs the small clock of her drawing-room as a dumb witness of so many remarkable negotiations, he found the remembrance rather too dear, and left her the treasure.

" 'I thought that the small Japanese bronze monster, grinning over the clock, might be precious to her as a family picture, and I would not deprive her of it.' "

His jokes often turn upon himself and his own people.

“ ‘He is an india-rubber ball,’ says he of the minister Arnim, the ambassador’s uncle; ‘he bounds, rebounds, and bounds again, but always more and more weakly, till at the end there is nothing left.’ ”

He is a great eater, though eating only once a day, and he finds that he is not well enough fed.

“ ‘If they want me to work well, they must feed me well. I can not make a good peace if they do not give me plenty to eat and drink. That is part of my trade.’ ”

If he eats well, he drinks better. The quantities which he consumes of tea, coffee, champagne, seltz, beer, Bordeaux, is something incredible. Still, his head is always free. However, one must not be surprised that, with such a regimen, he should become highly nervous. Herein lies his great inferiority to Frederic II. and Napoleon, who could sleep soundly on the eve of Rossbach and Waterloo. Bismarck never falls asleep before morning, or rather, he wakes a quarter of an hour after having fallen asleep, to keep wide awake for hours.

“ ‘All sorts of things come into my head at that time, especially the wrongs that have been done to me. Then I write letters and despatches of course without moving from my bed. Formerly, when first I was minister, I got up too, and wrote in reality; but when in the morning I re-read all that, I found it to be rubbish; it was all nonsense, confusion; things that might have appeared in the *Vossische Zeitung*’ ” (a progressist paper of Berlin, which makes the delight of the radical shopkeepers of the capital).

Still, it is not only to the detestable regimen that we must attribute the ruin of this giant’s nerves; he has not led an easy life by any means. When we compare him to Richelieu, with his easy-minded Louis XIII. and his wretched adversaries of the *Fronde*, or to Cavour, with his excellent king and Parliament, who understood him *à demi-mot*; and when we see the Chancellor making signs with telegraph boards to those worthy German deputies who never catch the sense of them, we can understand his impatience and the difficulties he has had to contend with. Often has he been obliged to give way, as in the Holstein business, which had at first been quite differently devised by him.

“ ‘My idea was difficult to realize. I had not less than all the world against me: Austrians, English, small States, liberal and illiberal, the Parliament opposition, the influential persons at court, the majority of the newspapers. Hard struggles took place, for which better nerves than mine would have been required. It was the same thing when the Congress of the Princes took place at Frankfort’ ”

(1862). 'I was so nervously agitated and so exhausted when I came out of the saloon that I could scarcely stand upon my legs, and when I shut the door I wrenched off the handle. The aid-de-camp asked me if I felt ill. No, said I, I am better now.' "

For he is not by any means omnipotent, this mighty Chancellor, who is considered a Jupiter whose power moves the world, while in reality he is but a Gulliver fallen into the midst of Lilliputians, who attach him to their hundred small posts with a thousand small fastenings fixed in his skin by so many pins. One evening, after having fought for a long while with the military plenipotentiary of Bavaria, he came to sit amongst his fellow-laborers at ten in the evening, asked for a bottle of beer, and with a deep sigh said :

" ' Ah I was just thinking what I have so often thought ; if I had only once and for five minutes the power to say : this thing shall be done in such a way and not otherwise ! One would not be tortured with *why* and *because*, and obliged to beg for the simplest things. Oh, this eternal necessity of speaking and begging ! ' "

The military men were those who gave him most trouble during the war. They constantly treated him as if he did not exist. There was not a colonel who was not better lodged than he and his diplomatic staff. He was never consulted in any thing. There is only Moltke to keep him "au courant ;" a good source of information it is true ; but this also seems to have failed him after the arrival before Paris.

" ' I went off to war gentle and obedient as a soldier (*Militärperson*) ; I come back parliamentary, and if they worry me too much, I shall have a chair placed for me on the extreme Left. ' "

Sometimes he had sharper outbreaks of impatience, which have caused Thiers to say of him that he is "un sauvage de génie"—a word more specious than true. Let us rather say that he is a civilized man in whom civilization has failed to stifle his primitive virtues and vices. Yes, he has strong primitive passions ; if he likes good drinking, he likes physical exertion still more. He is "a great hunter before the Lord." A hundred times has he risked his life at hunting, riding, and mountain-climbing. If he has the moral courage that never shrinks from a responsibility, he has also the physical courage that despises danger. Continually does he expose alone his tall figure, so easily recognized by its white "képi," in lonely streets or in gardens in French towns, to the bullets of the *franc-tireurs*. It is always the same man who in 1866 seized with his own hands the young assassin who shot four times at him with

his revolver, and delivered him over to the police, and all that without any boasting ; he is even very hard upon those who make a fuss about the slightest courageous act as if it were a heroic deed. He is primitive by another side still : by the simplicity of his religious faith, and even superstition. He would not for the world do any thing important on a Friday. He knows beforehand the day and hour of his death—"it is a mystical number." He will not conclude any thing on the anniversary of Hochkirch or Jena ; he does not like to see thirteen persons at table. But he has a violent temper, which he has learnt to control when the great interests of his country are at stake, and a primitive genius that has been nourished with strong culture. He knows his Shakespeare and his Goethe by heart ; there is scarcely a speech of his in which one does not meet with a quotation. He is a patriot and a believer, but never a fanatic. Exhortations to tolerance and justice recur at every moment in his conversation. He accuses the Huguenots of having been each of them a "small pope ;" the freethinkers of persecuting with their mockeries and their contempt all those who do not think in their own way. He finds that it would not be such a great evil if the Pope were to go to Germany.

"If people saw there a good old gentleman, a kind of bishop, eating and drinking like other mortals, taking his pinch of snuff, smoking even perhaps his cigar, there would be no such great risk. And, after all, if some good people in Germany were to become Catholics (not I for sure), it would not be such a great misfortune, provided they were believing Christians. The creed is nothing, it is the faith which is important. One ought to be more tolerant.'"

Likewise in worldly things it is always to justice that he appeals. He would institute a tribunal of Italians, English, and Americans to judge those who have urged on a war which costs Germany her best men and ruins France.

His justice, however, is not that of the legist. He never sees political things from the point of view of civil and penal laws. But one would be very much mistaken were one to think that he only sees them from that of force and interest. The inside of this nature is very ideal, notwithstanding the rough outward appearance and coarse good sense. He has a religious soul like Luther ; and not only does he believe in God and in Christ, but also in his country, and in his king who, for him, is the personification of his country. To him he sacrifices all—his own sons, who serve as simple soldiers, and are both wounded, as well as his own life. It is not the abstract ideal of our days and of rationalist people, but it is not the less an

ideal—the feudal ideal of faithful Eckart, whose three sons the Duke of Burgundy killed unjustly, and who nevertheless “was found faithful to his master.” It is not Bismarck, at any rate, who would fear to be thought servile because he only thinks of his king’s interest, and willingly would take as a device the Prince of Wales’s motto, *Ich dien* (I serve).

The writer of these lines has no personal feeling towards the Prince, whom he has never seen, and who is to him *nec injuria nec beneficio cognitus*. He does not even belong to his political party, being absolutely outside of political life. He has no national prejudices, being a cosmopolite, at least as much as human nature allows a man in the nineteenth century to be so. But he has thought that, coming after so many who had seen only one side of this figure of the Chancellor as it comes out from Dr. Busch’s book, he ought to show the other side. He leaves it to the reader to judge which is the right point of view.

SIR HENRY RAWLINSON'S "AFGHAN CRISIS."

THE strongest defence, on the whole, for the present British Government's Afghan policy appeared in Major-General Sir Henry Creswicke Rawlinson's article on the "Afghan Crisis" in the *Nineteenth Century* for last December. Such an article from such a writer well deserves examination, and if it is carefully compared with official papers and with its author's previous utterances it will be found to be an admirable specimen of the equivocal system of half truths which has marked so strongly the conduct and declarations of Lord Beaconsfield's ministry and its supporters.

Sir Henry Rawlinson, aside from his merited fame as one of the most learned, indefatigable, and successful among Oriental scholars and explorers, is generally acknowledged as the present chief of the "small but able party" called the "Bombay school," more familiarly known as Russophobists. This party, during nearly forty years, has periodically scared the British Government with ingenious arguments as to India's exposure to Russian invasion, which, in their opinion, can only be met by partial or complete military control of the prominent strategical positions in Afghanistan. At last they are successful, and have now the triumph of leading a British Government into carrying out their long-cherished plan. Their chief, therefore, expresses but a natural pride when he announces at the outset of his important paper that he is "personally responsible" for what it contains, and is "in no way to be regarded as the mouthpiece of either the Government" or the India Council, of which he is the vice-president.

To ascertain how thoroughly the British Government is imbued with Sir Henry's policy it is only necessary to compare the "Afghan Crisis" with the notable dispatch of November 18, 1878, signed by Lord Cranbrook.¹

¹ This dispatch to Lord Lytton, being a State paper, concerning Great Britain's relations to Afghanistan—an independent country—ought to have been signed by Lord Salisbury, Secretary of State of the Foreign Department. The signature of Lord Cranbrook of the Indian Department amounts to an official declaration that the independ

Not only do these documents in general alternately support, supplement, and echo each other, but more than half the paragraphs in the Cranbrook dispatch could exchange places with as many in the "Afghan Crisis" without materially altering the purport of either paper. The most intimate sympathy of opinion between Sir Henry and the government was also evinced in various ways during the December debate in Parliament. In common with the Cranbrook dispatch and the Afghan papers, Sir Henry's article takes up the matter from the year 1863, the date of Dost Mahomed's death and of Shere Ali's accession to the throne. As is well known, Lord Lawrence succeeded Lord Elgin in December, 1863, as Governor-General of India,¹ and Sir Henry states that Shere Ali's anti-English sentiment dates "from this period." This would seem as if Sir Henry had really persuaded himself that his readers are so incapable of interpreting Anglo-Afghan history that they can find nothing in the incidents preceding as well as in those characterizing the war of 1838 to '42, in the circumstances accompanying the release of Sultan Mahomed Shah from the prison at Lahore, or in the causes, born and created, of the Sikh and Punjab wars, resulting in the spoliation of Peshawur, to fill Shere Ali with hearty exasperation against England previous to 1863!

Sir Henry then complains that Shere Ali's notification to the Viceroy of his accession to the throne was left unanswered for six months, and that the terms of the reply, when at last it did come, were of the "coldest official formalism." But the war of succession which followed immediately upon Shere Ali's notification left the purport of the notification itself unanswerable until the British Government should decide upon its own line of action. As a specimen, however, of the "coldest" terms possible to "official formalism," we find, on turning to the Afghan Papers, that the reply to Shere Ali (December 23, 1863), after citing the illness and death of Lord Elgin as one cause of the unavoidable delay, continues: "You may rest assured that the British Government trusts that under your rule Afghanistan may possess a strong and united government, and that the good understanding and friendship which prevailed during the life of the late Ameer may continue to gain strength and stability under your administration."

Sir Henry's paper then goes on to state that when in 1864

ence of Afghanistan is no longer acknowledged, but that she stands in the same relation to Great Britain as do the feudatory States of India.

¹ Lord Lawrence remained in this office until January, 1869.

Shere Ali, having in the meantime without England's sympathy or aid overcome his rivals, proposed a new treaty of friendship, he was merely referred to the existence of the "old treaty of 1855." Whatever may have been the defects of this old treaty, and however desirable a new one might have been, Lord Lawrence's unreadiness for the conclusion of a new treaty with Shere Ali is not only explicable but justifiable when it is remembered how precarious Shere Ali's position was after "consolidating" his power in 1864, and how soon afterward he became an exile. Sir Henry sharpens this charge against Lord Lawrence by stating that Shere Ali fruitlessly appealed several times to British magnanimity, claiming that as his father's true successor he had a birthright to England's support. That Shere Ali, while beset by rivals on every side, should have pressed all kinds of proposals, pledges, and claims for the British Government's support is little wonder; but it would have been indeed surprising if Lord Lawrence had interfered in the succession war in any way. The lesson of 1842 had demonstrated how futile the effort to force on the Afghan nation England's choice of a ruler would be. Knowing the hatred of England inflamed in the Afghan breast by that unhappy conflict, Lord Lawrence was well aware that any attempt on England's part to assist Shere Ali officially would probably have destroyed his chances and dragged England into another Afghan war. The aged Dost himself had on more than one occasion cautioned Lord Lawrence against British interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan as being fatal to their friendship. Moreover, the treaty of March 30, 1855, binds the British Government "to respect and never interfere with the territories in possession of the Ameer."

Yet Sir Henry does not hesitate to lay upon Lord Lawrence the responsibility for the five years of succession war, on the ground that he did not accord to Shere Ali the "same support" which had previously been granted to his father, the Dost. As the Anglo-Afghan convention of January, 1857, was a special treaty applying exclusively to combined measures against Persia, and as the subsidy granted by England to the Ameer during the Sepoy rebellion was specifically for the purpose of preserving the Ameer's neutrality during that struggle, to what support can Sir Henry allude?

So far as we have been able to glean from Afghan history, England has *never lent any* support to Dost Mahomed in cases of internal strife.

She did help Shah Shoodja to depose Dost Mahomed! She

did, later on, and with the same object in view, release Sultan Mahomed Shah !

The evils which Sir Henry cites as results of Lord Lawrence's abortive change of policy do not, however, as he thinks, end with the close of the five years' succession war ; for to the affronts then suffered by Shere Ali he attributes the Ameer's rooted distrust of the British Government, which not all its consecutive generousities and amities have since been able to soften or remove. And in confirmation of his charge of Shere Ali's alienation from England through Lord Lawrence's *fautes diplomatiques*, Sir Henry quotes from a "remarkable paper" in the Indian Records these words (uttered by Shere Ali before the Amballa Conference took place) : " I will not waste precious life in entertaining false hopes from the English, and will enter into friendships with other governments." But it is one of Sir Henry's characteristic omissions that he does not here draw attention to the great difference between such an expression when made in a moment of extreme irritation and when uttered calmly as a well-considered determination. Which of the two it really was appeared from the event. Almost immediately after using these words Shere Ali earnestly invited and attended the Amballa Conference, in his account of which Sir Henry takes occasion to say that Shere Ali " was not by any means alienated !"

Sir Henry declares that he was and is of the opinion that " Shere Ali's overtures in the first instance ought to have been accepted ;" yet in chap. ii., p. 103, of " England and Russia in the East," after explaining Lord Russell's refusal to interfere in the Seistan controversy in November, 1863—and hence several months subsequent to Shere Ali's " overtures in the first instance"—Sir Henry assures us that England had " at this time contracted no treaty obligations towards Cabul, nor *obtained any right of interference* in its affairs.'²

Sir Henry's scathing indictment of Lord Lawrence in the " Afghan Crisis" may be summed up in these four propositions :

¹ Created Baron Lawrence in 1869 ; up to that time he was Sir John Lawrence.

² The burden of Sir Henry's arraignment of Lord Lawrence is, that he has made it impossible for succeeding viceroys to conclude treaties ; and hence, logically, no mutual treaty obligations exist between England and Afghanistan. Yet on page 986 of the " Afghan Crisis " we read :—" It might, I think, be technically argued that Shere Ali has broken faith with us inasmuch as he is bound by treaty to be the ' friend of our friends and the enemy of our enemies,' " which is the wording of the treaty of 1855, whose existence, as above shown, is denied by Sir Henry in his " England and Russia in the East."

I. That previous to the administration of Lord Lawrence in India, Shere Ali had no ill feeling towards England.

II. That the administrative blunders of Lord Lawrence caused this ill feeling.

III. That Shere Ali offered many opportunities for re-establishing good feeling, all of which were either spurned or ignored by Lord Lawrence.

IV. That the injury resulting from these causes has proved irreparable.

We have thus far indicated some of the essential points of variance between Sir Henry's charges and the historical and official accounts. We would now draw attention to similar differences between Sir Henry's own statements. In his work "England and Russia in the East," published only three years ago—and to which in the course of the "Afghan Crisis" we are repeatedly referred—we find the following graceful tribute to Lord Lawrence :¹

"We cannot mention the name of this distinguished officer without paying a passing tribute of respect to the solid judgment, the untiring energy and the high moral conscientiousness which have ever characterized his public administration. The country is, we think, to be congratulated that in the recent juncture there is at the head of our Indian Empire a man who is so thoroughly conversant with its external as well as its internal relations."

And in the same work, concerning Lord Lawrence's Afghan policy, Sir Henry says :¹

"A state indeed of vigilant though inactive observation has been Sir John Lawrence's avowed and well-considered policy throughout the Afghan troubles, and certainly up to the present time there has been no reason to question its wisdom."

In his "Afghan Crisis" Sir Henry passes over the discussion of the period from 1868 to the Amballa Conference, as "involving much argument and leading to no practical result," and yet in "England and Russia in the East" he regarded this period as the climax of Lord Lawrence's wise and vigorous administration.³

¹ Chap. iii. p. 190, "England and Russia in the East," reprinted from *London Quarterly Review* of Oct., 1865.

² Chap. iv. p. 255, "England and Russia in the East," reprinted from the same *Review* for Oct., 1866.

³ After having alluded to the prevision of his memorandum of July, 1868, borne out by the subsequent defeat of Azim Khan and Shere Ali's triumphant advance on Cabul, Sir Henry exults over the ripeness and resultfulness of "this period" affording an opportunity which was, he tells us, at once seized by Lord Lawrence ! "Arrangements were even proposed for a personal interview between the Viceroy and the Ameer, with a view to the removal of past misunderstanding and the inauguration of a new policy, the object of which should be to place Shere Ali Khan beyond competition in respect to his rivals, while he was held in grateful but not humiliating dependence upon the Brit-

Near the close of his article, Sir Henry, not deterred by the signal rebuke he had formerly received from Sir Robert Peel,¹ advocates, as usual, an aggressive policy towards Russia, and seizes the occasion to make a last thrust at Lord Lawrence's reputation :

"I believe," says Sir Henry, "that all our recent viceroys are agreed as to the danger of allowing Russian intrigue to take root in India, although perhaps the party of inaction—scared at the prospect of the expense and responsibility which an offensive war may possibly entail on us, and not yet awakened to the military insecurity of our frontier—would prefer to await collision on our present lines of defence in the Indus valley. The fact that the chief advocates of this policy have previously advocated the abandonment of Peshawur, and the withdrawal of all British troops behind the line of the Indus, may raise a doubt in the public mind as to the soundness of their judgment."²

ish Government. Ultimately, on the 9th of January, 1869, it was officially announced to the Ameer that twelve lakhs of rupees would be forwarded to Cabul, together with a considerable supply of arms, and that in future years, at the discretion of the government, he would receive further 'practical assistance' in the shape of money and materials of war, the only return expected being 'abiding confidence, sincerity and good will.' When Lord Mayo landed in Calcutta on January 13, 1869, he thus found the Government of India committed to a policy affording moral and material support to the reigning Ameer of Cabul, the object being the same which governed the opening of relations with Dost Mahomed Khan, namely: 'The establishment of a strong, friendly and independent power in Afghanistan, as a permanent barrier against schemes of aggression on our northwest frontier;' which, according to the "Afghan Crisis," p. 987, and the Cranbrook Dispatch, paragraph 3, was the goal of England's hopes as regards Afghanistan.

¹ When, in Feb., 1843, Sir Robert Peel proposed a vote of thanks to Lord Ellenborough and the officers and men who had participated in the Afghan war, he saw fit to administer a public rebuke to Sir Henry's unconscientious and speculative zeal. "It would not have been consistent," says Sir Robert, "with England's reputation to give our support, as suggested by Major Rawlinson," (Sir Henry was British Agent at Candahar during that Afghan war) "to Shah Kamran, and to make over Candahar to that nominal ruler of Herat, even were it prudent to engage in a speculative enterprise beyond the Indus, which might render it necessary to retain at an enormous cost a large body of troops in the difficult country between that river and Candahar, for the purpose of maintaining in the country made over to him a sovereign personally incapable and for many years unknown to its inhabitants otherwise than by the fame of his degrading vices."

² The military and financial recklessness and ignorance of this statement are astounding, but cannot be dealt with in the scope of the present article. I would, however, in this connection refer readers to Dr. Fawcett's admirable paper on the "Financial Condition of India" in the *Nineteenth Century* for Feb., and to Sir Henry Norman's able article on the "Scientific Frontier" in the *Fortnightly* for Jan. Sir Henry Rawlinson himself was evidently once an advocate of the abandonment of Peshawur to Afghanistan, and deplored the failure of England to return it before the time of Lord Mayo's accession in 1869, which neglect caused "the Ameer," says Sir Henry, "to be swayed by a multitude of considerations, personal and political, which greatly complicated the question of an English alliance."—"Russia and England in the East," p. 295.

On two occasions only, so far as we have been able to ascertain, has Lord Lawrence advocated the abandonment of Peshawur. One of these was during the terrible Sepoy rebellion, when he was, to all intents and purposes, Dictator in Northern India. The British troops being about to give way on the Delhi bridge, Lord Lawrence gave orders that in case the situation became absolutely desperate, Peshawur should be returned to the Ameer, and its garrison sent to reinforce the siege army around Delhi.

Would Sir Henry Rawlinson have advocated the retention of Peshawur at the risk of losing Delhi?

The other occasion was when, shortly after the suppression of the Sepoy rebellion, Lord Lawrence submitted to Lord Canning, the Governor-General of India, a profound memorandum stating his views as to the best means of consolidating and strengthening the Indian Empire, and giving impartially the reasons for and against the retention of Peshawur.¹ Even if Lord Lawrence had most ardently advocated the abandonment of Peshawur, and even though it could be conclusively proved an unwise measure—which is at least debatable—his services to England ought to shield him from such petty onslaughts.¹

In the "Afghan Crisis" Sir Henry tells us that Shere Ali went to the Amballa Conference, which had been delayed by fresh conflicts until after the decisive battle of Guznee, at the "invitation of the Viceroy." Yet in Lord Mayo's private letter to Sir Henry Rawlinson² we read: "The Ameer had sought the interview; to have refused it would have been insanity."

Sir Henry seems also to forget that he once deemed the time of Lord Lawrence's administration the "crucial period" of Anglo-Afghan relations, in which was incurred the responsibility for the Ameer's alienation from England. Transferring, therefore, the "gravity of the crisis" to the shoulders of Lord Mayo, Sir Henry tells us that at Amballa Shere Ali—

¹ The great cause England has for gratitude to Lord Lawrence is that she yet possesses a northwestern frontier, "haphazard" though it be. It is thus summed up by a celebrated historian:—"Sir John has proved himself to possess the strong nerve, the indomitable energy, the masterly policy needful to constitute a subjugator. The sharpest sword ever fashioned in Damascus is not more superior to the weapons which our officers irreverently term 'regulation spits' than it is inferior in power to the iron sceptre wielded by his strong right hand." Such is the judgment passed by Mr. Martin, in his "History of the Indian Empire," on the hero who saved India in the most critical hour of her great peril.

² Given on p. 299 of "England and Russia in the East."

"though brooding over his wrongs, was not by any means alienated. . . . The epoch might have been a decisive one,¹ . . . we might have won the Ameer's confidence forever. . . . Had the same terms been offered to Shere Ali at Amballa that have since been offered at Peshawur, . . . there can be no doubt that we should have heard nothing of Russian interference in Cabul for the present generation at any rate."

But the public had not been sufficiently "educated;" the authorities were diffident and blind.

"All that Shere Ali could obtain," says Sir Henry, "was a vague general assurance of support, . . . barely sufficient to prevent a break-down of the Amballa Conference," which, however, "was successful in its main features," though its "results cannot be said to have satisfied either one party or the other," but Shere Ali "returned to Cabul a firm and true friend of the Viceroy" during whose life "the Ameer, although perhaps dissatisfied at heart, showed no outward marks of irritation."²

Reference to chap. vi. in "England and Russia in the East" shows that the "vague general assurances of support" alluded to in the "Afghan Crisis" were *then* considered "strong assurances, . . . an earnest of which" was immediately and most definitely "afforded by the transfer to the Ameer of ten thousand stand of arms and two batteries of guns." Shere Ali (who in the "Afghan Crisis" retires from the Amballa Conference in a state of ardent external friendship, but in Sir Henry's earlier book in deep internal dissatisfaction)

"returned to Cabul not only satisfied but deeply impressed and so completely identified with our political interests that he was immediately suspected by Russia and Persia of aggressive designs in support of them."

So that the situation wanted only the "same terms that were offered at Peshawur," *i. e.*, British residents stationed in Afghanistan, to complete the curious chain of reasoning which in the "Afghan Crisis" serves to convince Sir Henry that Russian interference in Cabul would be postponed for a generation at least!

Sir Henry, implying that the British Government was too timid to demand what it wanted, says that it

¹ Later on, when defending Lord Lytton's dispatch of the Chamberlain mission, Sir Henry tells us that "it may be true that it was sent in order to raise a decisive issue."

² Lord Mayo and his council record their opinions of the results of the Durbar in these words:—"We have every reason to believe that the visit of his Highness (Shere Ali) and the communications which have taken place will be productive of the happiest results."

"would have willingly revived, with such modifications as the lapse of time rendered necessary, the fourth article of the treaty of 1857 with Dost Mahomed, which provided for the establishment of British officers at Cabul, Candahar and Balkh."

The treaty of January 26, 1857, is, as previously stated, a special convention between England and Afghanistan which has meaning and importance only as it relates exclusively to precautions against Persia. No occurrence had taken place between the time of the Peshawur treaty of 1857 and the Amballa Conference of 1869 which could nullify that treaty in part or as a whole, or deprive it of any of its original force.¹

Sir Henry opens his criticism of the official relations between Lord Northbrook, the next Viceroy, and Shere Ali by admitting that hitherto the British Government had been most in fault, but saying that from the date of Lord Northbrook's administration the balance of blame inclined to Shere Ali's side. He also tells us that England's "most innocent, nay, most considerate, acts were construed into offence" by the Ameer; citing, in proof of this, the Seistan arbitration. Sir Henry might indeed have used this point with considerable advantage against Lord Northbrook, but for the fact that Sir Henry himself had, in all probability, more to do with the Seistan arbitration and its questionable verdict than anybody else. Hence his generous and eloquent defence of General Goldsmid, the scapegoat in this affair. On July 12, 1873, the negotiations at Simla commenced between Lord Northbrook and Syud Noor Mahomed Shah, the Ameer's prime minister.

The reason for this meeting Sir Henry, in his "Afghan Crisis," states to have been the Ameer's fresh doubts of England's good faith, and fears as to the exact signification of Lord Northbrook's assurances of aid in the event of a Russian invasion—which to

¹ The fourth paragraph of that treaty is worded thus:—"British officers with suitable establishments and orderlies shall be deputed at the pleasure of the British Government to Cabul or Candahar or Balkh, or all three places, or wherever an Afghan army be assembled to act against the Persians. It will be their duty to see generally that the subsidy" (one lakh of rupees monthly for maintaining 18,000 troops) "granted to the Ameer be devoted to the military purposes for which it is given, and to keep their own government informed of all affairs. They will have nothing to do with the payment of the troops, or advising the Cabul Government, and they will not interfere in any way in the internal administration of the country. The Ameer will be responsible for their safety and honorable treatment while in his country, and for keeping them acquainted with all military and political matters connected with the war." For further information on this point, and for purposes of comparison, I would refer the reader to the treaty itself in the appendix to "England and Russia in the East."

Shere Ali's "disordered imagination" seemed so near at hand that he sent a special envoy to Simla to demand distinct pledges in case of such an emergency.

Quite a different version of the causes of this conference is given by Lord Northbrook in his memorandum of November 29, 1878. It is, in fact, a "disclaimer" of the ninth clause in the Cranbrook dispatch, which the Government in the December session of Parliament "felt bound to entirely accept." Lord Northbrook there says that early in 1873 it became necessary to appoint an interview in order to gain Shere Ali's signature to the Anglo-Seistan arbitration, and also fully to inform him of the details of the Anglo-Russian agreement as to the Afghan boundary. In pursuance of this plan Lord Northbrook proposed that a British officer should be received at Cabul. To this the Ameer consented, submitting, however, a proposition of his own to the effect that his prime minister should first be received at Simla to hear Lord Northbrook's communications. Lord Northbrook immediately agreed to this, and in the summer of 1873 received the Ameer's prime minister at Simla. The British agent at Cabul had been apprised by Shere Ali of his alarm at the Russian advance on Merv and of his anxiety for fuller assurances from the India Government than had yet been granted him; and Noor Mahomed Shah was accordingly empowered to use the opportunity afforded by the Simla Conference for expressing to the Viceroy Shere Ali's apprehensions and wishes on this point.

It thus appears from the Northbrook Memorandum that not the Ameer but the Viceroy took the initiative in this manner, and that Shere Ali's authorization of his prime minister's use of the opportunity afforded by the Simla Conference for the purpose of explaining Shere Ali's fears of a Russian attack was a supplementary affair, and not among the reasons for which the Simla Conference was originally called.¹

¹ A writer in *Blackwood's Magazine* for January makes a special defence of the 9th paragraph in the Cranbrook dispatch which Lord Northbrook's memorandum demolished; and condemns Lord Northbrook's administration on account of his telegram of June 27, 1873, in which the Duke of Argyll is addressed in these words:—"Dispatch goes by next mail, summing up Central Asian correspondence with Russia in a conciliatory spirit, in accord with Gladstone's speech on Eastwick's motion." The *Blackwood* writer states that on Lord Northbrook's assumption of the Indian viceroyalty, the "only difference between" England and Russia "turned on the succession to the Cabul *musnud*, and at that time there was no necessity for pressing that to a settlement." As to this the *Blackwood* writer is "of opinion that Lord Northbrook maintained a very prudent course," but as to the settlement with Russia he feels

Sir Henry, it would seem, has small cause to complain of *public* ignorance concerning the Simla Conference, or of the neglect, indeed most unmerited, which has befallen the sixth chapter of his "England and Russia in the East." But for this neglect his "statements and opinions" expressed in that chapter as to England's future policy towards Afghanistan and Russia might have involved him in very serious difficulties.

In the "Afghan Crisis" Sir Henry tells us that Noor Mahomed Shah's "bearing throughout the negotiations at Simla was so unconciliatory, not to say imperious, as to give rise to the suspicion that he must have come to Simla predisposed to quarrel."¹

If Sir Henry's own imagination had not been "disordered" in regard to the real causes of the Simla negotiations, if he had not, in common with the British public, ignored his own "general report" of them, the attitude of the Afghan envoy during the Simla proceedings would have been clear even to him.

Sir Henry, in the "Afghan Crisis," attributes the dispatch of a special envoy to Simla to the Ameer's frantic fear of Russia; but in his "England and Russia in the East" he

"more than doubts the sincerity of that fear. . . . The Ameer believed or affected to believe," says Sir Henry, "that his country was in danger from the advances of Russia; he would have thrown on us the whole responsibility of placing Afghanistan in a position to meet the contingency of invasion."

This statement is supported by Lord Lytton in his dispatch of the 13th of May, 1877:

"All the recent conduct and language of this prince (Shere Ali) had pointed to the conclusion that he cared little or nothing for such eventual protection of his country, or as our political necessities might oblige us in any case to afford it

"justified in saying that its effects were speedily visible in the unsettled state of Shere Ali's feelings. . . . From the period of the Simla Conference we must date the complete loss of that influence with the Ameer which Lord Mayo had gained . . . and which Lord Northbrook sacrificed." In his "general report" Sir Henry says (and here is matter of consideration for the *Blackwood* writer): "The Ameer was pleased at the territorial settlement on the Oxus, but was displeased with the settlement in Seistan. . . . He was promised ten lakhs in addition, of which one-half was to be expended in compensating his subjects for losses sustained through the Seistan arbitration, and the other half was to meet the urgent wants of the government at Cabul. Still more valuable assistance was tendered in the allotment of 10,000 Enfield and 5000 Snider rifles for the armament of the Afghan troops."

¹ Truly a most extraordinary attitude to assume, when one is in dread of imminent danger from which no escape is apparent, except through the propitiation of a doubtful friend!

against foreign aggression, and that what he really did care to obtain from us was some unconditional pledge of personal and dynastic support."

The Ameer's appeals, therefore, to England for "full assurances" of protection against Russia ought properly to be attributed to the characteristic craftiness of the Oriental mind. It would appear from the dispatches on this point to Lord Northbrook that the Duke of Argyll perfectly understood the Ameer's scheme. But Shere Ali entirely overestimated his importance as a factor in the Russo-Indian question, and forgot that his expressions of "frantic fear" might, as he subsequently found to his sorrow, be used as a deadly weapon against his independence.

Here again Sir Henry, after mentioning that the desideratum for the Amballa Conference—*i. e.*, the Peshawur terms, the admission of British residents in Cabul—had been so pressed on the Ameer that the mere broaching of the subject sufficed to excite his "irritation and mistrust," and to that degree that the Viceroy's final hint in this direction was "ignored in the Ameer's reply," looks innocently about for the real cause of the Ameer's anti-English feeling, and now discovers the responsibility for the rather peripatetic "crucial period" perched on the shoulders of Russia. The soliloquy—as to the relative advantages of an understanding with Russia or England—in which the Ameer is indulged by Sir Henry, is one of those flights of the imagination which do not call for practical comment, and which, however graceful, are perhaps a little needless in so independent and unofficial a State paper as the "Afghan Crisis." We will call attention, however, to one striking example of Rawlinsonianism. Sir Henry points out plainly that the Ameer was not serious in his demands for unconditional support, because, says Sir Henry—

"An unlimited support we were not prepared to grant; and moreover to accept such support, administered, as it must have been, by British officers, would be to sacrifice his independence and to sink forever to the level of the vassal princes of India."

Here Sir Henry states it exactly!

The Ameer's principal fear *was* of the imposition of British residents under any conditions, because a limited support might, by chance, or accident, or force of events, become an unlimited support, as had been invariably the result of "close relations" between England and Indian princes. The admission of British officers to the independent principalities of India has invariably been followed by

discourtesies or insults, real or trumped up, for the justification of some kind of British administrative supervision, ending in annexation to the British crown. Shere Ali's firm conviction that Afghanistan would not prove an exception to this rule led him to combat this point even at the risk of life and throne, rather than voluntarily to sign the death-warrant of his independence.

The use of such expressions concerning the Ameer as "protégé," . . . "prince protected by the Indian Government," etc., which occur in his "Afghan Crisis," sufficiently indicates Sir Henry's aim to have been from the first the reduction of Shere Ali to the condition of the Indian feudatories. Sir Henry states this plainly when, in his Postscript, written after "the die is cast," he describes the position, to which he had intended the Ameer to submit, in these words :

"A great feudatory of the empire, *independent* as far as regards *internal administration*, but *subject to our control*, in *all his relations with foreign powers*."

This might be found a very delicate distinction in case of its practical application, were it not probable that Sir Henry would at the right moment come forward with an interpretation equally nice in its adaptability to diplomatic requirements ; for it is notable that in Sir Henry's vocabulary "*feudatory position*" and "*strong, friendly, independent power*" are, as to their specific significations, interchangeable terms. Lord Cranbrook also, in his great speech in Parliament, elucidates the third paragraph of his famous dispatch, which declares it to have been

"the consistent aim of the British Government, during a series of years, to establish on its northwestern border a *strong, friendly and independent State*" by speaking of "*our watch-dog, the Ameer*."

Sir Henry charges Shere Ali with giving proof upon proof of "unfriendliness" after the return of the Afghan envoy to Cabul. Is Shere Ali to blame for acting upon Sir Henry's own motto as regards England's attitude toward Russia—"Forewarned is forearmed"? Can the Ameer's refusal to permit a British mission to return to India by way of Afghanistan be cited as a proof of unfriendliness? Had calamity befallen any member of Sir Douglas Forsyth's exploring mission on its way through Afghanistan, who would have been held responsible, and in what manner? And, further, was it unfriendly in the Ameer to forbid an English messenger to cross the Afghan border, that messenger being the bearer to the Mir of Vakhān of presents signifying the English Government's gratitude to him for disloyalty to the Ameer of Cabul? Would the English

Government in a like case have contented itself with so mild a measure of disapprobation? What unfriendliness can Sir Henry point out in the Ameer's hesitancy to accept arms, and in his rejection of money tendered as an installment of the price of his independence? Why should the Ameer permit the English Vakil to enact the part of a British spy for the purpose of giving or obtaining "trustworthy information" and "confidential communications," as Sir Henry euphemistically expresses it in the well-known terms of Anglo-Indian diplomacy?

Sir Henry draws special attention to the fact that full four years ago he had enumerated all these proofs of the Ameer's unfriendliness, and had added to the list "further complaints of raids upon the frontier, of the entire stoppage of trade, and of frequent acts of indignity and outrage," so that he felt justified in pointing out that England had already a "much heavier bill against the Ameer" than the Russians had against Khiva. As to this charge of frontier outrages, it should be borne in mind that the robber hill-tribes on the northwest Indian frontier *acknowledge* no allegiance to Shere Ali; that England has subsidized these tribes without the Ameer's wish or consent; and that notwithstanding this, Shere Ali, with the co-operation of the Ahkoond of Swat, as late as 1875 sought to avert from England the hostility of the Afridis. Want of space prevents a special consideration here of the long-standing grievances which finally in 1873 ended in Russia's partial annexation of Khiva. As long ago as 1840 we find a Lieutenant Shakespeare trying, as an English envoy to Khiva, to induce Shah Allah Kooli Khan to release several hundred Russian families who had been stolen from their native homes and sold into Khivan slavery, and the Czar threatening war if his subjects were not released and allowed to return to their homes unmolested. Yet Sir Henry in the sixth chapter of his "England and Russia," etc., says that "up to the year 1869 there was no special grievance against Khiva"! As to the expedition of 1873, Sir Henry states (in this same chapter) that the Khan did not encourage trade nor cultivate very close relations with Russia. . . . The Khan declined to be drawn into a correspondence" regarding the organization of a trade route between the "Caspian and his dominions," and even went so "far as to concert measures with the Kirghiz for their mutual defence," of which intrigue he was convicted.

Such were, even in Sir Henry's opinion, Russia's provocations to a Khivan war! Let the reader make his own comparisons. The

state of Shere Ali's feeling towards England at the close of Lord Northbrook's administration is clearly explained in Lord Northbrook's dispatch to Lord Salisbury of January 28, 1876, in these memorable words :

" We are convinced that a patient adherence to the policy adopted towards Afghanistan by Lord Canning, Lord Lawrence and Lord Mayo, which it has been our earnest endeavor to maintain, presents the greatest promise of the eventual establishment of our relations with the Ameer on a satisfactory footing ; and we deprecate, as involving serious danger to the peace of Afghanistan and to the interests of the British empire in India, the execution . . . of the instructions conveyed in your Lordship's dispatch." ¹

Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Norman, of the vice-regal council, confirming Lord Northbrook, says that, in his opinion, " up to the time of Lord Northbrook's departure from India, the Ameer had no feeling of hostility to us ; . . . his real resentment is due to measures taken from April, 1876, to the present time." ² This narrows the question of responsibility, and is strong and convincing proof that the chief cause of the difficulties and war now existing is to be found in the conduct of the present Viceroy.

Before proceeding to Sir Henry's bold and fervid defence of Lord Lytton's measures toward Afghanistan, it is necessary to a true understanding of Sir Henry's position to revert briefly to political events in England during February, 1876.

Mr. Disraeli's immediate pretext for changing the title of the sovereign was that " often only by amplification of titles can you satisfy the imagination of nations." Some of the explanations which accompanied the passage of the Royal-Titles bill have a marked constitutional significance. Mr. Disraeli said :

" The *constitution* has invested her Majesty with *prerogatives*, of which she is wisely jealous, which she exercises with firmness We should treat these prerogatives with the greatest respect and reverence. . . . It is expedient for her Majesty to adopt" the imperial title, " from local circumstances and from considerations of high policy connected with India. . . . The nations and the populations that can pronounce the word emperor, and that habitually use it, will not be slow to accept the title of Empress."

¹ These instructions were " to find or if need be create " some " object " for the *ostensible* direction of the British mission's interest, so that its establishment in Cabul might be imposed on the Ameer in the character of a " temporary embassy " which " need not be publicly connected with the establishment of a permanent mission within his dominions."

² Lord Lytton arrived at Bombay April 7.

The Parliament that passed this bill, in spite of these ominous explanations by the Premier, and in spite of Mr. Gladstone's Ciceronian "Cave!" is more responsible than the Government for the fact that Lord Beaconsfield has been able, with scarcely audible grating of the machinery, to follow a policy and to adopt measures which are susceptible of dangerous interpretation, and appear to many persons to involve a serious breach of the constitution.

The significance of this seemingly innocuous Royal-Titles bill is well shown in Lord Salisbury's charge to Lord Lytton previous to his departure for India. Lord Lytton, a young, proud, and ambitious European diplomatist, without any practical experience of India's spirit and needs, was intrusted, according to his own account, with the inauguration of the new imperial policy in India.¹ In his interview with Lord Salisbury Lord Lytton had been

"strongly impressed by the importance of endeavoring to deal with them (the frontier relations) simultaneously, as indivisible parts of a single imperial question, mainly dependent for its solution on the foreign policy of her Majesty's Government. . . . The highest and most general interests of the empire were *no longer local*, but imperial, . . . having regard to possible contingencies in Central Asia. . . . The relations between the British Government and this neighboring Khanate, Beloochistan, must henceforth be regulated with a view to more important objects than the temporary prevention of plunder upon the British border."

To carry out these instructions in India, Lord Lytton had by his side in the vice-regal council a man who lent him unflinching and uncompromising aid—Sir Henry Creswicke Rawlinson. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that Lord Northbrook's earnest cautions to Lord Lytton against placing a permanent mission in Beloochistan,² against the occupation of Quetta, and against urging a mission to Cabul, were wholly disregarded.

¹ Both in 1877 and '78, has Lord Salisbury denied any change of policy towards Afghanistan. We can see only one admissible explanation of his frequent and unqualified misstatements, *i.e.* that he considers that the Parliament has, by passing the Royal-Titles bill, relinquished its rights to require governmental accountability. The showy business of Imperialism is undoubtedly the cause of much of the tortuous policy and equivocal statement now in vogue with the Beaconsfield ministry.

² Lord Cranbrook (Secretary of State for India) stated in Parliament last December that "the policy of Lord Lytton had been in strict accordance with the instructions given him," *i.e.* "to carry out a just, right and true policy for the interests of Afghanistan, the interests of England, the interests of the empire." Lord Cranbrook's predecessor, Lord Salisbury, in his dispatch authorizing the temporary occupation of Quetta, warned the Viceroy against any "steps" which might be construed as a menace to the independence of Khelat. Yet in a dispatch dated March 23, 1877, Lord Lytton

Sir Henry's account of Lord Lytton's measures for securing in Afghanistan "a strong, friendly and independent power" is the boldest specimen of equivocation that has appeared even under the Beaconsfield administration. It begins, however, with an admission equalled in its importance and quality only by that of the opening lines of the "Afghan Crisis."¹

"The *last* effort at reconciliation," says Sir Henry, "was made by Lord Lytton in 1876, in accordance with the general scheme of Central Asian policy, with the execution of which he was entrusted by her Majesty's Government on his appointment to the Viceroyalty of India."

Previous to this last reconciliatory effort² we find in Sir Henry's paper only one other attempt mentioned, and that is the

"innocent, nay most considerate Seistan arbitration, where General Goldsmid was associated with Noor Mahomed Shah"! and which—we have Sir Henry's word for it—"displeased the Ameer"! It is tragi-comical to designate the urgency for the admission of British residents—the thing most feared and most repulsive to the Ameer—as an "effort at reconciliation"!

But we have previously called attention to Sir Henry's peculiar vocabulary.

The occupation of Quetta, November, 1876, one of the measures taken by Lord Lytton to arrive at "close relations" with Afghanistan, is treated by Sir Henry, not in its just relations with the order of events, but after his account of the Peshawur Conference of 1877, and as merely incidental. As to this Quetta measure :

"I had always recognized the military advantages of occupying Quetta," says Sir Henry, "but *hesitated* to recommend the measure in my memorandum of

says to Lord Salisbury that previous to the signing of the treaty of Khelat in regard to the British occupation thereof, the "troops had ceased to perform the part of a mere military escort to the envoy, . . . and had with the best possible effect been located in various parts of the country," wherefore Lord Lytton proposed to Lord Salisbury that England assume responsibility for Beloochistan. Was this sovereign act of turning Beloochistan into a kind of feudatory without even official recognition of the act from the India office, and asking sanction for *faits accompli*, in "strict accordance with the instructions given" to Lord Lytton?

¹ "The announcement of the imminency of another Afghan war has taken the British public by surprise, but to those who have been behind the scenes . . . it has been evident for some years past that such an issue was almost inevitable." See opening of "Afghan Crisis."

² *i.e.* Lord Lytton's proposal to send a special envoy to Cabul, the only chance England offered the Ameer for peacefully becoming a great feudatory!—for the Peshawur Conference was the result not of England's but of the Ameer's efforts to make friendly terms without sinking the independence of Afghanistan.

1868, for *fear of alarming* the Ameer. . . . After his rejection, however, of the Viceroy's *overtures* in May, 1876, it seemed that any further deference to his susceptibilities would be misplaced. I can only suppose that it was the Ameer's consciousness of his own disloyalty to us which made him regard the movement as a menace."

The fear of alarming the Ameer in 1868 seems to indicate to us the source of Sir Henry's matured supposition in 1876 of the Ameer's consciousness of disloyalty.

The Ameer was not asked if he would have this mission, but was told that it would be sent—an "*overture*" which the Ameer, after four days' discussion in council, "*rejected*" in the form of desiring to know "the things concealed in the generous heart of the English Government!" As a further example of the nature of Lord Lytton's "*overtures*" as regards the admission of British officers to Afghanistan, we find that in October, 1876, Lord Lytton said to Shere Ali's Vakil that non-compliance might cause England to form an understanding with Russia "which might have the effect of wiping Afghanistan out of the map altogether"!

In the Conference at Peshawur Great Britain brought to bear the whole weight of its tremendous influence in order to subdue Shere Ali. The wise and experienced Sir Richard Pollock had been removed from the chief commissionership of Peshawur, and replaced by Sir Lewis Pelly, of Baroda celebrity, a man after Sir Henry's own heart. We have seen no account of the Peshawur Conference so graphic and so scathingly just as that which has recently appeared in Mr. Gladstone's paper on the "Friends and Foes of Russia."

"In this singular negotiation," says Mr. Gladstone, "the ruler of a thin and poor mountain population in vain struggles, through his minister, to cope with the agent of an empire of three hundred millions. Before this agent he cowers and crouches like a spaniel ready bound and awaiting the knife of the vivisector. But the Viceroy . . . put an end to the whole business, because the Ameer had not shown 'an eagerness' to concede the terms which he conceived to be pregnant with the ruin of his house and country."

Sir Henry, who is so famous for his geographical and historical knowledge of Central Asia, and whose writings are chiefly concerned with the history and relative value of Persia and the countries between the Sir Daria and the Suleiman range, is the last man who should make the unblushing defence of England's tampering with the tribes north of Cabul River, that it was "expedient," and that "the Ameer never had possessed any claims to the allegiance of

these chiefs." It can be explained only on the supposition that Sir Henry has entirely forgotten the contents of the sixth chapter of his own "England and Russia in the East;" only on the ground of his having forgotten the agreement of 1869 between Mozaffer-Edin, Emir of Bokhara, and Shere Ali, fixing on the Amoo-Daria as the definite frontier between their dominions; and of his having forgotten or never having seen the contents of the official correspondence as to Badakshan and Vakhán, and as to Russia's acceptance of the Amoo-Daria as the northern boundary of Shere Ali's dominions. The embargo on the exportation of arms to Cabul (at the same time that the Cashmere tribes, the immemorial foes of Afghanistan, were armed gratis and directed to take possession of the Chitral Valley passes leading to Cabul) and the bitter tone of the Indian press towards the Ameer ought not, Sir Henry thinks, to have disturbed him "unless he had been predisposed to take offence." These causes are not even mentioned by Sir Henry in his enumeration of England's "innocent, nay, most considerate, acts" towards Afghanistan during 1877.

Sir Henry indulges in much and elaborate conjecture as to Russia's plans and intentions, which he gathers largely from the Russian press utterances during the critical period of Russia's and England's relations in the late Russo-Turkish war, when it was only natural that Russia should put the best construction upon her resources and means for striking England, and especially through India. But as Sir Henry admits that the "main scheme" of a Russo-Indian expedition collapsed because on examination "it is probable that the great expedition was found to be altogether beyond Russia's resources," that the force to move upon the Oxus was "totally inadequate for any serious aggressive purpose," we, like Sir Henry in his indictment of Lord Lawrence, will "waive the further discussion, . . . as involving much argument and leading to no practical result."

Sir Henry admits that when the Berlin treaty was signed the Russian troops "were at once recalled to Tashkend;" but his charge that General Stoletoff's "proceeding on his mission" was the "proximate cause of our present intervention" calls for consideration.

The native Indian contingent was officially ordered April 17, 1878, to proceed to Malta, and almost simultaneously with its departure from Bombay the Russian ukase for General Kaufman of Tashkend to organize General Stoletoff's Cabul mission left

St. Petersburg. General Stoletoff started in the latter part of May on his six hundred miles journey. For lack of escort he was forced to wait on the frontier for a whole month, and arrived in Cabul July 22d. The text of the Berlin treaty was published on the day of its signature, the 13th of July. Yet Sir Henry states that Stoletoff, "however, proceeded on his mission, being thus the proximate cause of our intervention;" as if the mission could have been reached on its way through Afghan territory, or turned back before its arrival in Cabul!

"It is not the triumph of one party over another, of one set of politicians over another, which is now wanted. It is simply the ultimate ascendancy of truth over trickery, honesty over fraud, morality in politics over immorality, right over wrong, that every Englishman should desire."¹

A brief article like the present may serve to unveil the essential character of such an argument as that of the "Afghan Crisis." Thoroughly to unravel its clever mesh of misstatements, evasions, and omissions, to display its adroit plausibility in explaining away the most important documents, and skilful confusion of unavoidable admissions, throwing a glamour of lucidity over the most entangled and sinuous representations, requires the fullest and most detailed examination. It is a task which may profitably employ the energies of the vigorous leaders of the Liberal party.

¹ See *Fortnightly Review* for January.

TAXATION OF CITY BONDS.

THE last message of the Governor of New York calls upon the municipalities throughout the State to reduce their expenditure. A commission appointed to "devise a plan for the government of cities in the State of New York" advised lately, in their report, that cities be prohibited from borrowing money except for certain specified purposes, and advocated, whether wisely or not, general restrictions upon municipal debts by constitutional amendment. But even if these recommendations should be adopted, and a reduction of expenditure effected, there would still remain the tax upon city bonds, presenting a serious drawback to the process of funding them at a lower rate of interest, and thus lightening the burdens of the people. To diminish the tax-rate is to enlarge the comforts of all citizens, but chiefly of the poorer classes. The question, briefly stated, is: What would be the effect upon all classes, capitalists and laborers alike, in our largely indebted cities, of laws enabling such cities, either in the creation of new debts or in funding old debts at a lower rate of interest, to issue bonds which should be exempted from taxation of every description?

The debts of the several cities in the State of New York, according to the above-mentioned report, amount to about 170,000,000 dollars, upon which the interest is more than 11,000,000 dollars a year, or about $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Such a rate is, at present, 2 or $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent higher than it ought to be. The bonds of cities like New York are as good security as government bonds, perhaps even better, because unaffected by the uncertainties to which the latter are sometimes subjected by Congressional action, and there can be no doubt that the reason city bonds generally bear a rate of interest so much higher than the government 4 per cents is that they are subject to a tax, from which the latter are exempted.¹

The city of Boston recently attempted to obtain a 4 per cent loan of one million dollars by popular subscription. Now a 4 per cent

¹ This exemption in behalf of federal bonds is fortified by the Constitution of the United States as interpreted by the U. S. Supreme Court. It is not practicable, even if desirable, to withdraw it. But why should the holder of federal bonds enjoy an exemption which is denied to the small holders of municipal bonds?

city loan would readily have been taken up in the city itself where the bonds were so well known to be, in every respect, equal in value to the government 4 per cents, but it failed completely as a popular loan, simply because the people found that by writing their names for the subscription they became liable to a tax. Subscription after subscription is marked as canceled upon the city books, having been made under the impression that the bonds were exempt from tax. The loan was finally taken up by banks which disposed of the bonds in such a manner that the tax can not reach them. It is said that the city treasury of Boston does not allow assessors to look at the record of registered bonds, and it is openly acknowledged that if the assessors could get at these books and ascertain the bonds held in Boston which are honestly liable to taxation by Boston, the rate of interest would, on a new loan, go up at least one and one half per cent. As in the case just quoted, the moment there appears a possibility that the law will be executed, the city can not place the smallest loan at low rates, or at a rate less than $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. This means increased taxation for many thousands of people, and is only one instance of the effects of such a tax-law.

Could a tax be levied on government bonds, the interest would naturally rise in proportion to the rate of the tax. In other words, if the lending of money to the government were taxed, the payment of the tax would eventually fall upon the government itself. If we take, for example, the rate of taxation in a city to be 3 per cent, the government 4 per cents, compared with city bonds, are in effect a 7 per cent investment, and citizens holding 7 per cent bonds of their own city would receive only 4 per cent. It is a discriminating tax against citizens, and the cities therefore lose the investors who would give the highest prices for their bonds, and who would accept the lowest rates of interest. The high interest-bearing bonds are in consequence held by non-residents and foreigners, and the cities are compelled in reality to pay the tax themselves, and thus impose an additional burden upon taxpayers.

In forming an opinion upon the probable effect of exempting city bonds from taxation, it must be borne in mind that, under our constitutional system of States, it is practically impossible for any city or State to bring all its bonds, or the holders of all its bonds, under taxation. The Supreme Court of the United States decided, during its last term, that no city in the Union can, when it borrows money which it promises to repay with a fixed annual or semi-annual interest, levy and collect a tax on the bonds, or the money loaned, by retaining or withholding the tax out of the interest when

it becomes due. Non-resident holders of city bonds can not, therefore, be reached in that manner. The laws of the State of New York declare generally that, with certain defined exceptions, all personal estate "*situated within this State*" shall be liable to taxation. As to city bonds, then, the critical question may be whether they have a taxing *situs* within the State. Such bonds are now assimilated to negotiable paper, and are regulated by the laws which govern the latter. The prevailing rule of law in the United States is, that chattels, which have a tangible existence, are only taxable in the State in which they actually are, unless in transit for sale, and then are to be taxed, like unnegotiable debts, in the State where the owner may be. But bonds of cities, transferable by delivery, and indeed all negotiable instruments, are to be taxed where they are found. The Supreme Court at Washington has decided that debts owed by cities are not in every sense the property of the cities, but are obligations of the cities. In the hands of the holder city bonds have value, and in the hands of the holder may be taxed; but the bonds have no *situs* separate from that of the holder. And therefore it happens that all bonds issued by the city of New York, if owned and held out of the State, can escape New York taxation.

Take the city of New York as an illustration. The city debt is \$113,418,403.49, after deducting the sinking fund, which amounts to \$32,142,787.83; and the appropriation for the interest upon it for 1879 is \$8,790,153.84. All the bonds are subject to a personal tax, provided they are so held that the tax can be collected. The rate of tax in New York for 1878 is \$2.55. The annual interest upon the funded debt is at the rate of 6 and 7 per cent, except upon \$6,900,000, which have recently been negotiated in 5 per cent bonds. The citizen of New York does not want a registered bond, because such a bond is in itself evidence of the holder's liability to the tax, although registered bonds are, of course, the most desirable investment, and if untaxed would be taken by him at extremely low rates of interest. He might invest in a 7 per cent bond, and, if willing to pay the tax of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, receive only $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent from his investment; but if he takes a 6 per cent or 5 per cent coupon bond, and either can not or will not avoid the tax, he would receive but $3\frac{1}{2}$ or $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Naturally, under these circumstances, almost all the city's bonds, registered and unregistered, 5, 6, and 7 per cents, are held by persons not within the jurisdiction of the city. The city therefore fails utterly in this endeavor to levy upon its credit an annual tax amounting to nearly one half of the annual

interest upon its obligations. If it could be supposed that the whole principal of the debt contributed its share by the payment of the tax, a large revenue, in some sort justifying the policy of taxing the bonds, might then be expected ; but the fact is, that out of this debt of over \$113,000,000 about \$45,000,000 of bonds held by savings banks and life insurance companies are untaxed, and the remaining \$68,000,000 are nearly all so distributed as not to fall within the taxing power of the city. It is making a large estimate to put the amount reached by the Tax Commissioners at one million dollars. From the whole debt of \$113,000,000 all that can be collected by the $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent tax is about \$25,000. It is, therefore, a correct assumption that the repeal of the tax would permit funding at 2 per cent less than the present rate, and, in that case, there would be a saving of more than \$2,000,000 a year in interest on the bonded debt. The difference, therefore, between \$2,000,000 and \$25,000 represents the amount of loss which the tax upon bonds brings upon the taxpayers of the city annually ; that difference is an amount which has to be made up out of the earnings of its people.

The indebtedness of a city, like that of a government, would best be shared and subdivided as much as possible among its own citizens. No doubt investments in city bonds, by small holders, are just as likely to be made as small investments in government securities, and experience shows, by the enormous amounts which are daily being taken, the extent to which these last can be distributed among all classes of the people. Were the city bonds exempted from taxation, a new and conservative class of investors would at once present themselves, who, as owners of the bonds of the city in which they are taxpayers, would have additional reasons for regarding the general welfare of their city as a matter of personal interest. It is especially in large cities, where there is a restless element ready and anxious to profit by any unwise public expenditure, that it is most impolitic to discourage citizens from investing in the municipal securities. Indeed it can hardly be questioned that municipal extravagance and bad government need be less feared whenever cities open their subscription books with the view of enlisting their own citizens as investors ; and this they never can do so long as they levy a tax upon their bonds.

It has been said, in regard to the exemption accorded to government bonds, that the holders can escape State and municipal taxation ; although, as we have seen, the loss in taxes is discounted in the low rate of interest which the bonds pay. A similar objection would not hold against untaxed city bonds. The government

bonds are everywhere exempt, and they can be and are easily purchased in large amounts for temporary investment, which enables the holder to avoid his due share of taxation. Municipal bonds could, on the contrary, be exempted only in the cities where they are now taxed, and they are, besides, generally held for permanent investment, and have not the marketable character of government securities.

It seems superfluous to continue to emphasize so self-evident a proposition as that it is both unprofitable and impolitic to tax municipal bonds, since, even though the present tax-law in regard to these bonds is but imperfectly executed, its very existence does unquestionably some degree of injury to the credit of our municipal corporations. At the same time, it almost defies explanation that the damaging effects of the tax should nevertheless be ignored, and that the tax itself, which has not even the merit of producing a revenue, should still be tolerated. Some other taxes have been considered unjust and injurious, although they do bring larger revenues to the public treasuries, and much well-merited criticism has been expended upon taxing certain forms of personal property, such as mortgages and other evidences of indebtedness. Discussions of that sort involve the reconstruction of a whole system of taxation.

This tax is harmful in all its tendencies, indefensible on any ground whatever, and the exemption demanded for city bonds presents a simple proposition, distinct and apart from the consideration of other taxes. This demand can not honestly be resisted on the pretence that it is made for the benefit of a class, or of individuals, or of a particular locality, or of corporations other than municipal; but, on the contrary, it would be granted in the interest of the whole population of every community upon which this tax is now inflicted. In a word, this species of tax admits of prompt legislative action, and as soon as this could be obtained the bonds of great cities would appreciate in value, and the funding of municipal debts at lower rates would easily be accomplished in every city in the State. A lower rate of interest on a city's debt is for the taxpayer equivalent to the lifting of a portion of his burdens. For the rich man this may be a trivial matter; but for the masses it is of very great importance. The policy which neglects their interests is unworthy of any intelligent self-governing community. Not only in the State of New York, but in every part of the Union, are cities now taxing their own credit, and these few brief suggestions are therefore committed to the pages of this Review as applying to a subject of general interest.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

MAX MÜLLER'S ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF RELIGION.¹—These are new lectures delivered by Professor Max Müller last spring in the Chapter House of Westminster Abbey, upon a subject long dear to his heart, and already treated by him, as here, in connection with his study of language, and specially of the ancient Sanskrit literature. He does not discuss religion or religions as a theologian seeking to determine what is true or false in them, but as a man of science looking at a natural phenomenon, and asking how human beings, such as we are, came to have any religion ; what religion is ; and how it came to be what it is.

Religion in his view is the perception of the infinite, and its origin and growth are the psychological and historical development of this perception in the minds of men. How, in the first place, is there or can there be such a perception ? Dreams and imaginations of the Infinite there are beyond doubt, and they may be entitled to respect ; but can our senses apprehend what by supposition transcends all finite and sensible existence ?

His answer is, they can not help apprehending it. By the very same act by which we perceive finite things we perceive the infinite. "Man sees, he sees to a certain point ; and there his eyesight breaks down ; there presses upon him, whether he likes it or not, the perception of the unlimited or the infinite. . . . We know not what it is, but we know that it is, and we know it because we actually feel it and are brought into contact with it. If it seems too bold to say that man actually sees the invisible, let us say that he suffers from the invisible, and this invisible is only a special name for the infinite." If perception seems too strong a word, a presentiment, a dim feeling of an omnipresent background not merely accompanies but makes part of sensuous experience from the outset and before the formation of definite concepts.

In assuming a sense of the infinite we are not postulating a separate religious instinct which should furnish us with a special class of ideas over and above those which we derive from our senses. Such a view finds

¹ "Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion, as illustrated by the Religions of India." By F. Max Müller, M.A. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons. 1879. pp. xvi. and 382.

no support in history, for it supposes primitive man dealing with modes and distinctions of thought which had not yet risen above his mental horizon. The history of religion does not show us a more and more comprehensive application of certain ready-made predicates summed up in the predicate "Divine" or "God," applied first to stocks and stones, then to heroes, then to invisible beings, and finally to one being; on the contrary, it is the record of man's *search* for predicates, for adequate expressions of the feeling that presses upon him that there is *something more* in every fact than immediately appears. To attribute to our progenitors of the foreworld a theory of souls inhabiting bodies and constituting a spiritual or divine world alongside that of material things, involves a mental anachronism. No doubt the old poets who first formulated the rude and vague thinking of mankind were looking for something in all phenomena which they afterward called divine. But at first they had to be satisfied with predicating of the various objects of their invocations the highest they could predicate. After having done that, nay, while doing it, some of the predicates which were applicable to all or most of the objects of their praise would assume an independent character, and thus supply the first names and conceptions of what we call divine. If the mountains, the rivers, the sky, and the sun were all called living and doing, immortal, or bright, then each of these predicates would, after a time, become the name of a class of beings, expressing not only their vital vigor, their freedom from decay, or their brilliancy, but every thing else that was connoted by these words. It is the growth of this connotation, at first dimly felt, and by degrees realized, that makes the subject of inquiry. The difficulty of it is to do justice to the old language and its real vagueness by our translation into sharply defined modern terms.

What a primitive man calls *real* is what can be perceived with the five senses, especially with the touch, scent, or taste, for sight and hearing admit of doubt and have frequently to be verified by the others. Touch seems to offer the most irrefragable evidence of reality. It is the lowest, the least specialized and developed sense, and, from an evolutionary point of view, it has been classed as the oldest sense. This is confirmed by language; *manifest* is that which can be touched or struck with the hands. Now some objects, such as stones, bones, shells, etc., can be grasped or touched all round. There is nothing in them unknown or unknowable. Others, such as trees, mountains, rivers, the earth, are semi-tangible; the senses lay hold of them on one side, but on the other they escape; we feel that there is something *more* in them, and this something more, unknown yet undeniably real, not reasoned out or in any way comprehended but only vaguely felt, is the constant source of wonderment. Other things again are altogether intangible, they can be seen or heard, but not touched. These were still more the objects of wonder and reverence.

Those philosophers who hold Fetishism to be the beginning of all religion suppose that things belonging to the first of these classes, the completely tangible, were the earliest objects of religious worship. But this, Professor Max Müller contends, is confusing two mental phenomena which are entirely distinct and even opposed to each other; the presentiment of something more, ever present in what is perceived—and the pathological phenomenon that this transcendent character, when the intimation of it has once distinctly arisen in the mind, may, under certain circumstances, be attached to casual and tangible objects. Fetishism, or the association of reverential feeling with charms, amulets, relics, etc., is no doubt a constant attendant upon the religious sentiment; but as an accidental perversion, a parasitical growth, which does not explain religion but needs religion for its explanation. Fetishes have existed everywhere and in all ages, from the Palladium at Troy to the wonder-working images of Roman Catholic countries, and they may perhaps be discovered even in our own churches and houses; the soldier's respect or enthusiasm for his flag is a sort of fetishism. But to consider religion as the mere development of stock-and-stone worship is like deducing patriotism or soldierly honor from regard felt for a particular piece of bunting. It is taking an incidental effect for the cause.

This view is confirmed by the testimony of history and of language. The old hymns of the Veda, the most ancient relics of human poetry in the Aryan world, are addressed, not to stocks and stones, but to rivers, to mountains, to clouds, to the earth, to the sky, to the dawn, to the sun—that is to say, not to tangible objects, or so-called fetishes, but semi-tangible or intangible objects. The earliest roots of speech are not names of things, but of actions, or rather of pervading energies or splendors which are not distinctly assigned to separate beings, but indiscriminately predicated of every thing in which the impression makes itself felt. The river is not a thing that runs, but the runner, the noisy, the mother, the defender—not the plow, but the plower. The plow itself is conceived as agent, not as instrument; it is the divider, the tearer, the wolf, the boar, and often shares the same names with these animals. And the growth of language was not in the direction of animating or personifying inanimate things, but of dispersonifying, distinguishing the tool from the hand, the hand from the man, the river from the defender, the moon from the measurer. Likeness was expressed by negation. Instead of saying, “firm as a rock,” they said “firm, not a rock:” the river comes “roaring, not a bull;” *i.e.*, like a bull. The effort was to discriminate these vague universal attributes and to assign them to definite subjects.

So in religion the earliest hymns are addressed to intangible or semi-tangible objects whose transcendent qualities are celebrated indiscriminately. All were *devatās*, “bright ones,” deities we should say, but the

idea of deity as such had not yet been formed. Devatâ is a technical term, and means no more than the object addressed by the poet. A victim that has to be offered, a sacrificial vessel, a chariot, a battle-axe, all are devatâs. If we could place ourselves face to face with the poets of the Veda, even with those who called the rivers mothers, and the sky father, and who implored them to listen and to free them from guilt, what would they say if we asked them whether the rivers, the mountains, and the sky were their *gods*? "I believe they would not even understand what we meant. It is as if we should ask children whether they consider men, horses, flies, and fishes as animals, or oaks and violets as vegetables. They would certainly answer, No; because they have not yet arrived at the higher concept which, at a later time, enables them to comprehend by one grasp objects so different in appearance. The concept *gods* was no doubt silently growing up, while men were assuming a more and more definite attitude toward these semi-tangible and intangible objects." The search after the intangible, the secret of the more striking natural phenomena, had begun as soon as one or two more of our perceptive tentacles were disappointed in their search after a corresponding object. In proportion as the source of activity escaped the senses, it was referred to an ever-present background or complement of all-pervading energy. "A world was thus built up, consisting of objects perceptible by two senses, or by one sense only, till at last we approach a world of objects perceptible by none of our senses, and yet acknowledged as real, nay, as conferring benefits on mankind in the same manner as trees, rivers, and mountains."

Fire, with its terrible insatiable activity, its mysterious appearance and disappearance, thunder, the storm-winds, the all-embracing sky; and by the side of these, Aditi, the boundless, the infinite, and *Rita*, order, right—originally perhaps names of the dawn and of the path of the sun and the heavenly bodies, suggesting the ideas of infinitude and of law, but at first only intuitive, impulsive, not definite concepts.

Accordingly the earliest form of religion among the Vedic Indians was neither monotheism nor polytheism, but only *henotheism* (*ἑνός* one, as opposed to *μῶνος* one only), that is, a belief and worship of those single objects, whether semi-tangible or intangible, in which man first suspected the presence of the invisible and the infinite. They were not conceived as limited by the power of others, as superior or inferior in rank, but each is felt at the time as a real divinity, as supreme and absolute. "It is, if I may say so, anarchy, as preceding monarchy, a communal as distinct from an imperial form of religion." Polytheism, a hierarchy of gods subordinated to one supreme God, and monotheism, or the absorption of all in one all-embracing deity, appear in the Vedic worship as tendencies never very distinctly realized. But the Indian mind soon went further, and was

driven to a denial of all the devas or gods, and to a search for something higher. The highest invisible gods, Indra, the giver of rain, Rudra, the thunderer, were those whose existence was first called in question, and this in virtue of the very principle that had given them supremacy. Indra, for the reason that there was nothing in nature to which he clung, nothing visible that could arrest his growth in the mind of the worshiper, developed more than other gods into a personal, dramatic, and mythological being, and seemed even to the ancient poets to have ousted Dyaus, the Indian Zeus, from his supremacy. But the same process of criticism and detachment was fatal to him also ; the ancient Aryans felt from the beginning the presence of a Beyond, an Infinite, a Divine, and they tried to grasp and comprehend it by giving to it name after name. " They thought they had found it in the mountains and rivers, in the dawn, in the sun, in the sky, in the heaven, and the Heaven Father. But after every name there came the No ! "

Such a denial, however, of what was once believed, but could be honestly believed no longer, so far from being the destruction, is in reality the vital principle of all religion. . . . They forsook the bright Devas, not because they believed or desired less, but because they believed and desired more than the bright Devas. The poets had rested for a time in the One God, still masculine, active, mythological ; a divine *Ego*, not yet a divine *Self*. Suddenly, however, we light on passages of a different character. All that is dramatic and mythological, every form and every name, is surrendered, and there remains only " the One," or that which exists, as a neuter, as a last attempt to grasp the infinite.

In the Upanishads, or " Sessions," in which the religious philosophy of the Vedic age is gathered up, the " One " is interpreted as the " Self." Their keynote is " Know thyself"—but with a deeper meaning than that of the Delphic oracle. In the Upanishads it means, know thy true self, that which underlies thine Ego, and find it and know it in the highest, the eternal Self, where alone the individual Self can find deliverance and rest.

Such, in meagre outline, and we fear obscured by the effort to compress further what is already compact, is the argument of these lectures. Readers of other works of Professor Max Müller need not be told that in his statement it is enforced with great literary skill, and with a wealth of illustration that comes of thorough acquaintance with the subject. The importance of it is obvious. His views concerning Fetishism, and the *perception* of the infinite, go to the bottom of the matter. They will meet with plenty of opposition, and they may need further exposition before full justice can be done them. Meanwhile they may serve as a useful corrective to the rough-and-ready philosophizing which under the cover of Science is apt to introduce itself into these discussions.

In the American edition we notice a few misprints, one in Wordsworth's line,

" Moving about in *words* not realized,'

which might suggest a still greater fitness for a philologist's purpose than really exists. And the index needs correction in the page numbers.

HYGIENE.¹—Appleton & Co. have begun the publication of a series of "Health Primers" of which the first four are already for sale. They deserve high commendation, as concise and generally accurate and trustworthy summaries of the fundamental facts connected with personal and public hygiene, and of certain rules of daily life which are the direct outcome of these facts.

The first, "Exercise and Training," deserves to be widely read. There are few subjects about which more erroneous ideas are prevalent. This is shown not only by the fatal errors committed in college training, the deleterious effects of which are often felt for a lifetime, but by the insane habits of life of a large proportion of our population, who either take no exercise, or try to condense the exercise of the twenty-four hours into an isolated five minutes of intense muscular effort by struggling with one of those inventions of the devil called "Health-lifts." Exercise should be taken by the hour, and not by the job. It should be taken in the open air. What is wanted for health is oxygen. Violent muscular exertion in a close room is of no value. A man may develop his muscles and ruin his health. This is the truth, but it is the reverse of the popular idea on the subject, and it is a high compliment to the value of this little manual to say that it espouses this view of the case. Overwork, fatigue, and rest are also ably treated, and appropriate emphasis is laid on the necessity of rest intervening between exercise and food, both before and after eating. The symptoms of fatigue are also noticed, and this matter is worthy of serious attention. It is unfortunately true that the majority of people do not know when they are tired. How many non-medical men, for example, are aware that a feeling of weariness may be the direct result of a need of out-door exercise, whereas restlessness may be a symptom of fatigue? Or how many women know that a woman can, by what is called a nervous effort, keep at work long after she is exhausted? She will inevitably pay for it by a subsequent collapse, which may last for hours or months, according to the original effort, but this is attributed generally to an accidental indisposition, while its real cause is not recognized.

The second of the series, on "Alcohol: Its Use and Abuse," is equally worthy of attention. Written from a perfectly impartial standpoint as

¹ "Health Primers." New York: Appleton & Co. 1879

regards the question of teetotalism, and without going on to the debatable ground of unsolved physiological questions, it gives a very just and concise *résumé* of the established facts and of the conclusions which may be legitimately drawn from them. One important idea that is treated at considerable length is the "serious injury that may be done by drinking which hardly ever approaches intoxication." This point is all the more important as it covers the drinking habits of a large majority of the community. "It is a melancholy fact that a very large number of those who are permanently injured by drinking are of those who rarely or never drink beyond the stage of slight excitement, or even halt before that point. For one man who is injured by being drunk often, there are twenty or more who are seriously injured by drinking and never approaching the verge of intoxication." For a fuller exposition of this matter, and for a very common-sense statement of the practical value of alcohol as an aid to digestion, its legitimate use, its abuse, and the ways and times at which it can be best taken, we refer the reader to the work itself.

The third primer, "The House and Its Surroundings" contains a number of excellent suggestions in regard to the arrangement of drains and sinks, ventilation, and the ever-popular subject of wall-papers, as well as some uncommonly good sense and sound advice on the subject of disinfectants.

The fourth, "Premature Death," is a concise statement of the percentage of mortality from various sources, and the means of combating the causes of disease. We recommend it strongly to our legislative bodies, as it contains an excellent summary of some of the best modern English sanitary science and sanitary legislation as applied to communities.

RECENT ENGLISH BOOKS.

THE little volume upon Hume,¹ written by Professor Huxley for the series of "English Men of Letters," edited by Mr. John Morley, is one of the most striking among recent important books. Hume is a remarkable study, and in some respects he could not have a better interpreter than Professor Huxley. He looks at his subject in a very independent light, however, and says little of Hume's life and purely literary work. Hume takes a very high rank among English and European thinkers of the eighteenth

¹ "English Men of Letters—Hume." By Professor Huxley. Macmillan & Co.

century, but in this regard also his present biographer has not been what many persons would consider exhaustive in his estimate. Upon such a mind as Mr. Huxley's we can well understand that the philosophic side of Hume's character is the one which exercises the greatest charm ; and there probably has never been put within so brief a compass so excellent a digest of the philosophic teaching of this great man. The modern professor revels in his work, and of course takes the opportunity of saying a good deal upon his own account ; still he endeavors to do complete justice to his subject. But the world has not stood still since Hume's time, and if Professor Huxley has dealt with the scientific aspects of progress excellently, it will be felt that he might have said more upon the philosophical. The man of science dissects, the philosopher builds up ; the Professor's mind is of the former class ; and the two are rarely combined in an extraordinary degree. From the psychological aspect this little volume is admirable. Many readers, who have hitherto known nothing of psychology, and who make acquaintance with its principles for the first time in this biography, must feel charmed by the study. No better volume has yet appeared in the series to which it belongs.

RELIGION IN ENGLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.¹—The literary and political history of the eighteenth century has already met with worthy exponents in Mr. Leslie Stephen and Mr. Lecky. Dr. Stoughton's work upon religion is well deserving of study in connection with the histories of the writers just named. These volumes are a continuation of a work upon the earlier period in relation to religion. They have a claim upon us, however, beyond that of a mere record of ecclesiastical events and procedure : the author discusses the action of government, traces the influence of representative men, and the habits of society generally. It will thus be seen that Dr. Stoughton embraces a wide scope in his investigations, and the student of his work will find many side lights thrown upon the general history of the period of which he treats. He does not, however, lose sight of his principal object. "The religion of the eighteenth century," remarks the author, "had its roots in the seventeenth. The Puritans of the Commonwealth, and the Caroline divines were fathers to the Dissenters and Churchmen of Hanoverian times. But under George II. there came an outburst of religious zeal in this country which bore an original impress, and possessed a character not transmitted from a former age." Into the origin of this outburst, its extraordinary manifestations, and its singular development in conspicuous individual instances—as in the case of Wesley, Whitefield, etc.—Dr. Stoughton dives deeply, and he brings to bear upon his subject great

¹ "Religion in England under Queen Anne and the Georges." 1702-1800. By John Stoughton, D.D., author of "Ecclesiastical History of England," etc. Hodder & Stoughton.

fullness of illustration and information. The rise and progress of Methodism is one of the most remarkable facts in the history of religion ; and to this considerable space is devoted. Nor are other great bodies of religionists forgotten ; while there is a chapter chiefly concerned with the Episcopal Church in America. Dr. Stoughton's work should enjoy a wide popularity ; it is most interesting, and marked by considerable breadth of treatment.—Another history, treating of the same period, is published under the title of "The English Church in the Eighteenth Century,"¹ but differs widely from the preceding. Messrs. Abbey and Overton deal very fully with the English Church, but not so fully with other religious aspects of the century as Dr. Stoughton. On the other hand, they treat more elaborately of the philosophers and essayists of the period. Mr. Abbey and Mr. Overton are scholarly men, and write with very considerable literary ability. The former furnishes an apology for their joint work when he remarks of the intellectual and religious life of England in the eighteenth century that the tendency has been to "pass over the whole period as if it were a prosaic and uninteresting one. The events which then transpired were not of a kind to excite the imagination so much as those of the previous century. It was not a pictorial age, neither was it one of ardent feeling or energetic movement." Such periods, nevertheless, are frequently those in which thought is most deeply stirred ; and if the eighteenth century exhibited little grandeur in this respect, it had great activity. The period derives importance from the deistical and other theological controversies which distinguished the earlier half of the century, and the Wesleyan and Evangelical revival in the latter. Taking these two works together—Dr. Stoughton's and that by Messrs. Abbey and Overton—the student will gain a complete knowledge of the various religious and intellectual conflicts of the last century. In both there is scrupulous care in the collection and use of material, and a strenuous effort is also made to attain a strict impartiality.

ESSAYS ON ART.²—Mr. Comyns Carr has proved his claim to speak upon art by a series of criticisms extending over many years. He is indeed one of the most intelligent of our rising critics upon art matters. On looking through his volume some might perhaps complain that the papers have too ephemeral a character ; but it would be difficult to draw the line as to when criticisms are worthy of being reprinted and when they are not. For my part, I have thoroughly enjoyed this collection of essays. Mr. Carr has not only his own ideas upon art, but he has the power of expressing them with considerable literary grace. His analysis of William Blake,

¹ "The English Church in the Eighteenth Century." By Charles J. Abbey and John H. Overton. Longmans & Co.

² "Essays on Art." By J. Comyns Carr. Smith, Elder & Co.

the strange, half-mad poet and painter, is very keen and penetrating. Mr. Carr also writes well upon the distinguished French artists Corot and Millet, and our own Frederick Walker. We get too a very intelligent treatment of "The Artistic Spirit in Modern English Poetry"—a paper distinguished for its original views.

RECENT GERMAN BOOKS.

LIEUTENANT JOSEF LEHNERT, of the Austrian navy, in going "Around the Earth,"¹ foolishly takes more than two years for the journey, instead of the proverbial "eighty days," and actually draws many interesting outline sketches of his own, studying the people briefly for himself, instead of keeping his eyes fixed upon his guide-book and his dinner-table. Whoever reads these agreeably written pages, and studies carefully the two maps and one hundred and sixty-six original illustrations will enjoy many of the pleasures of the voyage in the corvette Grand Duke Friedrich, without the inconveniences of the journey. Not the least interesting part of the book for Americans relates the Austrian officer's experience in San Francisco and upon an excursion to the Sierra Nevada. Ladies will find their chief interest in the descriptions of varying costumes, from that of the tribes who would consider Cleopatra's necklace full dress, to that of the most carefully enveloped. We trust that none of them will adopt the modes favored by some of the Dutch ladies in Java as a dress for receiving calls, or as a street dress for young girls. The author describes a tiger and bull combat in Java and a Spanish bull fight; his opinion of the matadors and of the people who applauded them is very uncomplimentary. We should like to see a description of a fox-hunt in a similar tone. The full accounts of India, China, Japan, and the East Indian islands are made the more valuable by seventy pages of supplementary trade statistics.

THE many friends of Sunday in America will be glad to see Professor Hergenröther's views upon this point in his "The Hallowing of the Sabbath,"² wherein he discusses its religious, social, and hygienic importance. We think Sunday would be better observed on the continent if the Catholic Church would cut off a few of its other holy-days. Hergenröther quotes, apparently from a very old law, an American Sunday ordi-

¹ Lehnert, "Um die Erde. Reiseskizzen." 2 vols. Vienna: A. Hölder. 1878. (xvi. viii. 1128 pp. O.) 21.60 Marks, or \$5.40; bound, 25 Marks, or \$6.25.

² Hergenröther, "Die Sonntagsheiligung." Würzburg: Leo Woerl. 1878. (83 pp. O.) 1 Mark, or \$0.25.

nance, including a penalty of ten shillings for absence from church for three months without excuse. The author hardly uses this quotation fairly, since it is only by a scarcely noticeable past tense that any one could be led to suppose the law to be not now in force.

THE proposed canonization of "Christopher Columbus,"¹ leads Ludwig Denthoven, formerly a pastor in the United States of America, to draw up a brief biographical sketch of him based on the newest sources. He quotes Prescott's view of Columbus, and declares it the purpose of his essay to justify that view. The account closes with the relation of the discovery of Columbus's coffin on July 5, 1877, and with an appeal to historical scholars to redouble their studies and researches in regard to the great sailor's life.

THE honorable and learned gentlemen who rule now in a large part of the hemisphere found by Columbus, trouble themselves but little about questions of law and budget, or indeed about any theoretical points of legislation. Were the case otherwise, we should recommend to them the perusal of Rudolf Gneist's "Law and Budget."² Far be it from us to suggest that Dr. Gneist has here presented any thing new, but he has given a useful compendium of his subject as seen from the Belgian, English, French, and German standpoint, while the chief weight is thrown upon the proceedings in the Prussian ministerial crisis of March, 1878. Among the appendices is one which displays Gneist's opinion of Prussian reporters. Unfortunately the nature of the case prevented his quoting the men who, a few days after the appearance of the book before us, held him up before the public as an opponent in the legislative hall of the very principles contained in this book.

IF there be an antipode for vague speculation about causality, it may be found in the coarse reality of present social relations particularly as regards the lower classes. As is well known, Europe considers America as a laboratory, a room for social experiments, and holds her experience up according to will, as an example or as a warning. Arthur von Studnitz at the motion of the "Central Union for the Welfare of the Working Classes," and at the expense of the Prussian Minister of Trade, undertook a journey to America to procure definite information about the workmen there. The results of his journey are chronicled in "The Circumstances of Workingmen in North America."³ We can, as usual, in our brief

¹ Denthoven, "Christoph Colomb." Würzburg: Leo Woerl. 1878. (119 pp. O.) 1.50 Marks, or \$0.38.

² Gneist, "Gesetz und Budget." Berlin: J. Springer. 1879. (viii. 231 pp. O.) Bound, 4.60 Marks, or \$1.15.

³ Von Studnitz, "Nordamerikanische Arbeiterverhältnisse." Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot. 1879. (xxvi. 426, and 119 pp. O.) 14 Marks, or \$3.50.

space, but hint at the value of this book ; it should be translated, provided with an occasional note for further information, and put into every popular library in America. No question as to homes, food, clothing, fuel, light, wages, general expenses, the work of women and children, apprentices, societies, and strikes seems to have escaped the active observer, and he secured by official circulars replies from public officers, from capitalists, and from laborers. Philadelphia seems especially to have pleased him in its advantages for workingmen.

FRIEDRICH KENNER has not yet learned how to write a good novel, and perhaps it would be too much to ask of him at only the second attempt, but he has made an interesting book with less of the senseless, would-be, philosophizing than his novel "Friend" contained. One of the chief charms of his new effort is found in the scene chosen, namely, the far-famed Schulpforte, and his book is well entitled "Pforte Boys."¹ No tourist who has sped through Thuringia by rail and glanced alternately at the guide-book and at the old Cistercian monastery behind the tall poplars, and no German who remembers the school in connection with many honored names of his country's history, will be indifferent to any tolerable book which tells what the boys do in the old monastic halls. Kenner's story is well printed, and the cover is so peculiarly tasteful that one is vexed not to find it repeated on the title-page so that it may be preserved.

THIS new work² by Dr. Emil Kuhn, author of the "Verfassung des Römischen Reichs," is of the first importance and value in the history of Greek and Roman institutions.

That the "city" was the political unit of the ancients, is a familiar and fundamental fact ; neither does it need to be repeated that the decay of free institutions in both Greece and Rome was mainly due to the persistence of the city type—through lack of centralization in Greece, and through centralization without a representative principle in Rome. What is generally missed is a clear and accurate notion of what the ancients meant by *city*. Perhaps the "Ancient City" of M. Fustel de Coulanges has done something to correct the prevailing erroneous conception on this point, for his is almost the only book in English which gives a definition of the term at once precise and graphic.

The "city" of the ancients differed essentially from the oriental type of city on the one hand, and the modern type on the other. The oriental city is a mere aggregation of houses for the purposes of residence and

¹ Kenner, "Pfortner Jugend." Leipzig: J. A. Barth. 1879. (viii., 304 pp. D.) 4 Marks, or \$1.

² Kuhn, "Ueber die Entstehung der Städte der Alten. Komenverfassung und Synoikismos." Leipzig: Druck und Verlag von B. G. Teubner. 1878. (454 pp. O.)

trade ; it has no political character. The modern European and American city is a political organization, like that of the Greeks and Italians, but differs from this in being set apart from the territory about it by a different and independent corporate existence. Now the cities of Greece and Italy covered—with unimportant exceptions—the entire territory of Greece and Italy ; the cities were wholly conterminous, and included as well all the inhabitants as all the country. There was a distinction between *urbs* and *rus*, “town” and “country,” but it was social rather than political, and both *rus* and *urbs* were comprised within the *civitas* (*res publica*) or *πόλις*. The peasant, therefore, who tilled his few acres upon the slopes of Pentelicon, or the old-fashioned country gentleman who clung to the household of his fathers in Decelea or Eleusis, was as truly a citizen of Athens as the Eupatrid who lived within the walls, or the ragamuffin who received three obols a day for attending the meetings of the assembly upon the Pnyx. As Dr. Kuhn expresses it (p. 7), town and country were united in a single organism.

So far there is nothing new, although the facts here presented are seldom fully grasped. Neither is there any thing absolutely new in the less familiar fact, of which this volume is in great part a development, that the *city*, as here defined, was not the primitive political system of either the Greeks or the Italians. These nations began, as did the Germans, with the “district,” *Gau* : in the practice of *Synœikismos*, or concentration of the scattered residences into a central fortified city, consists the divergence of the Greco-Italian political system from that of the Teutonic nations. This is therefore the starting-point in the special political development of the Greeks and Romans.

The complete analysis and description of this process is the merit of Dr. Kuhn's new book. It consists of two parts : *Die Griechische Kōnenverfassung* and *Die Entstehung der Städte*. In the first the author traverses the different provinces, both of northern Greece and the Peloponnesus, and shows the nature of this village organization, and the universality of its existence in early times in Greece. “The original mode of life,” he says (p. 197), “as well of the Greeks as of the other nations of antiquity, was that they dwelt in scattered towns [*Ortschaft*]. At bottom the towns of any people stood on the same level with one another. And even in case one of them had a precedence over the others, this does not hinder each from being organized by itself as an independent community.” This was the primitive order of things. The first step to *Synœikismos* (p. 158) appears to have been the establishment of a common worship ; then came political union, in which the several towns, with all their territory, were converted into a single city. To this the name *πόλις* was now properly confined, although before this time it was used loosely for towns of every grade ; the several towns, having become integral parts of the

city, were now known as villages, *κωμη* or *δῆμος*, in Latin, *vicus*. These villages were not without a share of self-government, but it was merely in local concerns, while all essential rights of sovereignty, including the possession of a *prytaneion*, or public hearth, a public council, and the right of administering justice, were surrendered to the capital city.

With regard to the Synoikismos, or formation of cities, the most striking point brought out by Dr. Kuhn is the relatively late date of its occurrence ; " it belonged," he says (p. 8), " to the strictly historical period, not only of classical antiquity in general, but also of every individual people in which we find its existence." Even in Athens, where it is ascribed to Theseus, it is an historical event in the true meaning of the word, even if associated with a mythical name ; but numerous cases are given of its being carried out in the full light of history ; *e.g.*, in Elis, where it took place after the Persian invasion. Two elaborate chapters, upon the condition of Attica before the Synoikismos, and upon the Synoikismos in this province, deserve the consideration of all students of Grecian constitutional history.

One of the most interesting points is the relation of these cities to early nationalities. " The cities of late antiquity," he says (p. 154), " correspond for the most part to the peoples of the earlier time." An illustration is given of the same process in the cities of Gaul : that " the Gallic people of the Allobroges were absorbed in the Roman colony Vienna, the German people of the Ubii in the Colonia Agrippinensis." And from the circumstance that the new capital embraced the entirety of the tribe, he explains the fact that in most Gallic nations it lost its original name and assumed that of the whole people (p. 445), *e.g.*, Paris, Treves, and Rheims, the cities of the Parisii, Treviri and Remi.

BOOKS RECEIVED

AMERICAN PUBLISHERS AND ENGLISH AUTHORS. By Stylus. Baltimore : Eugene L. Didier. 1879. Pamphlet swd. Price 30 cents.

MEMOIR OF GEORGE DAVID CUMMINS, D.D. By his Wife. New York : Dodd, Mead & Co. 1879.

TEMPERANCE AND CRIME. By Noah Davis, Chief-Justice Supreme Court of New York. New York : Natl. Temp. Soc. 1879.

THE REIGN OF GOD "NOT THE REIGN OF LAW." By Thomas Scott Bacon. Baltimore : Turnbull Bros. 1878.

- PRACTICAL THEOLOGY. By Professor J. J. Van Oosterzee, D.D. Translated by Maurice J. Evans. New York : Chas. Scribner's Sons. 1879.
- DECISIVE EVENTS IN HISTORY. By Thomas Archer. Cassell, Petter & Galpin. London, Paris, and New York. 1879.
- MODERATE DRINKING. By Benj. W. Richardson, M.D. New York : Natl. Temp. Soc. 1879.
- SPIRITUAL MANIFESTATIONS. By Charles Beecher. Boston : Lee, Shepard & Co. 1879.
- NATIONAL MONOPOLIES. AN OPEN LETTER. By S. S. Boyce. New York : 1879. Pamphlet.
- VOICES FROM BABYLON ; OR, THE RECORDS OF DANIEL THE PROPHET. By Joseph A. Seiss, D.D. Philadelphia : Porter & Coates. 1879.
- PUTNAM'S LIBRARY COMPANION. Vol. II. New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1879.
- THE DISTURBING ELEMENT. Charlotte M. Yonge. New York : By D. Appleton & Co. 1879.
- STUDIES IN THE MODEL PRAYER. By Geo. D. Boardman, D.D. New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1879.
- VISIONS OF THE FUTURE, AND OTHER DISCOURSES. By O. B. Frothingham. New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1879.
- A POPULAR TREATISE ON THE CURRENCY QUESTION. Written from a Southern point of view. By Robert W. Hughes. New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1879.
- THE ENGLISH REFORMATION. By Cunningham Geikie, D.D. New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1879.
- A TREATISE ON THE HORSE AND HIS DISEASES. Published by B. J. Kendall, M.D. Enosburgh, Vt.: 1878.
- FIREBRANDS—A TEMPERANCE TALE. By Julia McNair Wright. New York : Natl. Temp. Soc. 1879.
- HANDY VOLUME SERIES. No. 25—Fairy Tales ; Their Origin and Meaning. By John Thackeray Bunce. No. 25—Thomas Carlyle : his Life, his Books, his Theories. By Alfred H. Guernsey. New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1879.
- FAMILY GOVERNMENT ACCORDING TO FROEBEL. By Bertha Meyer. Translated by M. L. Holbrook, M.D. New York : M. L. Holbrook & Co. 1879.
- CURE OF NERVOUSNESS. By M. L. Holbrook, M.D. New York : M. L. Holbrook & Co. 1879.

THE
INTERNATIONAL REVIEW

MAY, 1879.

JUGURTHA.

How cold are thy baths, Apollo !

Cried the African monarch, the splendid,
As down to his death in the hollow

Dark dungeons of Rome he descended,
Uncrowned, unthroned, unattended ;
How cold are thy baths, Apollo !

How cold are thy baths, Apollo !

Cried the Poet, unknown, unbefriended,
As the vision, that lured him to follow,

With the mist and the darkness blended,
And the dream of his life was ended ;
How cold are thy baths, Apollo !

HENRY W. LONGFELLOW.

SYDNEY DOBELL.

DE mortuis nil nisi bonum is an axiom not always true nor possible to be carried out with justice to the living.

"The evil that men do lives after them ;
The good is oft interred with their bones."

But this truth also must be received with limitations : since good has, of its very essence, a longer existence than evil. Often, too, the noblest parts of a man's nature have been so obscured and hampered by that "fleshly garment of decay" which he wore during life, that it is only death which tears the veil down and allows the world to behold him as he is ; to recognize all that was beautiful and lovable in him : to see not only the final goal but the windings and difficulties of the way—and whether the result of his earthly battle was victory or defeat, to be made acquainted with the full bitterness of the struggle. It is this, the thoroughly human interest which we all feel in the story of another human life, if well and truthfully told, which makes few forms of literature more attractive and more valuable than that rarest of books—a good biography.

That any biography should be perfect—that is, complete and exhaustive even in its outward details, is in the very nature of things an impossibility. Even the most commonplace facts are, we all know, only too difficult to attain, since almost every mind receives a fact in a different way, and represents it with corresponding variation, not to say inaccuracy. Thus even the mere external history of a man is not very easy to get at : the internal—who shall even guess at that ?

Most of us know Oliver Wendell Holmes's shrewd definition of each man's triune individuality. "1st. The real John—known only to his Maker. 2d. John's ideal John—never the real one, and often very unlike him. 3d. Thomas's ideal John—never the real John, nor John's John, but often very unlike either." Then

the question arises—if this said “John” be, even in his lifetime, so unknowable, undescribable, who shall even venture to write his biography when he is dead?

It would be indeed a bold undertaking for either friend or foe, but for one saving fact—when a man is once gone, time so speedily clears away all testimony concerning him, prejudiced or unprejudiced, that after a few years the only evidence left is that safest of all—circumstantial evidence. Such are the prominent facts of his life,—undeniable facts though given in the barest outline,—his letters, and, lastly, the traditional impression of his personality left behind on those who knew him, and likely to become deeper and more exact the farther back it goes. This is the more so in proportion to the real greatness of the man. You can see and appreciate a mere hillock at a few yards distance, but you must go many miles before you can trace the summit of a mountain, and even if traced the chances are that its outline is so varied and varying that you may make many a mistake concerning it before you arrive at even an approximation of the truth.

So it is with most men who are, we will not even say superior to, but at any rate different from, the common run of men. They have to die before we know them. Not perfectly even then, though often far better than in their lifetime; and any one who helps us to know them, ever so imperfectly, has contributed no little to the general wealth of literature in the world.

These thoughts have been elicited by a book,¹ the last of several, published in succession—corrected editions of and extracts from his works, ending with this final memorial of a man from whom at one time his friends and the public at large expected so much and apparently received so little: and now will receive nothing more, for the career is ended—the work, little or much, is all done.

Probably there never was a better loved, or better hated, at any rate better abused man, during his lifetime, than Sydney Dobell. Bursting into sudden notoriety by his remarkable drama “The Roman,” watched hopefully by all the critics as the new poet of the age, then disappointing the expectations of most by his incomprehensible next work, “Balder, the First Part”—the second part, which might have elucidated it, being, alas, never written—afterwards dwindling down through “England in Time of War” and

¹ Life and Letters of Sydney Dobell. Edited by E. J. Smith Elder & Co.

other lyrics of a fragmentary kind to a style of writing poetry or prose of which the few published specimens were, to the ordinary mind, almost wholly incomprehensible—until, after a long, sad silence, during which he was almost forgotten, came the news of his death, in the prime of his days.

Then the half regretful public remembered him for a little space—notices were written about him, and criticisms, fair and unfair, intelligent or unintelligent, were passed upon his writings. Some few recalled his personality—too remarkable to be altogether forgotten, even after a good many years—and how he had appeared in London and Edinburgh society as a young man of unmistakable intellectual power, great culture, much charm of manner, and conversational capabilities which delighted some, annoyed others, but could not be ignored by any. A shrewd observer has been heard to say that the only time he ever saw Carlyle “talked down,” and this in the sweetest, most respectful, but most persistent way, was by Sydney Dobell.

That he had great gifts, promising a career of no common kind, his friends—and he had many—loudly proclaimed. But his enemies—and he was of too strong an individuality not to make some—declared that these gifts were neutralized by an amount of egoism and eccentricity, both as to character, mode of life, and opinions, which would forever prevent his being the great man which his appreciators believed he would be, nay, already was. And while both sides held their ground and gave their sentiments with equal effusion—for the object was one whom nobody could only half love—he exacted and received from his friends nothing short of total devotion, and his opponents condemned him with a virulent dislike that was almost comical. Dobell gradually vanished from public ken, for many years was only heard of from time to time as an invalid recluse watching over a lovely and equally invalid wife, till at last, when the literary world had almost ceased to remember his existence—he died.

Whether or not Sydney Dobell was a man of genius; whether his writings contain, as has been said by some critics, passages as grand as Milton, and evince a knowledge of humanity, the infinitely great and the infinitely little, not unworthy of comparison with Shakespeare, while others have condemned them as hopelessly obscure, long-winded, and puerile to a contemptible degree—which-ever decision be the true one, or whether, as is most probable, the truth lies between the two—this paper does not attempt to decide.

Posterity will do it, and that within a very few years. The poems are open to all. Every one can read and judge for himself.

But his personality—that *ego* which we are all so anxious to get at after a man is dead—that life-story which is often more pathetic, more interesting, more deeply instructive than any thing he has ever written—this would soon have vanished out of the very fondest memories had it not been for such a book as the one just named, which preserves, alike for friends and foes, an image much clearer than any he projected for himself during his lifetime, ay, even though, as often happens to men of strong individuality, he was frequently sneered at as being somewhat inclined to “pose,” like one who is always sitting for his portrait to posterity.

That portrait even his severest critics and his unkindest detractors must allow to be a very striking one.

Sydney Thompson Dobell was the eldest son of a father who counted his lineage from the days of the Cavaliers, and of a mother whose great pride was *her* father, a man of the people, but of power enough to originate and head for many years a very remarkable sect who called themselves Free-thinking Christians. A description of this sect and its founder, its creed, its growth, and its decadence, is found in the first volume, and is a very interesting contribution to the history of theological opinion.

That the influences under which he was born and brought up affected the boy strongly from earliest infancy cannot be doubted. When he was between four and five years old his father wrote of him thus :

“ As he had heard the word ‘ God,’ I have allowed him to speak of Him by the term ‘ the Good Being,’ which I find good in its effects, preventing the frequent use, and, by giving a just, definite idea, preventing many foolish notions and sayings. I have reason to expect that Sydney will be eminent for a sound understanding, correct ideas, useful talent, and good dispositions.”

He also records the child’s facility in rhyming, a favorite diversion between them being for the father to make a line to which the little son promptly answered by one rhyming with it.

In 1830, when Sydney was six years old, he is described as having “ rosy cheeks, clear complexion, a very playful mouth, indeed the whole face when lighted up is beautifully sensible, innocent, and good. When serious, or rather when puzzling his brain, a scowl of brow renders his face rather plain and uninteresting to

strangers." Then is added, "his power of expressing his ideas is remarkably strong, and his ideas are very numerous and far beyond his years." His quickness in seizing a piece of wit, and great enjoyment of it, is also a subject of comment. In 1832, the boy being then eight years old, his father writes :

"I have never known Sydney to tell an untruth. . . . His distinctions sometimes are so nice and correct that to an inattentive person he might give an impression of untruth. . . . He has a scientific inclination, and is quick in observing mechanism. . . . He learns astronomy. . . . He attends the Sunday meeting (of the members of Mr. Thompson's church), and I find understands much that he hears."

These indications of character no doubt roused in his parents, especially in a passionately loving and rarely noble mother—all great men seem to have noble mothers—that tendency to "regard him, and through his early years even brought him to regard himself, as having a special and almost apostolic mission," which "in a more ordinary man would have fostered an exclusive arrogance fatal to the real usefulness of life. The generous nobility of Sydney's nature saved him from this worst evil, but he did not pass through the ordeal unscathed. His precocity was stimulated, his emotions exercised, his nervous system overstrained, and during the first period of his career the isolating influence of his home-life hampered his social powers."

So writes his biographer, but it may be questioned whether the peculiar idiosyncrasy of the son was not as much at fault, if fault there was, as the bringing up of the parents. More children are ruined by lack of love, and want of sympathy and wholesome praise, than by that superabundance of all three, which was Sydney's portion through his whole life. That it was not an idle or easy life, these passages taken at random from his diary, at the age of fourteen, sufficiently show :

"October 24th.—Up at half-past six. Wrote some 'Napoleon' in the evening. Description of true eloquence. Sir A. B. Faulkner here for an hour.

"October 26th.—Rose at seven, learnt lessons and did the business of the morning till half-past one. Dinner. Afternoon, learnt lessons and sent out some wine; read Blackstone *De Jure personarum* till half-past five. Tea. Read Blackstone till half-past six. Then Mr. — (tutor).

"October 28th.—Sunday. Out in the garden till one—out again till three. Read till four Dillon's 'Essays on Religious Worship,' a work which enters into its subject, leaves no hills unsurmounted, and no depths unexplored. (!) Played chess for half an hour, and, five o'clock, tea. After tea papa read Shakespeare aloud for a couple of hours. Play, 'Merchant of Venice,' one of his most exciting

plays in parts for the criticalness of the situations, but spoiled in others by the low language of Launcelot and the coarse jests which abound in the lower characters.

"*October 29th.*—Out on business till one. Have quite forgotten how the afternoon passed, besides the usual routine of business. After tea wrote a satirical piece entitled 'Hope.'

"*October 30th.*—Up at seven. After breakfast subjected my squib to the universal critic, papa, and we two, after two alterations, one expungement, and the addition of a verse, pronounced it good, copied and signed it 'Corrector,' folded it, and directed it to the *Free Press* office. . . . After tea read some more of 'Merchant of Venice' aloud. . . .

"*October 31st.*—Up at half-past seven; business of the morning as usual till half-past eight. Breakfast. Went out till eleven to see Collins about bottles. Came home, wrote bills; dinner at one. After dinner began posting the accounts of the month. After tea finished 'Merchant of Venice' aloud."

Read this, ye lazy lads who cost your parents hundreds per annum, yet contrive to learn as little and play as much as you possibly can!—and wonder at this boy, who had never been to either school or college, who at fourteen had already for two years gone to business with his father, getting his education finished how and when he could. For this large family of ten—five sons and five daughters—had a hard fight. Migrating from Cranbrook in Kent to London, and thence to Cheltenham, it settled there, living in great seclusion. For, besides his peculiar doctrines, John Dobell—this descendant of Cavalier soldiers—was a tradesman; first a hide merchant and then a wine merchant, tacitly tabooed as such both by the religious and fashionable "sets" of that very exclusive town. Not that he cared for this, being so imbued with his "separatist" theories, and with the impossibility of "the Church," as its adherents fondly called it, ever mingling with "the world." But still the complete isolation of the Dobells, who were held by many of their neighbors to be almost beyond the pale of Christianity, though it kept them simple, pure, and high-minded to the last degree, led them to carry out to the letter all the primitive Christian virtues, and no doubt stimulated in them all, but in Sydney, the eldest, especially, a strong originality, and a persistent putting forward of their own opinions which could not fail to mark them out as a very remarkable family.

As precocious in his affections as in his brains, the next epoch in the boy's life, which colored it to the very end, was his falling in love at fifteen with a girl of his own age, Emily Fordham, the beautiful daughter of a Cambridgeshire squire, who was also one of "the Church" of Samuel Thompson's founding. With the un-

worldliness which characterized it and most of its members, the parents on both sides consented at once to the engagement and to the marriage five years afterwards, when the bridegroom was twenty and the bride twenty-one. The courtship as told in this volume is a perfect idyll in its way. How Sydney looked back on it the following passage from one of his letters to an intimate friend will show :

“ Here at last I am at peace. Here in the scene of my early and only love ; here where the old days look out on me from every cottage window, murmur to me in every one of these old pines, whisper in the tall evergreens (where we so often sat together), and under the broad green sod of this quiet lawn lie buried but unforgotten. I cannot tell you the ineffable happiness with which once a year I come to this place. To these placid fields, murmurous—I have no other word—with sheep-bells ; this solitary hamlet, with its church beside the green, where for five years of happiest courtship I was the ever welcome hero of village tattle and romance ; these silent lanes, which once were not so silent ; this dark old manor-house, to me so full of sunshine, round which the thoughts of my long absences used to walk day and night. Her father lost it the year we were married, after a lawsuit of a quarter of a century ; but happily it is still in friendly hands, and I can still sleep in the room where she was born.”

The young couple began life with very narrow means, and the health of both, especially the wife, was exceedingly delicate. Indeed, from this time dates the chronicle of continual illness and suffering, above all that vicarious suffering which is hardest to bear, and which ended but with life. To most men this would have been the extinguishment of all intellectual growth, all delight in life. But Dobell's extraordinary force of will, vitality of brain, and power of dividing himself, so to speak, of conquering the body through the spirit, of analyzing his own sensations and keeping up a mental existence quite distinct from the life of the heart, carried him through seas of affliction in which a feebler bark would have been totally swamped.

His own letters and the testimony of all his friends concerning him go to prove that, full of trial as his life was, there was in him little or none of that morbidness or even melancholy to which men of genius are supposed to be prone. “ Spasmodic ” as his poetry was considered, he himself was of a cheerful and healthy mind, and there remained in him and with him to the very last a most touching enjoyment of all that was left him to enjoy, which must have been one of his greatest charms in the eyes of those who loved him. And these were not few. For if he exacted much, he gave much, especially to women, with whom his friendships were many and sincere, and whom he treated, high and low, near or distant, with the

chivalrous tenderness of a stainless heart, as seeing in all womanhood the reflection of his own ideal of it—his wife.

His family relations seem to have been rarely fortunate, tender, and close :

“ He was loved by both his parents with unusual intensity ; their admiration of him and expectations from him were very high and at the same time very clearly defined, and any substitution of any ideal of his own for that which from his childhood had been held up to him, naturally brought upon him remonstrance, passionate because the love out of which it sprang was passionate.

“ A sentence pencilled in one of his early note-books may be quoted here : ‘ Habit of obedience necessary to be early formed. Therefore before reason can comprehend the Will of God another will is necessary : but when reason is gained God becomes the Parent, and the parent sinks to brotherhood.’ ”

When we compare this with an extract from a letter to his eldest sister, written after the sudden rush of popularity which followed the appearance of “ The Roman,” and the changed life which ensued therefrom, it is easy to see that Sydney Dobell must have been a very difficult person to guide or influence :

“ You think I am improved lately. As a moral and intellectual whole, perhaps I am. But I shall not cease to look back on the four or five years preceding my illness with a kind of self-reverence—as to an impossible saintdom, to which I would not return, but which I can never equal on this side the grave. I see that I have a wider mission and a rougher excellence before me : but I cannot look back without a melancholy interest to the years when I never thought a thought or said a word but under the very eyes of God.”

Strong language, and capable of great misconstruction—as no doubt the writer was often misconstrued. His *ego*—that is, his ideal of the self that he wished to be—was enormous, but it was mixed with no petty vanity, or desire of worldly admiration. Such could not exist in a man whose aim it was to live “ under the very eyes of God.” But these characteristics, so patent from his very earliest youth, make it clear that the mistakes of his youth, in both physical and moral bringing-up, were his own mistakes, and not, as has been sometimes asserted, his parents’. In great things and small he inherited his grandfather Thompson’s resolute will and strong self-consciousness, together with a certain tendency to dogmatism, which, with all his sweetness and almost angelic purity of heart, must have made him even from childhood what parents call “ extremely difficult to manage.” Add to this the inevitable circumstances of his daily life, being “ sent to business” at an age when most boys are only just sent to school, and

from his private education, deprived entirely of that wholesome friction with the outside world which is an incalculable advantage to both boy and man, and it is easy to understand how and why Sydney Dobell was—what he was. Not his own ideal Sydney Dobell certainly; but as compared to the ordinary herd of mankind, most of whom have no ideal at all, a man whom nobody could overlook, and though many might criticise and even dislike, nobody could in any way despise. Nay, even the very egotism—or egoism—there is a vital difference between the two—of which he was widely and not unjustly accused, becomes pathetically excusable when, after his death, one reads such a sentence as this—his answer to a correspondent who had hoped that the unfavorable reviews of “Balder” would teach him “humility”:

“If it be humility to be as nothing before God: if it be humility, not as a dutiful theory, but as an actual involuntary consciousness, to ignore the possession of a single substantive power or quality, to live, move, speak, but as the helpless instrument of the One Omnipotent Sole Life, Sole Good, then are few humbler men alive than I.”

The “Roman” was written and published when he was only twenty-five. “Balder” followed soon after. These are his only complete poems; though they were followed by a good many sonnets and lyrics containing passages, at least, of unparalleled beauty. And at thirty-five the poet (“spasmodic,” eccentric, unintelligible as his writings may be, few will deny to him that title) published his last work.

This single decade, then, is all by which posterity has to judge Sydney Dobell.

The known story of these ten years, if extremely uneventful, is very interesting. Literature was only the delight of his leisure; he still earned his daily bread as a wine merchant, being, it is recorded, a shrewd and clever man of business. He kept up an æsthetic, picturesque, and hospitable home, in which he carried to the utmost limits an almost ideal spirit of alms-giving and general benevolence, on an income which was never over, sometimes under, four hundred a year. The necessity of many wanderings in England, Scotland, and abroad, chiefly in quest of health for his invalid wife, gave some variety to a life that otherwise would have been painfully monotonous. Everywhere he seems to have been surrounded by devoted friends; of whom among the women a certain “M.,” who is described by him as “the light of the house,” and another who is called “our adopted daughter,” stand out prominently, while

among his intimate and affectionate masculine correspondents and allies are George Gilfillan, Professor Blackie, the Rev. J. Brown Paton, Alexander Smith, Dr. Westland Marsten, John Nichol, and many more.

Dobell's correspondence must have been very voluminous, and it is much to be regretted that the book contains so little of it. He had an exquisitely polished epistolary style, perhaps even too perfect, as in its striving after originality it sacrifices a little that frank simplicity which must be given up if people write their commonest letters "with an eye to posterity." Whether or not he did so, posterity must needs be grateful for such a charming result as the following birthday letter "to a young sister:"

"ABERCROMBIE PLACE, *April 11th*, 1854.

"I have not forgotten your wish, you see, and I send you a kiss for it and for the way in which it was expressed.

"May my letters be indeed to you like 'messages from Paradise,' except that I trust they may not be 'so few and far between.' What the paradisaical element in them can be I am at a loss to guess, but be they terrestrial and black as midnight, may your love, dear little-great sister, ever, as now, transfigure them to the texture of that higher region wherefrom all love descends.

"There's a long complicated sentence for you! Strange enough to be written to a little sister if I did not know that little sister had already so much of the mind of a woman—'The mind of a woman.' There indeed is a text for birthday wishes; God give you one day the mind of a woman. This is a better wish than if I said even the mind of an angel, for God does all things in an ordained progression, and the order of His providence is first 'woman,' then 'angel.' Therefore you will neglect nothing that completes the true character of woman, nor think anything unimportant that is a part of it, however small, conscious that the God who created womanhood can alone know the real value of anything that He has made, and that sometimes in our human estimates 'the last may be first and the first last.'

"Now the ideal of a woman's character is '*Beautiful Goodness*.' Not goodness only, but beautiful goodness. You will say perhaps that all goodness is beautiful, and so it is *when* in perfection, but, like many other things in nature, it requires to be completely and fully developed before you perceive all its qualities. Summer fruit is summer fruit, even before it is ripe—there are all the main substances present in it which constitute a fruit—stone, skin, pulp, juice; but it is only when warmed into perfection that it becomes flushed with color, tinted with bloom, sweet to the taste and beautiful to the eye.

"So with goodness. Goodness is goodness also long before it is ripe: and many people think it the better the sourer and bitterer it is. But you, dear sister, will be content with nothing less than goodness sunshined into beauty.

"Never be careless of anything that is beautiful. It may seem a trifle, but beauty is divine, you know, and God can dwell as easily in an atom as in heaven. The bloom on the plum, the flush on the rose, the immaculacy of the snowdrop,

the intensity of the light—these trifles sometimes make the difference between beauty and non-beauty.

“ You are now entering upon one of the most touching and precious times of life, when the child begins to blossom into the maiden—I was going to say ‘ girl,’ but we have called you girl a long, long while. Your birthday comes precisely at that very age of the growing year. May the God of goodness and beauty, who never fails to flower the spring into summer with harvest, find you as obedient as the dutiful earth and bless and glorify you likewise. And long seasons hence may He gather your wheat into his garner, that you yourself, relieved from that burthen of works and duties, may burst forth again unto the spring which is everlasting !”

Take another, “ to his father and mother,” one of those dearly valued “ Sunday letters” which he wrote so long and faithfully to the beloved family home at Detmore :

“ SOUTH CLERMISTEN, *October 19th.*

“ Oh that I could be home with a thought and see the silent, golden English autumn ! though there are things at home that I long to see far more. In every season the difference between England and Scotland is distinct and characteristic, but in none, I think, more than in this. At home the wide, grand, calm melancholy time dies ‘ like an emperor standing,’ and falls, a corpse of gold. Here, the perpetual flurry of the weather pulls it to pieces, like a traveller in a flock of wolves. At home every stage and age of death may be seen together on the tree, till some November night brings them all down at once ; here, a ghastly green, that grows daily more spectral, carrying an old-maid sort of horrid youth into the very jaws of the grave. Every day finds the trees thinner and thinner, but still grinning with a grisly green.”

Those landscape letters, vivid with most brilliantly minute word-painting, are interspersed with others of an ethical kind full of his own strong, clearly defined, and never concealed opinions :

“ In old times gentlehood, the one comprehensive caste, depended solely on blood. Given the blood, and nothing within the wide limits of virtue and honor could degrade the gentleman. To believe otherwise he would have resented as mortal insult to the noble liberty of gentle birth. To be made or unmade by external circumstances (of moral indifference) was the characteristic and villainous condition of the serf. ‘ Gentleman’ therefore came to be the social standard, and we find ‘ gentlemen’ employed in the free and varied manner that might be expected from the liberal consciousness of unalienable rank. We never went so far in England as abroad, where nobles, without loss of caste, might be found as grooms and menials ; but the difference was not in the principle, but in the degrees of application.”

The natural outcome of these beliefs is the following beautiful letter “ to a sister,” the wife of a “ man in business :”

“ A great deal has been written and talked lately about the possibility of gentlemen in business : but what would do more than a library of books would be

one complete, thoroughly finished, unmistakable illustration. When I saw you, or thought of you rather, and your dear husband, settled for fourteen years in your beautiful 'Moorlands,' it seemed to me—here is precisely the golden opportunity : here are husband and wife, father and mother, just fitted by original qualities and education (for if either element is absent the experiment can't be perfect) to realize, if they try, the ideal home and family of a gentleman, and just so placed by the fortune of life as to make such a combination of circumstances the very Q. E. D. for which we are all looking ! I don't say it is to be done without difficulty, but I do say and believe that you have the power to do this thing if you set yourselves to it, and resolve that morally, intellectually, and æsthetically you will be content with nothing short of the highest you can attain. And to make this illustration perfect, it is almost necessary that it should be representative—*i.e.*, that it should depend for its beauty on things that are not in their nature exceptional, but can be shared more or less by every well-organized, well-educated member of the great middle class. A husband and father carrying on successfully the practical affairs of work-a-day life, and depending for his nobility of station simply on the high degree of excellence to which he carries his duties, occupations, tastes and pleasures ; a wife and mother content in the same manner with simply trying to live out Christian ladyhood to its fairest and noblest possible—there are the two heads of such a household as I want to see ; such a household as may enable me to answer the incredulous, ' Ah, my dear poet, a very pretty dream indeed ! ' with an introduction to my brother and sister at —."

How the poet, who was himself also a man of business, carried out the theories he preached, his " favorite " brother, often mentioned in the book, thus writes :

" Whatever he (Sydney) did, he did well. In business he was practical and shrewd : and while he had time and strength to direct, his affairs prospered. . . . Characteristic of him were his simplicity and courage in carrying out the daily round of business duties that must of course have been uncongenial and even sometimes antagonistic to his personal tastes and feelings. He worked on in accordance with a code of principles which he applied to the acts necessary to gaining daily bread. . . . He held that the first business and profession of every man is to be a Christian gentleman ; and that the acts and processes by which he gains money should always be a secondary part of his life and character : that, consequently, so long as the occupation is honest, it does not much signify what that occupation happens to be ; it can be made mean or dignified according to the personal character of the man who pursues it. He therefore did not attempt to escape from the business he had been brought up to pursue. He was strictly abstemious in his habits ; but he considered the use of wines and spirits as a legitimate luxury ; and that to condemn that use for fear of its abuse might accord with Mohammedan or Buddhist morality, but was inconsistent with the tenor of Christian philosophy. He held moreover that what was allowed to the rich should not be withheld from the poor ; that the more dangerous and difficult the traffic might be, the more important it was that men of courage and character should undertake it, and in this spirit he worked simply and fearlessly."

However high was Sydney Dobell's standard of manhood, in that of womanhood he must, in this age of advanced opinions, have laid himself open to the charge of narrowness. Evidently he held the doctrine of the softer sex being the "inferior" animal. He says of "Aurora Leigh"—though owning to having read it with "profound admiration"—

"I hold it to be no poem; for no woman, not even such a large-brained and large-hearted woman as Mrs. Browning . . . can create one: but it is one of the most signal and monumental books of modern times. . . . The more I live and study human nature, the more I perceive all feminine literature to be an error and an anomaly—a necessary anomaly at present, and to be dealt with as such, but always under the circumstances to be recognized as an anomaly, and never suffered to enter into the ideal of human society."

Consequently with a sister who had committed the great enormity of writing a book he argues as follows:

"Now I dare say you will say I am very unreasonable when I confess that, much as I liked the performance, I was sorry to see it. But to show you the higher rates of the apparent unreason, I will explain why. I never doubted that you could if you liked accomplish a thing of this kind, and better even than this, and take your place among the hourly aggregating troop of authoresses, who are the pleasant vices and brilliant misfortunes of recent English literature. But I always hoped you would be content with the potentiality, and would set the much required example of resisting a temptation which bids fair to stain with ink the sweetest sanctuaries of life and taint with the inevitable evils of every unnatural and abnormal gratification three fourths of the women of England.

"It is precisely those women who could do otherwise if they chose, that should be careful to set the example of reminding the sisterhood that there are nobler vocations in this world than writing books, and a truer womanhood than that which wears its heart upon its sleeve. All honor and sympathy to those women for whom *res angusta domi* make this self-immolation an unescapable necessity (and the best of them confess how sorely they feel the profanation and all the defeminizing influences of their profession), but whenever no irresistible duty demands the service, I think, and every year strengthens the conviction, that it ceases to be justifiable."

A dictum which few men and possibly fewer women would be inclined to support.

Clearly, the poet devoted to a special ideal does not perceive the flaw in his own argument, viz., that if female authorship be so great an error, to commit it for money does not render the offence less venal, but more so. The *res angusta domi* should be met in some other way than by such a sacrifice, granting it to be a sacrifice. But this is a question which it is idle to argue. The world's experience

proves that as a man may be a man of genius and yet a good citizen, husband, father, and friend, so a woman may be able to express, in art, literature, science, or any other form, that which it has pleased Heaven to put in her to express, without either ignoring or denying her womanhood, or giving up one iota of those domestic duties which are at once her utmost blessing and her greatest charm.

Nevertheless, it would be well for all women who desire to unwomanize themselves in any frantic way, to lay to heart some of Sydney Dobell's words in a letter, planned, but never finished, when the question, "Why are early marriages more and more rare?" was mooted in the *Times* newspaper. The cause, he considered, is the increasing selfishness of young men, and the decreasing loveliness of young women:

"Lovely (he says) is an unsatisfactory word, but it is the best available. A lovely thing is a thing which is lovable, and it is more or less lovely as it is more or less adapted to be loved. . . . I never knew a man of more than moderate stature who felt undersized by the side of the loftiest female intellect; but I know that the strongest and proudest men have often felt ready to sink in sackcloth and ashes, upon knees no human force could bend, before the humility, the purity, the unconsciousness, the self-oblivion of the simplest woman in the world."

A few prose writings in which Dobell expressed, as if forced by inner compulsion, some of his strongest opinions, political, ethical, and moral, a few poems, provoking diverse and most opposite criticism (into which this present paper enters not, as it deals with the man rather than his writings), and now and then very beautiful letters to friends and kinsfolk—this was all the intellectual fruit of his life for ten more years.

But it seems to have been by no means a melancholy or idle life. The utmost of brain work that his physicians allowed him to do he did daily. He studied several languages; so that during his compelled winters abroad, in the south of France, Spain, Italy, he was able thoroughly to throw himself into the social life of the people, and to gather, invalid as he always was more or less, all the good that could be got out of foreign travelling. Nor, though continually drifting hither and thither, seeking for his wife and himself the health that never came, does it seem to have been either a dreary or homeless existence. He carried his "home" with him. Wherever he pitched his tent, all his friends immediately gathered

round him. Whether in Scotland or Gloucestershire, he seems to have had the faculty of choosing most picturesque places to live in, and the still higher art of making every house a home. And when driven from them he made the best of his nomadic life by drinking in at every intellectual pore the keen delight of travelling.

But the years were fast narrowing for the restless spirit, which had begun life with such lofty aims, such gigantic aspirations, few of which were ever fulfilled. Sudden and mysterious attacks of illness, supposed to be partly epileptic, attacked him from time to time, and were followed by long prostration. Consecutive brain work became impossible. All his bad symptoms were aggravated, if indeed they were not primarily caused, by an accident, at first thought to be very slight. Standing on the shore at Puteoli, the supposed landing-place of St. Paul, and trying to realize for himself the exact sight which met the apostle's eyes, he slipped backwards into an old Roman drain, bruising the neck and the top of the spine. Successive attacks of illness followed.

"The one thing chiefly prescribed for him by his physicians at all times of his life—rest—seemed always unattainable. Rest of brain, rest of heart, were alike impossible. The more difficult all effort became, the more resolved he seemed to persevere in it; the more a duty cost him in personal suffering, the more indomitably determined was he not to give up the doing of it. Education, early habit, and natural disposition combined to produce an over-conscientiousness, which, so far as earthly results went, defeated its own end. To try and follow from his own memoranda, and from other records, his inner life at this time, is to wonder that nerves and brain so long endured such tension, and that the blow which soon struck him down did not fall sooner."

Something of this character is indicated in his face by the portrait prefixed to Vol. I., painted about this time by his artist brother Clarence, his "favorite," so often referred to, who thus writes concerning it:

"I have compared notes with three well-known artists who have made a similar attempt; we all agreed that we never had a subject to whom it was more difficult to do justice: that the pictures were all more or less failures. The general effect of our model was so extremely beautiful and impressive—though the features when examined and drawn in detail were not regular—and the expression was so subtle and peculiar, that it was never caught on paper or canvas, so that the effect we wished to reproduce was marred and unsatisfactory when compared with the original. He belonged to no type, for I have never seen another man at all like him; those who knew Lord Byron personally said Sydney's face recalled his. . . . But Byron's head, though of similar proportions, was small, while

Sydney's was exceptionally large, some three inches larger in circumference than an ordinary-sized man's head, and its height was even more remarkable than the length. His eyes were the bluest violet I have ever tried to paint : no color could quite match their liquid ultramarine hues, and no lines convey their varying expression—sometimes tender and sympathetic, at others stern and commanding, but usually, when in repose, they had a curious searching gaze as though for ever trying to read and solve some unknown problem. The nose was straight, the upper lip rather long ; but the mouth, even in middle age, was full and expressive as a boy's."

In the summer of 1869 a second accident befell him. Trying a newly purchased horse he was thrown, " found himself unable to move beyond leaning upon one elbow, and at once faced the probability that he was dangerously, perhaps mortally injured."

' Nearly three months of helplessness and much suffering followed. Though the injury proved to be in some ways less than could have been expected, the blow to the spine and the shock to the nervous system caused an amount of prostration that induced doubt as to whether he would recover the use of his limbs : and the muscles of one hip were so far strained and weakened that he never again felt himself to have a good and safe hold of his horse. Riding, which all his life had been the one almost unfailing restorative, became from this time impossible.

"During the many weeks before he regained power to walk or even to stand—when he was very incredulous of ever again being anything but a cripple—those about him were struck with his wonderful serenity and thankfulness.

" In a sonnet written at this time, headed, ' Under Especial Blessings,' a sonnet that for some of his friends was and always remained a psychological puzzle, he tried to express his sense of overpowering gratitude for the mercy which had spared his life.

" Love of life was indeed always characteristic of him. It was not simply that he was resigned to live because such was God's will, and for the sake of those who loved him, but that he rejoiced in life. Life, mere life, ' in the sweetness of the upper world,' he valued as a priceless blessing. Knowing how intrinsic was his faith in all that makes the hope of immortality most consoling and supporting, knowing, too, how the deepening presence of sickness made most things men count worth living for impossible to his later years, this joy in living was often to those most intimately near him a marvel and a mystery."

Nevertheless it probably helped in his temporary revival to a moderately healthy condition, during which his ever active brain pertinaciously accomplished as much work as it could, and much more than it ought. Solid political papers—Dobell was from first to last a keen politician—alternated with light fancies, such as the following—all the more touching as the work of a man whose " education" in the external sense ended when only a boy of twelve years old :

TRANSLATION OF "ANIMULA, VAGULA, BLANDULA."

Little soul, little fluttering
 Forsaking soul, that of this mortal breast
 Hast been the friendless guest,
 Oh, whither dost thou wing?
 Little thing, little naked thing,
 Poor little, naked, pallid, shuddering thing,
 That hast forgotten even how to jest.

"He often," says his biographer (who has done this difficult task in the truest, tenderest way, not by continually describing the subject of it, but arranging it so that he is made to describe himself), "he often amused odd quarters of an hour when resting on his sofa, or longer periods of his unrestful nights, in making little *jeux d'esprit*, sometimes in English, often in French, Italian, or Spanish, which he afterwards scribbled down. He wrote also at such waste times two or three political or electioneering burlesques. His pleasure, when a couplet on some question of the day, sent to *Punch*, was immediately inserted, was like a boy's. . . . There was unselfishness as well as philosophy in the sweet-blooded way in which he made the most of all the more burlesque and pleasant aspects of his life. Although his deeper thoughts must always have been serious and solemn enough, they were never touched with gloom."

A "decided and severe epileptiform attack" convinced his friends and himself, as he says in a letter, that "his travelling days were over." It became necessary to settle in some comfortable house which might be a "home to live in and to die in." This was found in Barton End House, near Nailsworth, Gloucestershire, not far from the pretty cottage where, eighteen years before, he had finished "Balder." In August, 1871, the family settled there, truly "a home to live in"—for he seems to have taken endless delight in the "roomy comfort of the substantial old home and the beauty of its grounds and situation"—and finally, "a home to die in."

Not, however, for three years hence, three far from unhappy years, despite his constant liability to those epileptiform attacks, in which, however, the symptoms of decided epilepsy were always absent.

"Most of his friends felt that the life he now led, of self-denial and suffering, of constant prostration and chastisement, of gallant resurgence from prostration, only to be overwhelmed again by the mysterious evil which sapped the powers of life, could have had for

them no beauty that they should desire it. . . . Truly he possessed many kinds of joy. No one, his wife says, who had ever seen could ever forget the rapt delight with which, after a restless night of suffering, he would listen to the matin music of spring birds. . . . This pure joy in the exquisiteness of spring and of memory made the very opening of his eyes upon these aspects of nature a feast of thankful wonder. . . . His faithful joy in the 'deep things of God' as revealed to us by the 'mind of Christ,' and his unwavering allegiance to the central truths of religion thus revealed . . . made an atmosphere about him which it was a spiritual and even a physical support and elevation to breathe. Consciousness of the weakness of his sick body was lost in the impression of wholesome health made by the sound and strong spirit."

But in spite of this the flesh was fast failing. In the spring and summer of 1874 sudden and heavy worldly cares consequent on the death of the manager of his house of business fell upon him. "Long letters had to be written, and written at once, long business discussions held, and complicated statements attended to." The all but dying man roused himself, and did all that was necessary to do, "so that members of his own family who visited him were deceived; and his wife's repeated expression, 'These things will kill him,' was understood to be passionate exaggeration; as was his mother's exclamation, 'Then you have killed him,' when told of two or three hours of close and uninterrupted business discussion, and of the mental vigor he had shown, only a month before the end."

That end his biographer alone must tell, for no one else could do it so touchingly and so well. After a brief three days' absence, "the change she (his adopted daughter) saw was not only that of increased weakness; there was in his face a peculiar inwardly absorbed expression, as if the invisible world, more real and present to him than the visible, so occupied him that it was only with effort he brought himself back from that far country to consciousness of what was passing around him. . . . A perfect peacefulness and placidity was the general expression of his face about this time . . . so that those about him received an impression of insuperable vitality that would not allow apprehension of the great change."

"But," on one of the first days of August, "from a desperate sense that something must be done to rouse him, he was persuaded to lie out in the open air on the sunny gravel sweep in front of the

house for a quarter of an hour, and "seemed in a peculiar manner to delight in all that met his eyes. He was taking his last fully conscious look of his beloved beech-woods, and the sloping terraced garden to the east end of the house, of which he had always been specially fond. On going indoors he fell into a profound sleep on the sofa. On his awaking the evening was passed as usual, but in the middle of that night he woke in a strange tremble and confusion of mind from which his brain never wholly cleared."

Nearly a week passed, during which he did not leave his room, and had one or two "fixed delusions." On the 9th of August violent delirium set in, and the strong, acute, delicate brain was overthrown forever.

"He lay for two weeks, only partially and at intervals conscious—consciousness always marked by some questions, pleasant tender saying, or recognition. His incoherent talk was oftenest of abstract philosophy . . . or expressions of loving anxiety and compassion for his wife. 'How beautiful,' was the comment of all who looked upon his face. At all calm times he looked so much less ill than those who had watched him in other illnesses had often seen him look, that hope would occasionally make itself felt even now. But he never slept except under the influence of sedatives, and these so visibly lowered all powers of life, that to administer them was to hasten the end. Incessant restlessness wore him out.

"On the evening of August 22d, as his favorite rooks, winging home, were crossing the sky in front of his window, his last breath was quietly drawn. Rest came to him. The last sunshine of a glorious August evening lay rich and deep upon the scene he loved so dearly. The arms of his wife were round him, and his hand was held by his mother."

On the first day of September, his favorite month, the month of his wife's birthday, the month which in the old early days of happy courtship he spent at her house, his mortal remains were taken to the Painswick cemetery, chosen for their resting-place as over-looking a district the ideal beauty of which was specially dear to him. The funeral service was read by Dr. Percival, who made a long journey from the place of his holiday sojourn to be present. His brothers and many old friends gathered round the coffin, which was lowered to its rest covered with fragrant white flowers. On the coffin (by his own wish expressed years before) were engraved these words, "*Lord, remember me when Thou comest into Thy kingdom.*"

RAILWAY POOLS.

THE term "pool," as applied to railway compacts, is a misnomer. It designates commonly a game in which all the players contribute to make up the stake and the winner gets the whole. In a railway pool, so called, on the other hand, each party receives an allotment. Moreover, the expression carries a suggestion of gaming, which is not consistent with legitimate operations. The term "joint purse," current in England, is more appropriate. In this country effort has been made to substitute the word "apportionment." But the objectionable title remains, and is used in discussion, in official acts, and in proposed laws. Either phrase signifies an agreement for the division of competitive traffic, or the revenue derived therefrom, in accordance with established percentages. There are two kinds, known respectively as tonnage and money pools. The former are of recent origin, and are peculiar to this country. The latter date back forty years, and originated in England.

The tonnage pool is simple in structure. It is an agreement to divide, absolutely, a given tonnage. Thus, of the traffic originating at or coming to New York, and destined by rail to the West, the four trunk lines agree to accept certain proportions respectively. If the business, as delivered by the shippers, does not effect the agreed distribution, then the roads which are short send to those which are in excess, and cart therefrom a prescribed amount of freight. This method of securing results is called a "physical division."

A money pool is more complex. An effort is made to divide the traffic in accordance with agreed percentages ; but, as that can rarely be done, the earnings of each road are computed monthly, and the distribution of the gross amount is made according to agreement. For that purpose a clearing-house is necessary. Through its operations parties that fail to get their share of the traffic are compensated therefor in money.

Both plans require from all concerned a surrender of the business

embraced. Is such resort necessary? The inquiry is pertinent, and reply to it is requisite to a just conception of the utility of pools.

The object sought is the maintenance of agreed rates. To accomplish this, other expedients have been tried ; most frequently agreements based upon honor. These have invariably failed ; until, in railway circles, the conclusion is reached, that rates can not be maintained without a pool. This fact is deplorable. It reveals a sad lack of confidence. The cause is not difficult to trace. It requires but a short review ; ten years, perhaps, would suffice. Going back over that period, we find that railway operations were not then perplexing ; that managers had, comparatively, easy tasks ; that in most cases their territory was undisputed. Now, the conditions are changed. A dozen rivals struggle for the same traffic. There is not enough for all ; but as each is resolved to get the largest share, a scramble ensues. In the *mélée* rates fall so low that no road wants the business. This induces reflection, which commonly results in an agreement to divide. Thus, at most competing points, pools have sprung into existence.

Meantime the impression is created that pools are opposed to public interest. The secrecy attending them engenders distrust. People imagine that things are done which will not bear the light. Hence combinations are viewed with suspicion and dislike. Yet the legitimate demand is not so much for low rates as for uniform quotations, which can not be assured without concerted action. Whence it follows that a union of lines will serve the public better than the same roads would were they to scramble for patronage.

During a "war" rates often fall fifty per cent, but they can not be guaranteed beyond the day on which they are given ; hence a grain-dealer, for instance, would derive little advantage from them, because he is unable to purchase and secure deliveries on the same day. Two merchants do a like business side by side. One goes to New York when rates are low, makes his purchases, and ships at what are considered favorable rates. A week later his rival makes similar purchases, and, rates having fallen lower, he is given an advantage which is not due to sagacity, but to the accident of having chanced to ship when rates had dropped to the lowest figures. The conditions of the parties as they stand related to the carrier are identical, and, in such case, they are entitled to like treatment ; but they can not be assured of it unless the roads act under direction of a common and competent authority. Otherwise, special

rates will be given ; not to the many, but to the favored few. Men of small means seldom get them ; those of large wealth invariably do. It is a pernicious practice, which creates favoritism and benefits a few, while it inflicts penalties on many. These abuses—and others scarcely less grievous—pooling compacts were expected to remove. Theoretically, they were faultless and strong ; practically, they were defective and weak. Under circumstances exceptionally favorable, they worked admirably. Ordinarily, however, their success was not complete. A statement of the reasons of this will follow a glance at the organizations.

Most prominent and representative—each of its kind—are the South-Western Railway Association and the west-bound trunk-line compact. The former is a money pool, with a clearing-house attachment. The latter is a tonnage pool, which adjusts differences by “ physical divisions.”

The first-named comprises eight railways. They are presumed to control the traffic passing between points east and St. Joseph, Atchison, Leavenworth, and Kansas City. The latter are called “ Missouri River points.” The Association is divided into three divisions. The two roads which run between St. Louis and the Missouri River form the St. Louis Division. The line from Toledo to the Missouri, via Hannibal, forms the Hannibal Division ; and the three roads which run south-west from Chicago, with their necessary connections, constitute the Chicago Division. By agreement forty-five per cent of the gross tonnage which passes in either direction is allotted to the St. Louis Division, a like amount to the Chicago Division, and the remaining ten per cent to the Hannibal Division. The business embraced is practically surrendered to the direction of the Association. Rates are established by joint authority for each division, and the business carried is extended at those rates. Reasonable efforts are made to divide the tonnage according to agreement ; but, if found impracticable, the excess of tonnage is computed at tariff rates, and the revenue derived therefrom, after the deduction of thirty per cent, for operating expenses, is paid to those which are short. These settlements are made monthly. Sometimes the balances are large ; but at the end of a year the account is nearly even. During the two years and a quarter which terminated with last November, the sum of \$450,000 had passed between the divisions in settlement of differences declared, and, at the date named, it appeared that the St. Louis Division had paid out about \$6000 more than it had received.

These results were attained on a total business of about \$10,000,000, and they sufficiently demonstrate the folly of fighting over a business which, if allowed to take its natural course, divides itself so evenly.

Aside from the general pool just described, sub-pools exist between the two St. Louis roads and between the lines which constitute the Chicago Division. Those roads agree in what proportions the forty-five per cent allotted to each division shall be divided among the lines which form either division. The same plan of settlement which governs in the general pool is applied to the sub-pools. The commissioner is the clearing-house officer under whose direction all settlements are made. The control, both of the local and the general organization, is thus centralized.

For the territory embraced, a money pool seems to be the only kind practicable by reason of the complexity of the conditions. Kansas and Nebraska are common ground. Their market is at Chicago or St. Louis. At certain seasons the movement preponderates in favor of one or the other. During the winter it usually turns toward St. Louis, while in summer navigation draws it to Chicago. At those periods it would be impracticable to divert the business out of its course. When there is a movement of grain to St. Louis, destined thence by river to New Orleans, it could not profitably be forced to Chicago; hence the Chicago roads let it go, and accept in lieu the money which their associates pay on account of excess they are enabled to carry at undisturbed rates. During navigation, Chicago pays St. Louis. But, as before shown, the accounts nearly balance at the end of the year.

With the trunk-line compact the conditions are simple. Four roads lead from New York to the West. The freight embraced can be sent to its destination by any of these routes. They have a common starting-point and common termini, which connect with roads that run to all points in the West. Provided shippers do not object, the commissioner can forward the freight by any route he may elect. In that way the agreed distribution could be readily made. But shippers do object, and more freight is delivered to certain roads than by allotment they are entitled to carry. Then, instead of equalizing by money payments, the excess freight is hauled to the roads that are short, and is sent by those lines to its destination. Notwithstanding the opposition encountered, this plan has been attended with considerable success. But it has been limited to the New York pool. The efforts to apply it to east-bound traffic

have failed. A like result, however, would have attended any other plan. For the co-operation essential to success was invariably wanting.

The hindrances which have been encountered are inseparable from the defects developed. The principal drawback is found in the brief period for which agreements have been made. Their duration has been limited to three months, or, in rare instances, to a year. These fitful efforts led the agents to believe that the compacts would not last long, and that, as a recurrence of fierce struggles for traffic was imminent, they must not, meantime, relax any effort to retain their share of business. Such a spirit was early shown ; and when it became evident that agreements could not be maintained unless the soliciting agents were withdrawn, objection was made that there was not sufficient assurance of permanence in the compacts to warrant such withdrawal. Yet it was manifest that an apportionment, if properly carried out, left nothing for these agents to do. Their retention, therefore, could only be fruitful in the event of its failure. The agreement seeks to maintain harmony. Their interest is to prevent it. In that respect they are quite successful, for they have absolutely no confidence in each other. Any considerable movement of freight over another road excites their worst suspicions ; because they will not admit that a rival line can, *fairly*, take a large lot of freight from a common point. Each man claims that his line is *the best*, and asserts that, on equal terms, his road would, certainly, get more business than could any other. These convictions they inject into their credulous superiors. Thereby distrust is created and discontent follows, whereupon the contracting parties take steps to "protect" themselves. Such action indeed is contrary to agreement and invites dissolution ; but it is hardly possible to restrain officer or agent when threatened with loss of business. These experiences are constantly recurring, and, nevertheless, the soliciting agents flourish, although, while they do, traffic compacts can not.

In the same category may be classed the fast freight lines. A Western manager called them "vampires." It was strong language, but their mission does seem to be to destroy. Compacts formed between competing roads are frequently subverted by the action of line agents. They are numerous and zealous ; and, being chiefly concerned to secure tonnage, any plan which limits those efforts is opposed to their interest. A complete pool would starve them out. Therefore their opposition is a struggle for existence.

Thus far they have the advantage, and they will retain it so long as they are supported by the trunk lines. The latter could obliterate them all. But they are not disposed to do it, although it is obvious that if the freight lines survive and prosper, traffic compacts can not.

The lack of an adequate binding force has also proved a serious defect. For a time dependence was placed upon the honor of members. That estimable quality was to hold all parties in ready submission. Experience soon dispelled the delusion, and taught that something stronger than promises was required. Men who had prided themselves on their "smartness" could not, by the adoption of fair resolutions, be induced to abandon their peculiar methods. They continued to practice sharp maneuvers, and their rivals, resolved not to be outwitted, resorted to counter-tricks. Such experiences, oft recurring, have forced the conclusion that no road will be absolutely honest unless the temptation to be dishonest is removed.

The same reliance proved illusory in another respect. The obligations incurred were considered debts of honor. Parties never felt that they could go into court and collect balances, if withheld from them ; consequently distrust existed, lest, when any member should be called upon to pay over a large amount, he might refuse, and thereby break the agreement. This occurred in a few cases. Usually the debtor road would bring forward an old claim, and propose to credit the amount declared on the unsettled account. Disagreement and separation followed. To avoid these troubles, the tonnage-pool—in which no money is passed—was devised.

Equally noticeable, and more disastrous, has been the omission to provide an effective method of arbitration. Compacts between rival companies require many concessions. Otherwise they can not stand. Yet parties to them frequently refuse to concede. Sometimes the difference is trifling in amount, but the companies "stand out," professedly for the "principle of the thing." Possibly more stubbornness than wisdom is generally displayed. But at any rate these "dead locks" could be avoided by arbitration. This, however, must be provided for in advance, as witness the inability of the trunk lines from Chicago to select an arbitrator. Early last summer, at a convention held in Saratoga, it was resolved that east-bound traffic from the principal Western points should be pooled ; and that, in case the companies could not agree as to the proportions in which the business should be distrib-

uted, the matter should be left to arbitration. Subsequently several ineffectual attempts were made to form the proposed organization. At two points—Indianapolis and St. Louis—agreements were reached without much delay or difficulty. But it was not until late in December that a definite motion to apportion the traffic from Chicago was made. Still, the parties could not agree as to what percentage they would accept. They agreed, however, to pool from that date, and that the tonnage should be divided in such proportions as should afterward be determined. This was hailed as a worthy achievement. Unfortunately the congratulation was premature, for soon it became evident that no one could be named as arbitrator who would be acceptable to all. After many vain endeavors, and the fruitless agency of another convention in New York, it was determined to leave the selection to the presidents of the trunk lines. In due course of time they met, and failed to agree, as their lieutenants had done.

Such a spectacle might have been avoided had the precise manner and method of arbitration been agreed upon before the necessity for it arose. That has long been the custom in Great Britain, where traffic agreements are wont to contain arbitration clauses. The "English and Scotch traffic agreement" provided that, in all cases of disagreement, the matter in dispute should be left to the decision of the railway clearing-house committee, or to Mr. Gladstone, or to Mr. Laing, or, failing these, to an arbitrator to be chosen by the several companies, or to a person to be named by the Attorney-General for the time being. In all cases the award was to be conclusive and binding upon the parties. The most noted decision under these stipulations was the so-called "Gladstone award," which was made in April, 1857. Four companies, whose lines ran northward from London, were unable to agree upon the proportions they would accept of the receipts to be derived from the business which was common to them. They agreed to refer the question to Mr. Gladstone, and to accept the award which he should make for a period of fourteen years. It was further agreed that the submission to reference might be made a rule of one of the superior courts of Westminster. The award stood for the period named; and during all that time one conversant with it says "it worked without difficulty." This was owing, remarks the same authority, not so much "to the great ability displayed as to the simplicity of the arrangement and the

good faith of the parties, who were all anxious to preserve rates and fares."

No less important was the famous "Humber agreement," by which the parties owning railways between the manufacturing districts and eastern seaports, "pooled" all the business for ten years, after the lapse of which the agreement was renewed, obviously with great benefit to all concerned. In this compact the reference to arbitration covered disagreements as to rates.

Both of these agreements were in advance of any similar efforts in this country. They were characterized by a sincerity which has here been strangely wanting. There have been few instances when the impression has prevailed that all "parties were anxious to preserve rates and fares," and were willing to make personal sacrifices to secure good results. Yet, precisely such surrender is demanded. Compacts, to be efficient, require absolute control of the traffic embraced. To that extent, therefore, the authority of general officers would be curtailed. Such a requirement was repugnant to many, and they refused compliance with it. They imagined the compacts were designed to lessen their authority, and felt constrained to resist the transfer. This view predominated in the subordinates; but was not confined to them. It was held to a considerable extent by those high in rank. Some, whose cheerful assent was necessary to success, observed that they were competent to manage their own business, and that they would not delegate the conduct of it to any individual or association. Arbitration they have rejected, on the assumption that they know their own business best, and that they neither wish nor will tolerate intervention.

These obstacles have been encountered, and in some cases have proved insurmountable. Presuming, however, that an agreement exists, there is one way in which the most insubordinate can be brought to terms. An association which divides money, provides penalties for violation of its rules, and empowers the executive to impose fines, is enabled to infuse into the most refractory a spirit of ready acquiescence in every reasonable requirement. Settlements are made as declared by the clearing-house; and that carries the authority to correct errors and to extend all traffic at the rates and in the manner prescribed. It is a discretion which, in effect, becomes very potential and salutary.

The defects indicated are inherent to the organizations. They may be called domestic troubles. But there are external weaknesses, and the chief one, perhaps, is the equivocal position which

pooling compacts sustain before the law. They are private partnerships whose operations have a public interest. Their status has been in England the subject of legal inquiry. The leading case is that of *Hare vs. London and Northwestern Railway Co.*, *Law Journal* (Chan.) 820. The court there said: "An allegation that injury would be caused to the public by the prevention of competition in consequence of working agreements between several companies, is not sufficient to invalidate such agreements; and an intention to prevent such competition as would be ruinous to the companies and not tend to the benefit of the public is good ground for holding such agreements to be valid." Afterward, in 1872, a joint committee of the Lords and Commons inquired into the matter. Their conclusion was thus stated: "Whether division of traffic receipts on the joint-purse plan is valid at law or not is open to considerable doubt. It is clear that the courts will not set aside such an arrangement on the ground that it is illegal in the sense of being contrary to public policy. But the doubt is whether such an arrangement—which is in effect a sort of partnership—is not *ultra vires* of such company, and whether it may not, therefore, be set aside at the instance of a shareholder. This doubt, the committee are advised, is such as to make it unsafe for companies to enter into such agreements without the sanction of Parliament, although there is evidence that they sometimes do."—*Rep. Railway Co.'s Amalgamation xxvi*. The advice referred to was given by the Solicitor-General, whose principal doubt was as to the legality of one company paying to another any portion of the receipts from traffic which the former did not carry.

Undoubtedly this is a strong point of objection, and it is one which can not be urged against a tonnage pool. It was not, however, sufficient to invalidate the pool formed between the Western Union and the Atlantic and Pacific Telegraph Companies, where a petition for that purpose was presented in the Supreme Court of New York, at Special Term, in June, 1878. In dismissing the petition, the judge said that he "failed to see that the consolidation of offices where there was not enough business for two was against public policy or *ultra vires*. Neither was any arrangement which the company might make to prevent ruinous competition against public policy; and, as the arrangement was manifestly for the interest of all parties concerned, there was nothing which called for the intervention of the court."

In support of this construction is the fact that pooling compacts have been recognized by the United States courts. The validity of the agreement which existed between the Kansas Pacific and the Atchison, Topeka and Sante Fé Railroads during the year 1877 was affirmed by the United States Circuit Court for the District of Kansas. This procedure was necessary because the Kansas Pacific was being operated by direction of the court. So, also, when the agreement made in June, 1878, between the Kansas Pacific, Union Pacific, and Colorado Central, was signed, a copy thereof was filed in the United States Court at Leavenworth, because the former company remained in control of the court. Notwithstanding this, compacts are harassed by threatened legislation—State and National. Its introduction may be regarded as tacit admission that pooling compacts are not contrary to existing law; but the feeling created has a depressing tendency; and it is quite evident that apportionments can not attain an enduring basis until they are clearly brought under the protective ægis of statutory law.

The last obstruction which needs to be noticed—the antipathy of the public—can neither be called a defect nor a fault; rather it is a misfortune. As a rule, all combinations are regarded with disfavor. In that respect pools are not exceptional. The outcry against them finds utterance in the local press. Complaint is made that they advance the rates and keep them up. The fixedness is what displeases. Each city wants to be in a position to command “fighting” rates. That accomplished, a contest is soon provoked, which the roads are expected to carry on regardless of expense. Such has been the history in New York and other ambitious centers of commerce. The question as to whether the rates charged are reasonable in themselves, does not enter into the discussion. The clamor is for rates that will exclude the competition of rival marts. In fact, the struggle is one of cities, but, as railways constitute the force with which the “war” is waged, they have to bear the brunt of it. With such arrangements apportionment compacts seriously interfere. The object of these is to preserve peace, maintain agreed rates, and thereby add to the revenues of the railroads. In other words, they are organized for profit, not for glory.

In view of the drawbacks enumerated, the question occurs as to which form of compact is best adapted to the condition of things as they exist. At the outset it may be said that a money pool is practicable in all cases, while a tonnage pool is not. Provided all par-

ties desire to secure the best results, a money pool can be made successful under circumstances which would subvert the most skillfully conducted tonnage pool. A trouble with the latter is, that, even when practicable, it is powerless to prevent or punish violations of agreement. Let us assume, for example, that the roads from Chicago are pooled on a tonnage basis, and that one member secretly contracts for the season's business of certain large shippers. The freight will take that route in order to get the benefit of the contract, thereby creating a preponderance of tonnage on that particular line. It can not be diverted to other roads unless these other roads carry out the rate agreed upon with the individual shipper; and if they do, then the object in forming the pool—the maintenance of an established tariff of rates—is defeated. In any event, there is no satisfactory way of remedying the disorder. With a strong money pool it might be otherwise. Suppose the rate to be twenty-five cents per one hundred pounds when such a contract with the individual is made, say at twenty cents. As soon as the fact becomes known, the Association increases the rate to thirty cents, and obliges the route which carries the freight to pay into the general fund at that price. Will the road want to carry the freight for twenty cents, when it has to account for it on the basis of thirty cents? Presumably not. Actual occurrences demonstrate that, in such event, the road manifests considerable anxiety to get rid of the contract, and usually finds a way to become relieved of the burden.

Take another view. Five roads from a given point agree to accept certain established proportions of the business. One road may be allotted ten per cent; but, for some reason, it gets only five per cent. The pool agent endeavors to "even up," but fails. What compensation is the road to receive for the five per cent of tonnage which it was promised, but could not get? No provision exists whereby it can be compensated in money; and, as it can not get the tonnage, it is defrauded of its due, and the "physical pool" provides no remedy. Instances may be cited. A tonnage pool was arranged from Peoria in the spring, and again in the winter of 1878. In the latter case, one road was allotted a small percentage—say five per cent. The first month it carried three fourths of one per cent. Another road was allotted a small percentage, and failed to get even a fraction! The two got neither freight nor its equivalent. In both cases disruption speedily followed. Possibly the same result would have attended a money pool, for it was evident that

the parties had no confidence in each other, and were resolved to snatch all the business within reach. But, at any rate, under a money-pool system the roads that failed to get their percentage of tonnage would have been compensated therefor in money by the roads which carried the excess.

The chief advantage of the tonnage pool is that, if all parties will fairly co-operate, and it is practicable, it obviates the necessity [and the legal question] of paying money for services which the recipient has not rendered. But, taking railway men as they are—alive to their own interests and distrustful of others—it can neither afford a guarantee that rates will be maintained nor inflict adequate penalties in case they are not. This opinion is very generally entertained—almost unanimously by the Western managers, and that it is shared by some in the East the following quotation from a letter written by one of large experience and rare attainments clearly shows: “The general principle of agreements in England is a division of money instead of a ‘material’ or ‘physical’ pool, as in the United States, and I must say that, so far as my experience leads me, it is the only plan likely to prove permanent. By it all parties have an interest in preserving rates; the incentive to competition is abolished by making the allowance for working expenses barely enough to pay cost; and, by monthly settlement through the clearing-house, all difficulty is avoided.”

This conclusion would hardly apply to similar agreements in this country. The incentive to competition is never completely abolished, no matter how limited the allowance for working expenses. Parties have in view a revision of percentages, and they often risk a temporary loss in order to increase their tonnage and thereupon base a claim to increased allotments. When the gross amount in the pool approximates a million dollars, an additional gain of even one per cent is an important consideration. Consequently, the divisions are a constant source of discord and dissatisfaction. When it is proposed to agree upon divisions, each road insists upon more than it can possibly secure, and then grumblingly accepts all it can get. The difficulties are increased if one of the parties labors under disabilities. Should it be unable, on equal terms, to acquire a large business, yet be in a position to injure that of others, and make their business worthless to them, it urges that as a reason why it should be given more than it is fairly entitled to. Sometimes, for the sake of harmony, the demand is complied with; but the others feel none the less keenly that they have been victimized. Hence,

if the necessity of agreeing upon percentages could be obviated, and agreed rates withal be maintained, the desired remedy would be discovered.

Such expedient has not yet been found. It is comparatively easy to point out the defects of traffic compacts ; but no one has arisen who can prescribe the proper remedy. No man has shown himself competent to solve the railway problem. Its intricacies have baffled the ablest minds. And if the results are so barren among those skilled in the profession, it need not excite wonder that Congress fails to develop a man equal to the emergency. The majority of managers—perhaps all of them—are so engrossed with the duties peculiar to their several stations that they have no time to devote to the study of problems of general interest. Yet, were some one to work out a possible solution, and present it for their consideration, the probability is that he would be regarded as a dreamer. Nevertheless they are anxiously observing the tendency of events. With dark foreboding they scan the future, in which they discern so little promise that many would, doubtless, welcome the intervention of Congress. In truth, that resort, in various forms, is rapidly possessing the minds of railway men. They are agreed as to the desirability of authority to form clearing-houses. And because they are so agreed, and it can be shown that such a measure would not conflict with public policy, probably it will, eventually, be enacted.

A number of clearing-houses would be necessary. The traffic would have to be districted. In the West, natural dividing lines are found in Chicago and St. Louis, cities which compete for the trade of a large territory. The business there could be brought under control of one clearing-house, which might include all traffic to or from the Missouri River. Passing east from St. Louis and other Mississippi River points, the traffic should be subject to one direction. It would come within the province of the trunk-line association, which should jointly control all traffic destined to the seaboard via Milwaukee, Chicago, St. Louis, or any intermediate points. That originating at or destined to the South is a class of business which passes through St. Louis, Cairo, Louisville, or Cincinnati, and should be separately controlled ; while that directly South is a business which is essentially distinct, and should be so treated. West-bound from the seaboard, the business could be disposed of in similar manner. The various organizations being conformable to the same general law, would be enabled to act har-

moniously in all matters of common interest. The managers of the roads belonging to each clearing-house should constitute its board of directors. They should have authority to establish the rates of fare and freight, and to appoint and remove the contracting agents and others necessary to the conduct of the business. That would bring into subordination those who have hitherto been a disturbing element. Possibly, the officer in charge of the clearing-house might be made to sustain a quasi-governmental relation. That is, in consideration of the authority to associate together and sue for balances declared, the Government might retain the right to a voice in the appointment and removal of the commissioners. They should be authorized to construe all regulations, and define what constitutes unfair inducements. It should also be their special duty to prevent unjust discrimination. For that purpose they should be empowered to administer oaths ; and, in the prosecution of inquiries or the hearing of causes they should have authority to summon witnesses and require them to answer under oath. Such provisions would strengthen the officers, and impart to them somewhat of the judicial character. Their rulings would not satisfy all parties ; but the method suggested would render them more independent than it is possible for them now to be. Besides, it would fit them to become fair arbitrators ; hence it might be provided that disagreements should be referred to them and their decision be made binding upon all parties.

It may be useless to suggest the foregoing or any other expedient that can be devised ; for so disturbed and unlooked for are affairs, that the events of the morrow may render inoperative the best schemes of to-day. Observing this, many are inclined to think that to development and not to the suggestive theory we must look for the solution desired. Yet there is ground for the belief that a competent commission, acting under authority of Congress, could elicit much useful information. To do that, the men should be qualified for their work. They should be familiar with the matter under consideration. If a medical, a legal, or a scientific subject is to be investigated, care is taken that the inquiry shall be conducted by men conversant with the particular profession or science. In like manner, when a subject of which the operations concern every community in the land is to be examined, it would seem incumbent that the men who are intrusted with the duty should be fitted by education and experience for its proper performance. Such has been the custom elsewhere. Men of more than national reputa-

tion—notably Lord Derby, Lord Salisbury, and Mr. Childers—have served on the royal commissions of England, and Mr. Gladstone has shared prominently in the recommendations. All of the gentlemen named are prominently identified with railroad enterprises and are familiar with their operations. In this country such knowledge has been a bar to appointments on railway commissions or on committees of inquiry. Usually the former have been given as rewards for political service ; and it has been a natural consequence that the results have not surpassed the expectations.

Assuredly, then, were Congress to order an investigation, it should be ably conducted. Men to represent all sides of the controversy should be appointed. Merchants and manufacturers, advocates of cheaper transportation, and opponents of combinations, railway men, and those who have made the subject a special study, should alike be fairly represented. Thus constituted, the commission should hear all parties or bodies—corporate or private—who have complaints to make or grievances to state, and anent them, should receive the testimony of those who hold different views. In that way, possibly, a wise solution could be evolved, and incorporated into law.

Otherwise, the jangle and the conflict may continue. How long, none can tell ; perchance until the advent of one possessed of the authority and ability to educe order out of the prevailing chaos. Failing which, legislation may be invoked, to attempt, by compulsion, what those whose province it is have failed to accomplish by agreement.

ARMY REORGANIZATION.

THE bills for the reduction and reorganization of the army, introduced into Congress during its last two sessions, have aroused more than an ordinary interest in the subject. Heretofore, except when some special occasion required the immediate use of the army, military legislation has been regarded with indifference. The subject has been so little understood, or, indeed, cared for, that its discussion has usually failed to excite even so much interest as the subordinate political appointments in a large city. This supineness of feeling, as to army matters, seems now changed into an active public desire that our army system may be thoroughly developed into such an one as the needs of the country require. It is apparent, from the recent discussions in Congress, and from the tone of the public press, that in future no bill is likely to become a law which has not this for its object. Certainly the importance of the subject renders it well worthy of all the consideration it can be expected to receive.

It has been the habit in Congress, and indeed among some officers in the service, to decry and abuse our system of army organization. It is said that our army contains a greater number of commissioned officers, in proportion to the enlisted men, than any other ; that this excess of officers is beyond all reason and necessity ; that our staff system is cumbrous, unwieldy, and inefficient ; in short, that there is scarcely any part of the system which does not require change. Unfortunately, the ears of Congress have usually been open to these radical theories, and our legislation on military matters has frequently been better calculated to injure than to benefit those public interests for the protection of which the army is intended. Our system of organization undoubtedly has many defects, but its salient and most important features are the result of our own practical experience. Each one of these features was adopted after years of trial, and only after it had been found wise. It may be claimed that no system has ever been subjected to severer tests or has ever accomplished better results than

ours in the war of the Rebellion. If we consider the difficulties of the situation at the opening of the Rebellion, it may be doubted whether even the much-vaunted Prussian system accomplished more.

We say that our system is the outgrowth from our own experience. It is calculated for the performance of military duty as required by the circumstances of our own country. It has in no respect been adopted in accordance with the rules by which an equal number of men in Europe would be organized, nor should it be. With us, the country, the methods of supply, and the characteristics of the people are entirely different from the same features in all other countries. If these be considered, it will be found that the objections urged against our system are not worthy of the consideration which they have received ; that though our excess of officers is great, yet that a large excess is rendered necessary by the kind of duties which our army is required to perform ; that though some portions of our staff may not be so efficient as can be desired, yet that an entire reorganization of the army is not necessary to correct this. The continued application of our own military experience would be far better calculated to cure our army defects than all the theories in the world based upon the experiences of other nations.

In Europe bodies of troops, sometimes as large as our entire army, are stationed together in the neighborhood of a large city. Every kind of supply required by them can be procured in the immediate vicinity. If moved from one portion of the country to another, their march is through a thickly populated and highly cultivated country, which affords every thing needed by them. It very rarely happens that any European garrison consists of less than a regiment, and it is still more rare for any body of troops to be stationed in a locality which does not furnish the greater portion of the supplies which they require. Where the subsistence, transportation, and shelter of troops are so simple and easy, the number of agents required to manage these matters can not be large. In fact, in most European countries these duties, although important, are deemed so simple of execution that they are intrusted to civilians. A knowledge of the military profession is not considered necessary for these officials, and their easy duty consists in providing the troops with supplies which are usually to be found close at hand.

In the United States the usual conditions are widely different. The concentration of an entire regiment in one place is of such

infrequent occurrence that it might almost be said never to happen. Our troops are scattered in small parties of from twenty-five to one or two hundred men at immense distances from each other, over our entire country. The size of these smaller garrisons does not exceed that of the ordinary patrols in any European service. The larger portion of our army is on the Indian frontier, and there is not a single one of these stations to which it is not necessary to transport by far the greater part of all stores needed by the troops. Indeed many of these stations are in places where not even a small garden can be cultivated. The stores thus required by frontier garrisons are purchased in those large business centers, where each class of stores can be obtained most economically, and are thence shipped to their destination. In order to make the various purchases, and to dispatch them to the many different detachments scattered from the Mississippi River to the Pacific ; above all things, so to arrange that stores shall always be in the hands of the troops in sufficient quantity when required, and never in excess, many officers, besides those immediately on duty with the troops, are needed. As many officers are necessary to supply the few hundred soldiers now scattered over Arizona, as would be required to supply fifty thousand men stationed in the same localities. Citizens can not perform this duty. Knowledge of our military service, as it exists, is necessary on the part of the agents having the duty in charge, that loss to the government may be prevented, and to insure the troops receiving at the proper time all that they need. These facts, and the necessity which exists in time of war for detailing educated officers from the regular army to do duty with volunteers, are the necessary and proper causes why our army contains so many more commissioned officers than any similar number of troops in a European army.

These reasons, and the fact that it is necessary to obtain army stores at points so distant from the stations of the troops, have rendered necessary a staff organization for army supply. Experience had shown that in this, as in every other class of business, specialists were needed, so as to secure efficiency and economy, and this organization was divided into several branches, in order that each might be charged with appropriate special duties. Eventually it was found that the government could manufacture certain classes of stores (as, for example, ordnance and ordnance stores, clothing, etc.) at less cost and of better quality than the same articles could be procured by purchase. This led to the establish-

ment of arsenals and depots of construction. In the control and conduct of these, specialists, who should not only understand the fabrication of the articles themselves, but who should also have a knowledge of the various circumstances under which they were to be used, were necessary. The supply departments of our staff differ from those of many European armies in this, that a knowledge of the characteristics of our frontier military service on their part is indispensable. Without this it is impossible for them properly to perform their duties.

In organizing the other branches of the staff the same necessity for the employment of specialists has existed, and with this in view their present organization was established. Surely no plan more in accordance with practical experience or human wisdom than this could have been adopted. If any members of the different staff departments do not possess the special knowledge required for the performance of their duties, it is by no means an evidence that the organization is imperfect. It may prove that bad appointments have been made in the staff. It certainly should not lead to a condemnation of the organization itself, but rather to the adoption of some system by which the appointment of more competent men may, if necessary, be secured. The most notable objections urged against the staff are more of a personal character than otherwise, and it would appear preferable to treat them as such. Even if the accusations were well founded in every case, and there is good cause to doubt this, yet there is in existence ample law and military authority to correct all that is wrong. If, in trying to remedy the faults which are alleged against our present staff, Congress should see fit to adopt the new organization proposed during the last session, based, as this is, on theory alone, it will probably be found that for every staff defect which has thus been terminated, a hundred others of more importance have been given an existence. The wisdom of doing away, as proposed, with one organization, which has proved its efficiency, and of substituting therefor another, the results of which no one can positively foresee, seems at least problematical.

The line of an army is its fighting force, and is composed of cavalry, infantry, and artillery. Congress has, from time to time, fixed the relative strength of these arms in our service, as is done in European armies, in accordance with the supposed importance of the duties each has had to perform. The artillery being for the protection of our harbors, is mainly stationed near large cities.

Being within easy access of the seat of government, its duties, subject to little variation, have generally been well understood. The number of its regiments, which for many years has remained comparatively unchanged, has been determined by the number of permanent fortifications on the coast to be garrisoned. The posts occupied by cavalry and infantry have generally been on the verge or beyond the limits of civilization. Owing to the distance which separated these two arms from the settlements, the nature and importance of their duties have not been so well understood. It has been known, of course, by Congress, that they were intended to control the Indians and to furnish protection to our frontier settlers who have been steadily increasing in number, and that for this service both arms were required. But cavalry being a costly arm, the policy has been never to keep it in sufficient strength to meet the necessities of the service. Its regimental organizations being, therefore, always at a minimum, have not been diminished. In the frontier problem the infantry has been the unknown quantity. It has, consequently, been selected to bear the brunt of Congressional experiment and economy, and the number of its regiments has been repeatedly reduced.

Until within recent years good reasons existed for uncertainty on the part of Congress as to the proper strength for both the cavalry and infantry. The Western country was a *terra incognita* to members, and little was known of the strength, character, and warlike power of the various Indian tribes. This, however, is no longer the case. Now the unknown country has been thoroughly explored. Each available portion has been partially, if not wholly, settled, and its various interests examined. The different Indian tribes are well understood, and to-day there can scarcely be a reasonable doubt as to what the military necessities of each frontier locality are. Under these circumstances it ought to be as easy to determine the proper permanent number of regiments for these two arms, as it has been to establish those of the artillery.

Besides this periodical reduction of the infantry regiments, it has been the policy of Congress, whenever seized with an economical fit, to reduce the number of enlisted men throughout the army. This course was persistently followed from 1868 until 1876, when in consequence of difficulties with the Sioux, and upon the Mexican border, and more especially by reason of the successes gained by the Sioux over the skeleton organizations sent against them, an increase of about two thousand men to the cavalry was authorized.

These recruits were necessarily enlisted with the greatest haste, and were sent at once to their regiments. The need was urgent, and there was no time either to train them or to give them any instruction whatever. Those assigned to companies engaged in the Sioux war went immediately to the field and participated in the campaign, which was perhaps the severest ever made by our troops. In this they were of little use, and were only a heavy burden to the older men. The effect of such exposure to danger and hardship upon new recruits could scarcely have been doubtful. In a short time after their return to quarters most of them, thoroughly disgusted with military duty, deserted, and carried off with them their horses, arms, equipments, and other valuable public property. It would be profitable information for the government if it could be ascertained how much real service these men rendered in return for their pay, clothing, and subsistence, and what actual loss in money their thefts caused the United States. If an emergency similar to the Sioux war should again arise, and it is liable to occur at any time, it is not improbable that the troops then to be sent into the field would be increased in the same hurried manner. As in the case mentioned, the measure, instead of being beneficial to the country, will only serve to swell the number of desperadoes on the Western plains, and fully to supply them, at government cost, with horses, arms, ammunition, clothing, tentage, and such other public property as may be necessary for them.

Unless we acquire additional territory in future, the problem what the strength of our army ought to be appears by no means difficult of solution. It should at least be amply large to afford protection to the more important frontier settlements. Except in 1867 and 1868, when the army contained about fifty thousand men, it has never been sufficiently large to accomplish this. No doubt if every officer and soldier were at all times available for the service, a much smaller force than that which we nominally have would be sufficient. But this is not the case. Our troops are scattered in small detachments at remote and widely separated posts, many of them at great distances from a railroad. These posts are established near Indian tribes in order to control them, or for the protection of settlers in localities, where Indians, when hostile, are liable to commit depredations. Most of these posts, built entirely of wood, are liable to be burned. In many of them large accumulations of stores are necessary, and instances are not rare in which, if one of them should be destroyed by fire, the loss to the

government in money would be sufficient to raise, equip, and maintain a cavalry regiment for some time. To care for and protect the public property of a frontier post, soldiers are necessary. It may safely be said that in most cases their garrisons are too small to perform fully the duty required of them, and to withdraw or diminish the garrison of any one of them, with the idea that each man is available for temporary service elsewhere, is to sacrifice for the time the interests which led to the establishment of the post, and to abandon all it contains to probable loss or destruction by fire, theft, and depredation of every kind.

Even, however, if every frontier garrison could be used for duty beyond its immediate vicinity, even if every man of the army could be always available for duty at some one point, the great distances between the stations, and the difficulties of communication from one to another, would prevent any concentration of troops being made in sufficient numbers, and with requisite promptitude to meet an important emergency. These facts, and the military protection which other frontier settlements have a right to demand, lead to the belief that the government can not usually expect to place in the field at any one point for active operations more than from a fourth to a half of its present army, and that it is unable to do even this without immense expense for transportation of troops, and at great sacrifice of time. As a result of the difficulties under which the government labors in concentrating troops, it may be mentioned that few instances have occurred in which detachments operating against hostile Indians have not been largely outnumbered by them.

There are now nearly fifty thousand Indians, who are capable of bearing arms, within the limits of the United States. All are well armed, well provided for war, and most of them are superb warriors. Being in possession of the most improved weapons, and thoroughly skilled in their use, they are probably the equals, man for man, in their own peculiar mode of warfare, of any troops in the world. Some of them are superior to our soldiers, who are not so well mounted, and who do not have that intimate knowledge of the country which the Indians possess, and which is indispensable for the success of military operations against them. It is true that at this time all of them are at peace, and that a number of them have been so for years; but who can tell at what moment any one of the tribes may change its temper and commence the usual frontier butcheries? Besides the duty of controlling and, when neces-

sary, punishing the Indians, it is the duty of the cavalry and infantry to patrol our Mexican frontier, in order to prevent raiding parties from either side. Experience has amply shown that for the reasons stated their present strength is by no means sufficient for the work required of them. It has also shown that, in the majority of our Indian wars, this paucity of numbers has been the cause of great and unnecessary loss of life.

The section of country in which the cavalry and infantry are principally called on to serve, and in which their duties chiefly lie, is divided into six military commands. These are called the departments of Dakota, the Platte, the Missouri, Texas, Arizona, and the Columbia. There is at this time in each of these a military force sufficient probably to furnish local protection to the most exposed and important points. There is not, however, a large enough body to do much more than this, without sacrificing valuable interests in the vicinity of the military stations, and without great loss and expense to the government. To prevent this sacrifice, and in order that Indian wars may be promptly closed, and to a great extent altogether prevented, these two arms should, it is believed, be increased by at least five thousand (5000) men. As much as possible of this increase should be of cavalry. It should be distributed among the departments mentioned as a reserve force, to be held at some central point in each, so as to meet emergencies without delay and as they shall arise. The expense of maintaining this additional number of men would probably be little greater than that the government is now forced to meet in its frantic and extravagant efforts to concentrate troops, when a necessity occurs, and which would thus be avoided. It would certainly be a judicious expenditure, for by its means Indian depredations, being punished as soon as committed, would become far less frequent, and perhaps would in time entirely cease. If our army had been kept in sufficient strength during the past twelve years, it is not unreasonable to believe that Indian disturbances would long since have been stopped; that every mineral, agricultural, and cattle interest of the West would have been now fully developed, and each available portion of the frontier would now be settled.

If experience be of any value, the faults of our military system can scarcely be found in our army organization. Neither can they be found among our officers and men. The former is the condensed result of many experiments, extending through more than half a century, and made in actual war against both civilized and un-

civilized enemies. Its division into line and staff, and the organization assigned to each, have been adopted after long and exhaustive trials of other systems, many of which, although proved to be inefficient and by no means in accordance with the nature and necessities of our service, still find the strongest advocates. That the officers and men of the army are not responsible for whatever defects it contains, is susceptible of the clearest proof. It is sufficient to refer to the continued record they have made to show that history affords no brighter example of devotion to duty, or of greater success under more difficult and discouraging circumstances. Except in rare individual instances they can well afford to challenge the most hostile criticism.

Our army defects are rather to be found in the policy heretofore pursued toward the army by the government and the people of the country. This policy has been, while giving to the army reasonable pay for hard work, to regard it as a necessary evil to be abated as soon as possible. Except at the close of the Mexican war and of the war of the Rebellion, when extravagant appreciation of its services was shown, Congress has rarely had any other avowed motive than economy in its army legislation. Few, if any, efforts looking to the improvement of officers and men in their profession have been made. Rewards for marked gallantry or prominent merit have been of the rarest occurrence, and the power to confer them has never existed, except at long intervals, when some accidental circumstance has necessitated a temporary army increase. No other system than that of punishment for neglect of duty can be found in our military laws.

The officers of the army are appointed from the graduates of the West Point Academy, from civil life, and from the ranks of the army. The graduate is commissioned and joins his regiment after passing his final examination at the Academy. Those appointed from civil life and from the ranks are required to pass an examination before a board of officers before they can be commissioned. Except in the pay department, all commence their service at the lowest grade. Immediately upon being commissioned, each appointee begins his work ; and thereafter, during the remainder of his life, unless he enter the Engineer, Ordnance, or Medical Departments of the staff, in which examinations for promotion are exacted, the government makes little further effort to test his capacity or skill. Many officers possess far more than ordinary ability and fitness for military affairs, but no incentive for superior profes-

sional excellence is offered to them. Owing to our system of promotion by seniority, long life is the only aid through which they can attain high rank, and few care to spend their time in studying the dry details of their profession, which, when acquired, bring, in our service, neither pleasure nor reward. Many turn their attention, after learning the routine of their daily duties, to other subjects, far more congenial or profitable to themselves. Every officer understands that for neglect of duty he is liable to reprimand or to trial by court-martial, but he also knows that, even if he volunteers for a difficult or arduous service, and succeeds in its accomplishment, his success is of little practical value to himself.

The *morale* of our army is undoubtedly as good as that of any army in the world. It is to be doubted, however, if it possesses as much military enthusiasm as some others. Nor is this to be wondered at when the nature of its duties, the hardships it undergoes, and the treatment it receives from the people are considered. If Congress would cease its attempts to better the organization of the army, and turn its attention to measures of encouragement for officers and men, the result would doubtless be more profitable to the country. It would certainly correct, if necessary, the army evils which are now complained of, but which, if they exist, no mere change of organization can eradicate.

In order that officers may have incentives to study their profession, and to strive for superior excellence in it, it is believed that Congress should fix, permanently, as far as practicable, the numerical strength of the army, so that officers may understand that they hold their commissions for life or during good behavior. This can readily be done, as the military necessities of the country will probably not be less for many years to come than they now are. Legislative measures should be adopted, modifying the system of promotion by seniority, and requiring the examination of every officer (as is required in the Engineer, Ordnance, and Medical Departments) for promotion to each grade, until he reaches that of colonel. The law limiting the number of officers on the retired list should, it is believed, be repealed. The severe nature of our military service is more liable to make officers infirm and to break them down at an earlier age than happens to any other professional men. Very many are now absent from duty by reason of wounds, sickness, or other infirmities incurred in the government service. The duties which they owe to the country, but can not perform, necessarily devolve in their absence upon their juniors, who, for

the performance of these extra labors, receive no additional rank or compensation. It would be hard to devise a greater injustice to the younger officers, or a better plan for deadening ambition among them.

Besides the adoption of these measures, upon which it is believed that the increased proficiency of the army vitally depends, it is suggested that the course of study at the Military Academy be somewhat changed, so that graduates may have a greater knowledge of the world than is now the case, and also may be better qualified to perform the practical duties required of them when they first join their regiments. Undoubtedly the graduate leaves the Academy with a high sense of honor, and an ardent enthusiasm for his profession. The instruction he has received in the course of study marked out for him could not have been more thorough or more conscientiously imparted. It is believed, however, that both discipline and instruction can be modified, with advantage to the service, by making each more practical and liberal. To the end that both may be more in accordance with the duties and necessities of an officer's life, it is suggested that the management, study, and discipline of the Academy be subjected to an annual examination by a board composed of superior officers of the line and of the staff corps.

It would be a great advantage to the officers of the cavalry and infantry if schools similar to that for the artillery at Fortress Monroe could be established for their instruction. They have now no opportunity afforded them to study any thing else of their profession than the tactics and army regulations. As something more than this is necessary for the officers of the United States Army, it is believed that greater facilities for acquiring information should be given them. Suitable instructors for such schools can be found in the arms for which they would be intended, and the courses of instruction at each of them, including that at Fortress Monroe, might with propriety embrace not only the appropriate professional studies, but also those of a general character, which every officer is expected from his position in life to understand.

The recruiting of the army is conducted by two separate services, one for the mounted, the other for the unmounted service. If the recruit enlists in the latter, he is assigned to either the infantry or artillery, as accident or the necessity of the moment may determine. It would, perhaps, be more advantageous if the recruiting for these two arms were conducted separately, in order

that their recruits might understand beforehand the nature of the duties they will have to perform. Many men enlist with a desire for Western adventure, and to assign them to duty on the sea-coast is a probable cause of discontent and dissatisfaction. On being enlisted they are sent to the depot, where they are kept until a sufficient number has been accumulated to be sent to the regiment most in need of them. While in depot efforts are made to instruct them in their duties, but their stay is usually so short that these efforts accomplish but little, and they join their regiments practically ignorant of their functions. Great care is exercised in obtaining the best men. The drain upon the enlisted men on the frontier by wounds, disease, and death, and the difficulty in obtaining good men in sufficient numbers, owing to the small number of recruiting officers allowed, prevents their being kept in depot long enough for any other than the most elementary instruction. Their services would be much more useful, and far less costly, if, when sent to their regiments, they were already competent to perform the duties required of them. Fewer men would become disgusted with the service, and consequently fewer would desert. The loss and damage to public property intrusted to them would be materially diminished. To accomplish this, it is only necessary to increase the number of recruiting officers for a few months from time to time. The additional outlay, rendered necessary by this increase, would be more than repaid by the increased efficiency of the men, and by the smaller expense to which the government would be subjected in its efforts to keep regiments at their proper standard in men and material.

It is difficult to imagine any life to which a respectable man can be subjected more entirely without comfort than that of our soldiers in garrison. As a rule, company quarters consist of one room only, in which the company, consisting sometimes of nearly a hundred men, are domiciled. In this the soldier is allowed an iron bedstead, covered with a bag of straw, a few blankets, perhaps a box for his clothes, and by a recent order a chair for every two men. The small amount of reading matter which his officers may have been able to provide for him is kept in a post library, and as there is neither sufficient quiet nor sufficient light in his barracks, he is forced to go to the library for its use, where the space and books will not perhaps accommodate one tenth of the command. If the soldier prefers other sources of amusement, if he is fond of athletic games or out-door sports, his officers possess no means by

which these can be provided in sufficient quantity for him. Having few amusements or comforts under any circumstances, forced to occupy his barrack room in common with so many others, finding in it neither light nor quiet nor comfort, and disturbed at all hours by men whose habits differ from his own, it is not extraordinary that many respectable men, who would otherwise be good soldiers, become disgusted with the service, and are driven to seek amusement and change from the unvarying discomforts and monotony of their lives in the disreputable places which usually surround a garrison, and in which the best men soon become demoralized and ruined.

As a class our soldiers are far more intelligent and are much better citizens than is ordinarily supposed. The assertion can not justly be denied that to no one class of its population is the country under greater obligation for valuable services rendered, for unswerving loyalty and fidelity in whatever it has been their duty to perform, than to the soldiers of the regular army. No portion of its population has given less cause for the indifference with which they are usually treated, or for the unmerited reproach frequently heaped upon them. If proper remedies for the evils of the soldier's life and wise measures for his improvement were adopted, the larger number of offenses occurring in the army, and which have their origin in the causes just mentioned, would undoubtedly cease.

To accomplish this result, it is suggested that the system of quartering so many men in one room be changed, and that smaller rooms, not to contain over twenty-five men each, and provided with alcoves for two or four men, be constructed whenever practicable; that a reading-room, supplied with books, magazines, and newspapers in suitable numbers, be provided for each company; that a good gymnasium, a billiard-room, and ten-pin alley be established at each permanent post, and that greater facilities for hunting and fishing be afforded the men.

It is believed that the system of saving and selling portions of the soldier's ration, to defray expenses of the regimental band, which many men of the regiment never hear, and for other purposes, the cost of which government should pay, ought to be abandoned. This is a fruitful and just source of dissatisfaction among the men, and can not be discontinued too soon. The ration is by no means sufficiently large to justify the application of any portion of it to other purposes than the maintenance of the men. If by

accident there should at any time be an excess, this should be devoted to the purchase of other articles of food which are not issued by the government, so that a greater variety than the ration affords may be provided.

In order to meet the additional expenditure which these measures would require, it is suggested that the fines and forfeitures paid by soldiers as punishment for offenses be made available. The sum accruing from this source goes into the fund for the maintenance of the "Old Soldiers' Home." For some years after the establishment of this institution these fines and forfeitures were necessary, to accumulate an amount by the interest of which the "Home" might be permanently maintained. Expenditures made from it during the last few years, however, more than justify the belief that the fund now far exceeds the present wants of the institution. The small stoppage which is made from each soldier's monthly pay for the benefit of this fund will, no doubt, be sufficient to meet the requirements of the future. Besides these fines and forfeitures, the punishments for soldiers, prescribed by law, are confinement in the post guard-house, or dishonorable discharge and confinement in the military prison at Fort Leavenworth. While in the guard-house the soldier performs no duty. If sent to the military prison his place in the company is of course vacant until another man joins. In either case his duties are performed by the good men of the command, who are thus punished for the evil deeds of bad men by the imposition of additional labor. They surely are entitled, under such circumstances, to receive whatever benefit these fines and forfeitures would bring them.

To establish any suitable measures of reform for the regular army, the action of both the legislative and the executive branches of the government is necessary. The latter can, if necessary, require a strict discharge of duty as defined by law, but it can not do more. Congress alone, from the very nature of our institutions, can offer incentives for superior professional attainment or enthusiastic service. It would have been much better for the interests of the country if this power had been more frequently or more permanently exercised, and if the instances of heroism which the army has cheerfully displayed on many occasions had been treated with less indifference.

OUR INTERNATIONAL CARRYING TRADE.

THE interchange of commodities between nations is now so immense that all maritime peoples are seeking to participate in the advantages and profits of the international carrying trade. But the great rivalry for predominance has, until within a few years past, been almost exclusively between England and the United States. Each of these countries foresaw at an early stage the magnitude into which this far-reaching trade would grow, as civilization, industry, human wants, and the means of gratifying them, were so rapidly developing and spreading to all parts of the earth. To hold the first position in a traffic of so much promise, and one that would give to the people possessing it so many enviable advantages, was well worthy a nation's contest.

American shipwrights and nautical men were the first to depart from the old established European models, with their high poops, inflected sides, full, bluff bows, and clumsy rig. They designed and adopted models peculiarly American, which for strength, speed, and symmetry as a completed structure, from keel to truck, placed American ships far in advance of those of any other nation. These vessels were the pride of our seaboard people, and the admiration of all connoisseurs wherever seen, and that was on every pathway of ocean commerce, and in nearly all harbors where commodities were transferred from nation to nation.

The astonishing performances of the American clipper ships, which equaled in speed the steamers of thirty years ago, when those ships first made their appearance, were the wonder of all nautical men and created an epoch in ocean navigation. Those clippers, and the ships which immediately preceded them, were everywhere preferred as freighters to the ships of any other nation. They served as models to foreign shipbuilders, and were soon closely imitated by British skill. American ships held this front rank in the world's maritime commerce for many years, and so far as the superior model, equipment, and management of sailing ships are concerned they still retain it.

When our maritime commerce was at its zenith, some twenty years ago, very nearly one third of the tonnage of all maritime countries belonged to the United States, about one third to Great Britain and her dependencies, and one third to all other nations ; and it is worthy of note that fully *two thirds* of the world's tonnage at that time belonged to English-speaking people, and does still, notwithstanding the falling off in the American portion of it. We had, at that prosperous period of our commerce, 2,650,000 registered tons of fine, large seagoing vessels employed on the long-voyage carrying trade, a very much larger proportion of our tonnage being so employed than that of any other nation.

The maritime nations of Europe are all contiguous to each other, and lie along the coasts of the Atlantic Ocean, the Baltic, the Black, and the Mediterranean Seas ; and nearly all of their international maritime trade with each other is carried on by small and medium-sized vessels, most of which are steamers. So large an amount of the tonnage of European States was employed in this neighborly trade that the proportion of their international tonnage, which remained to be engaged in the long-voyage carrying trade was much smaller than was the proportion of the American registered tonnage so employed. This wider and more extensive field of international carrying trade was consequently well occupied by American ships, which, exclusive of the lumber trade between North America and Europe, did from two fifths to one half of the whole long-voyage carrying trade of the world ; and did it, too, when that branch of the carrying trade was far more remunerative than it is now, or has been for some years past. The writer well recollects the time when from a penny to a penny and a half per pound was paid on cotton freights from Southern ports to Europe, and freighting on long voyages from other parts of the world was also very profitable.

The exports from the United States then gave, and still give, employment to more tonnage than the exports of any other nation, because they are so extensive, and so largely made up of raw and bulky materials, such as cotton, grain, rice, lumber, tobacco, provisions, etc. Yet at that most flourishing period of our foreign carrying trade, fully two thirds of our exports were carried in American bottoms, and about one half of our registered tonnage was engaged in carrying cargoes from one foreign country to another, which added millions upon millions annually to the credit side of our international account, and substantially aided in pro-

viding means for the payment of the balance of imports over exports, and our other debts owing abroad.

Such a position in maritime skill and enterprise was a high and enviable one for so young a nation to win over countries whose keels had been plowing seas and oceans for a thousand years. It would have been a still higher honor had we continued to hold that first position in ocean commerce in this age of steam, iron, and steel. But the materials of construction and the manner of propelling sea-going ships have greatly changed, and on account of a combination of adverse circumstances, we have not adapted ourselves to the changed conditions, and indeed probably could not readily have done so. Decadence followed, and we were compelled to give way to our great and more fortunate rival, and to fall back to the second place—and that, too, at a long interval—as ocean carriers and in maritime enterprise. The same combination of circumstances that brought our whole tonnage, registered and licensed, down to 4,200,000 tons, and the amount engaged in international trade from 2,650,000 down to 1,500,000 tons, carried the tonnage of the British empire up to the surprising amount of over 8,000,000 tons, and increased the amount employed in international trade in like proportion.

After steam navigation had overcome so many difficulties, and by practical experience had demonstrated that steam vessels could be successfully used for crossing the Atlantic with safety and profit, England and the United States became, to some extent, competitors for the honor and gain of establishing lines of ocean steamers; that would be sure to command the Atlantic passenger and light freight traffic, and supplant those large, fine-sailing packet ships, of American build, which were then running between New York and Liverpool. On our side the competition began in 1850 with the "Collins Line." This line consisted of four wooden steamers, the largest of their time, and equal, if not superior, in speed to any ocean steamers of that day; while for convenience and elegance of accommodation and thorough equipment there was nothing afloat that favorably compared with them. These noble ships caused no little surprise and anxiety in commercial England, and roused her maritime and commercial people to the most vigorous action. They entered into the rivalry with experience, determination, and energy, for they saw that their commercial future depended largely on the result, and as a result, in 1855, they sent us the large iron steamer *Persia*. This ship is admitted to have decided the superi-

ority of iron over wood as a material for the construction of steamers of great length and great engine power. Both governments, as well as shipwrights, engineers, nautical and commercial men, entered into the rivalry, and subsidies were given to their respective lines. The size of the ships grew to larger proportions, and iron continued to be preferred to wood for ships of such large capacity.

The manufacture of iron in England was an old and well-established pursuit, while with us it was in comparative infancy. There they had coal and iron ore in close proximity, in great abundance, and near shipbuilding yards and commercial ports. They had cheap labor awaiting employment, plenty of capital satisfied with moderate income, and thirty years' experience in iron shipbuilding—Mr. Fairbairn having built the first iron ship at Birkenhead in 1830 and 1831, and afterward, prior to 1848, having finished, in connection with the Lairds, over one hundred of the best iron steamers of that day. Besides, it was of vastly more pecuniary importance for England to secure the lion's share of the ocean carrying trade than it was for America, for the obvious reason that England is so limited in territory, and has so few sources of wealth indigenous to her soil. Of necessity she is largely dependent for her wealth and power upon carrying and exchanging the products and industries of other countries. By means of her manufactures and commerce she has drawn immense wealth from all quarters of the globe, from nearly all civilized and semi-civilized peoples, whereas, should she lose her vast international and maritime commerce, it is not probable that she would be able to maintain her present high state of general prosperity and influence.

On the other hand, the comparative youth of America, the only partial development of her great internal resources of every description, useful and ornamental, necessary and luxurious, would have enabled her to live independently within herself, even though for any cause she might have been for a time almost entirely shut out from foreign intercourse. Here labor was dear, our iron manufactures were but just struggling into life, and our limited capital could be more profitably employed than in a costly and doubtful struggle for the leading position in ocean steam navigation and the international carrying trade, which though of great national importance, and very desirable, seemed not to be of such *vital necessity* for America as for England. With this greater necessity and stronger motive, with the cordial support of their government, and far superior advantages in the abundance and cheapness of iron, and well-organ-

ized ship-yards supplied with experienced workmen, and with ample capital for carrying on the contest, the English people had the strongest encouragement to persevere, while our government withdrew its subsidy, continued the tax on iron and other materials that go into the construction of ships, and left this great national interest to contend alone against such a powerful alliance of opposing circumstances, that our commercial men saw that, even if success should finally be won, it must inevitably be only after great pecuniary loss. It is not surprising, therefore, that with so gloomy a prospect before them, the rivalry on our part was suffered to slumber, and capital was turned into more profitable channels. But had our merchants and legislators foreseen and realized the magnitude and great value of the interest they were abandoning, it is safe to say that the construction of iron ships, sailing and steam, would have been prosecuted with vigor; and had not the war intervened to cause a temporary suspension, we should have overcome all obstructions that lay in our path, and to-day be dividing both the steam and sailing navigation of the seas with our more successful rival, whose many lines of large, magnificent ocean steamers now so nearly monopolize the immensely valuable Atlantic trade carried on by steamships.

Generally the decline of American ocean commerce has been attributed to our civil conflict, and to the rebel corsairs that scoured the seas in search of American ships during the rebellion. Undoubtedly the war made upon our commerce by those cruisers was the cause of great destruction, waste, and loss of property to our people, and consequently of a great diminution of our tonnage, not only by destruction but by forcing the sale to foreigners of a large number of ships, and driving many to the protection of foreign flags to save them when sales could not be made. But the appearance of rebel cruisers upon the ocean and the havoc they committed upon our commerce were not the causes of the changed conditions of ocean navigation, which took a new departure about that time, and firmly established a radical revolution in the material of construction and the motive power of sea-going vessels. There were causes at work which were certain to produce the great change, which for some years had been advancing, anterior to the appearance on the ocean of those rebel cruisers lying in wait to burn American ships, which could not be taken as prizes into the ports of any civilized country.

Before the breaking out of the war the United States, as has been said, had won her position as the leading maritime mercantile

power, so far as regarded the long-voyage carrying trade, and had begun to turn her attention more earnestly than ever before to improving her internal communications, and to a general development of her domestic resources. Then the great and mighty struggle for the Union and the overthrow of slavery absorbed all the thoughts and energies of our people, and prevented them from continuing to be watchful observers of the signs foretelling the great change in the character of sea-going vessels which was so rapidly progressing on the other side of the Atlantic. While our people and their representatives lost sight of or disregarded the navigating interests, and gave their attention so fully to internal affairs, to great speculative enterprises, and to attempts to recover from the losses and ravages of war, the shipwrights, engineers, merchants, and seamen of England, believing that the time for a supreme effort to gain the dominion of the seas had come, gave their best thoughts and skill to exposing defects and providing such remedies as would improve and elevate their mercantile marine, and give to it a position which would insure such a long run of success as would, for years to come, place it above rivalry. It is true that the time for them to secure so great a prize was favorable, for there was no really strong contestant in the field, and they fully realized that success was a necessity for the continued prosperity of England. Our registered tonnage had fallen off about one half during that disastrous war, and we had no line of transatlantic steamers running. During this inert and unprogressive period in our shipping interests, England had materially changed the mode of propelling sea-going ships from sails to steam, and had brought into extensive use iron instead of wood, as by far the best and most economical material for the construction of vessels of all kinds.

The grand result was a vast fleet of iron sailing ships, and many lines of large, substantial, well-found, and well-managed ocean steamers, running to all parts of the world. In this respect so thorough a change has been wrought that in that country wood is no longer used as the chief material in the construction of merchant ships, either sailing or steam, but has entirely given place to iron.

When lines of steamers were first started, it was not intended that transatlantic steamers and those running to India, China, and other distant countries should be run as *general* freighting ships, but that they should be used as passenger ships, and for carrying light and valuable freight. But after the lines became well established, and experience showed the uses to which they could be put,

they soon began to compete with sailing ships for general cargo, and even heavy, bulky freight, such as railroad iron, grain, cotton, etc., and then even for lumber freights from the north of Europe to England. On account of their more rapid passage, greater safety and dispatch in and out of port, and less rate of insurance on cargo, they commanded business in preference to sailing vessels, and generally at higher rates of freight.

But a further advance, another important step forward in the reign of steam is now progressing. Steamers constructed and especially fitted for freighting ships are fast coming into use, and it is said with decided advantage over sailing ships, for every kind of freighting business. We have reliable information that over one hundred and fifty iron steamers, especially constructed and fitted for *the general carrying trade only*, were under construction in England during the latter part of last year, many of which must be now completed. These freighting steamers are of low power, being what are termed from *eight to nine* knot boats, and range from fifteen hundred to upward of two thousand tons measurement. All kinds of materials are at present exceptionally low, and such steamers can now be bought or contracted for at £10 per ton of their carrying capacity, or at £13 on their gross register, complete for sea, except provisions. This is but £1 per ton more than the cost of iron sailing ships ready for sea, with the same exception.

To show still further how completely England has entered on the era of steam for all ocean work, it may be stated that while so large a number of freighting steamers for the *general carrying trade* were in the different stages of construction in England last autumn, only *seven sailing* ships were building, and these of course were iron. Surely this is a sufficient warning to us that steam is to rule the waves and have its day, perhaps a long one, until some inventive brain shall evolve a more mighty, safe, and economical power, to which steam itself will have to give place. Though for certain limited purposes sailing vessels will continue to be used, it seems quite certain that the time is not far distant when the great mercantile fleets of sailing ships, with their clouds of canvas, from the graceful clipper to the clumsy Dutch galiot, will nearly disappear from the ocean.

Besides all the light and valuable freight, all the fresh meat and live stock, and much the largest part of the general cargo, and fully one half the grain now shipped from the port of New York to Europe is taken by foreign steamers, chiefly English. It is said of

the grain shipment from this port that less than ten per cent of the whole is carried in American bottoms, and a large portion of it is taken by vessels of nations which, until within a few years past, have been only to a very limited extent participators in the transatlantic carrying trade. These new-comers, who have so recently entered this field of international commerce, are principally from Norway, Denmark, Austria, Italy, and some from a few other countries.

It is rather a startling fact that in our chief commercial port, from and to which a major part of its transatlantic trade was once carried on under the American flag, that flag is now overshadowed and nearly banished by foreign flags. Except the English, these foreign ships are built of wood, and, as a rule, are inferior to ours both in construction and equipment, and certainly are no better handled or cared for. How then is the fact of their taking so large a portion of the trade to be accounted for but by low freights, which they are enabled to charge by means of the less cost of their ships, generally the less expense of sailing them, and in a measure also the willingness of the owners to accept smaller profits. They may perhaps hold the position they have won until the revolution which steam is so surely working in maritime commerce has been completed, when the long-voyage carrying trade will fall chiefly into the hands of the people who will provide the new and better means of carrying it on. We can not recover our former position as international carriers, nor even much longer retain such rapidly weakening hold as we now have, by increasing the number of our wooden sailing ships. There is more sailing ocean tonnage afloat to-day than the wants of international commerce require, and the effect of enlarging it to any considerable extent, without a far more active carrying trade, will be to create, if possible, a more active competition, and a reduction of the rates of freight till all profits disappear. American ships, which are certainly the best wooden ships the world has anywhere put afloat, are already feeling the effects of the change from wood to iron for sailing ships. In the grain trade from San Francisco to Europe, an iron vessel commands about one dollar per ton more than one built of wood. Our ships are also losing their hold on the India and China trade with England, which was once so profitable, iron vessels being preferred even at higher rates of freight.

Besides, should freighting steamers continue to increase at their present rate, and as the success of their use thus far seems to fore-

shadow, it will be but a few years before nearly all sailing ships will be driven from the regular tracks of international commerce, and their places filled by this new class of craft. These freighting steamers not only add to the tonnage now afloat, but one of them will do nearly double the work of a sailing ship of the same capacity, can carry cargo at as low rates, and on account of expedition and safety, both at sea and in and out of port, and of lower rate of insurance on cargo, are preferred to sailing ships.

The value of the international carrying trade is of far more importance financially, especially to a debtor nation, than is generally supposed. The fact that our exports have so largely exceeded our imports for the last three years is no proof that the *international financial balance* is in our favor. This balance may continue to be against us, though the trade balance may be decidedly on our side of the account. In this connection we must not overlook the fact that a large amount of foreign capital has been, and will continue to be, invested in a great variety of enterprises in this country. Foreigners invest in United States, city, and railroad bonds, in the bonds of gas, bridge, and a variety of other companies. The interest on all these investments has to be sent out of the country. A great deal of foreign capital is also invested in mines and in shares of companies carrying on a great variety of enterprises, the dividends on which are also sent abroad. Again, commercial houses, branch banks, insurance and other agencies are established among us by foreigners, and are carried on by foreign capital. Such establishments are scattered over the country, and are seen in all the avenues of trade. The interest, dividends, and profits from all these numerous sources of income are drawn out of the country, and constitute a part of its liability to foreigners, and in the adjustment of our international account should be considered as part of our foreign debt. Another item of considerable magnitude on the debtor side of our international account is the large sums disbursed by Americans in foreign countries, and in traveling to and from these countries almost entirely in foreign ships. We have official authority for the statement that the sum thus taken out of the country amounts to over \$100,000,000 per annum.

When the trade of this and other countries returns to its normal condition the difference between our exports and imports may not be so great as it has been during the last three years. In a state of general prosperity we shall no doubt considerably increase our

imports, and unless we can also increase the amount and value of our exports, although the trade balance may be in our favor, there certainly is reason to fear that when we add to the payment for exports the payments for interest, dividends, and profits sent out of the country, the yearly financial balance may be against us, and we may still be kept a debtor nation.

The excess of the imports of foreign goods over our exports of domestic and foreign goods, from 1790 to and including the year 1875, was \$1,726,637,547. This, be it remembered, was the strictly mercantile debt of the country created during the past eighty-five years of our existence as a nation. During the last twenty years of this time the whole indebtedness of the country was immensely increased by foreign investments among us in many different ways and in numerous enterprises. The mercantile debt, the excess of imports over exports, has been paid off by the export of specie, by the earnings of American tonnage in the foreign carrying trades, and by the limited amount of means brought into the country by immigrants ; but the bonded and other forms of debt still continue to draw interest, dividends, and profits out of the country in large amounts. We must not, therefore, overlook the very important fact that we have to make provision for the payment of large amounts in foreign countries in addition to the payment for our imports ; and that the earnings of American ships employed in the international carrying trade have heretofore been a highly important, though an almost silent and unrecognized factor in adjusting the financial balance due to foreign countries. If this great aid in the settlement of our foreign financial account has, to a great extent, been lost beyond recovery, the time may soon come when the need of it for such purposes will be severely felt.

Without going into detailed estimates of the amount of freight money paid on the exports of all American products, on the import of foreign goods, and the amount of commercial charges on such imports and exports, and the amount earned by American ships employed in an exclusively foreign carrying trade, if we assume the gross sum so earned, when trade resumes its regular course, to be only \$200,000,000 per annum, and that American ships control, as they once did, about two thirds of our export and import trade, we can more clearly realize the great value to the nation of the interest that has been so thoughtlessly abandoned.

The advantages of the international carrying trade to a nation may be further illustrated by the very favorable influence it has

exerted, and is exerting, over the monetary condition and trade of England, whose imports have so largely exceeded her exports for many years past. On this point we prefer to give a British view as to the very great importance of this branch of her trade to that country in helping to make good the financial loss caused by the excess of imports over exports. We therefore adopt the statement of Mr. McKay, an intelligent and practical Liverpool merchant, in regard to the advantages and profits of the international carrying trade to England. Mr. McKay's view of the subject is given in detail in the London *Economist* for December, 1877, with, in the main, the approval of the editor of that influential journal, which is a recognized authority in English financial and business circles.

Mr. McKay takes the official figures, published by the Board of Trade, of the exports from and the imports into Great Britain for the nineteen years from 1858 to 1876 inclusive, to show the financial operation of the export, import, and carrying trade through a series of years, as giving a more satisfactory test than the figures of a single year could do. The entire value of the imports of merchandise, specie, and bullion for the nineteen years is stated to have been £5,986,000,000. The value of all like exports for the same time was £4,793,000,000. Excess of imports over exports for the nineteen years £1,193,000,000.

Mr. McKay then goes on to specify and set forth in exact detail the commercial charges which he says should be deducted from the value of imports, by far the largest of which is the freight money earned by English vessels in carrying such imports to that country.

2. Marine insurance on three fourths of these imports.
3. Sundry charges, such as wharfage, cartage, warehouse expenses, etc.
4. Buyer's discount.
5. Foreign bill stamps.
6. Bankers' commissions.
7. Commission and brokerage.

In this way he makes the sum paid for freight on imports and commercial charges amount to £518,400,000 as the proper charges against imports, and consequently to be deducted therefrom, and the value of imports reduced by this amount.

He then states in detail each item that he thinks should be

credited to exports from Great Britain for the nineteen years, and added to their amount, namely :

1. Freight money paid to British shipowners for carrying British exports.
2. Marine insurance on goods exported.
3. Bankers' commissions.
4. Six months' interest on goods sold for export.
5. Profits on goods exported.

By these several credits to exports he makes the amount to be added thereto run up to £652,100,000, and the amount charged to and deducted from imports £518,400,000.

By these charges to imports and credits to exports (£1,170,500,000), Mr. McKay brings the excess of £1,193,000,000 given to imports over exports down to but £23,000,000, and thus makes the imports and exports for the nineteen years, as financial transactions growing out of foreign trade, nearly balance each other.

Some of Mr. McKay's figures may be open to criticism, but his general view is well grounded, and in the main substantially correct. Admit this, and we have the interesting and instructive fact that here is a nation with an annual average excess of imports over exports, for nineteen consecutive years, of nearly £63,000,000 sterling—about \$300,000,000—yet by the earnings of that portion of her tonnage employed in carrying exports from and imports into England, and the commercial charges on the same, her international mercantile account has been kept nearly balanced through all these nineteen years.

If such has been the profit England has reaped from only that portion of her tonnage engaged in carrying her own exports and imports, how much greater is the total profit she gains from this source when to the foregoing we add the amount derived from her passenger trade, and from the portion of her tonnage employed by foreigners in an exclusively foreign carrying trade. During the last few years her profit derived from her tonnage employed in trade wholly foreign must have been much above the average of the nineteen years, as so large an accession has been recently made to her international tonnage, and her many fleets of great steamships are now covering all the tracks of commerce that lead to countries or places where commodities can be exchanged and trade developed. The earnings derived from an entirely foreign carrying and passenger trade, with the amount earned by transporting her own exports and imports, would sink the £23,000,000 excess

of imports over exports, and place a balance to the credit of exports, and thus turn the balance of international trade in her favor, and leave her immense revenue drawn from foreign investments to be added to the capital of the nation.

To the immense international trade of to-day, and the wonderful combination of scientific and mechanical skill by which it is carried on, the friendly intercourse between nations and people which they encourage, and the civilizing influence which they exert, may justly be given a prominent place in the upward march of modern civilization. This great creation of modern intelligence and enterprise is chiefly the work of little more than the last hundred years. From the galleys of old Tyre, the mother of Carthage, looking down through the mist of unrecorded centuries to the frail craft in which the courageous Columbus ventured on an unknown sea in search of a new continent, down even to the period of the little Mayflower, we see how very small an advance had been made through three thousand years of commercial and maritime effort. This vast and valuable international trade, and the admirable means of conducting it, have grown to their present magnitude together, and are mainly the products of the present century. High as they have risen they are still far below their zenith, and are destined to create other marked periods in the future history of their progress.

In this great revelation in the commerce of the seas, where do we as a nation stand, and what course do we intend to pursue? Is the still young and vigorous people that once led in maritime enterprise to be henceforth a mere looker-on and passive spectator, and no longer an active participator in these stirring events and great enterprises? In this transition state of ocean commerce, if we are to continue a maritime people, we must adapt ourselves to the changed conditions, to the new and improved methods of traversing the seas and carrying on international commerce, or the time will soon come when our flag will rarely be seen in foreign ports, and we shall be compelled to withdraw to our own coasts, lakes, and rivers, under the protection of our navigation laws.

The time for decisive action is favorable. Iron can now be made as cheaply in America as in Europe, and of the very best quality. Skilled labor is also abundant, and there seems to be no substantial reason why steamers of the highest class can not be built on as low terms in the United States as in England. It must be remembered that cost is one of the elements of success with ships

in the foreign carrying trade. We, by law, give a monopoly of our coasting trade to American vessels; but when our ships go forth beyond the protection of these laws upon the great highway of nations to seek business in the international carrying trade, we have all maritime peoples for competitors, and the best ships, at least cost, handled with care and skill, economically sailed, will win the richest prizes.

Although the North Atlantic trade seems now to be well supplied with steam tonnage of a superior class, and it will not be wise to rush inconsiderately into a strong competition, yet if we are ever to begin the necessary work of reconstructing our means of carrying on international commerce, surely the time has come and ought not to be longer deferred. The great commercial metropolis of New York, with its immense foreign trade, ought at once to put in operation and liberally sustain at least one weekly line of first-class steamers to Liverpool or London, which shall be equal or superior to any steamships that have appeared on any sea. Make this line such a success as it is in the power of wealthy, commercial New York to make it, and other lines to other distant ports will soon follow. Philadelphia has established one line of good American-built iron steamers. All honor to her enterprise! Her line should be well sustained by her people and made a permanent success.

The necessity of establishing lines of steamers to different ports in Central and South America, and extending our maritime connection to ports in the far East, to aid and enlarge our export trade, is a proposition so self-evident as to need no argument to sustain it. The most sure way firmly to establish and increase our trade with those distant countries is to provide means for conducting it by direct steam communication with them, and not be dependent on foreign facilities for sending goods to them on a *double voyage*, by way of Liverpool or other foreign ports, in foreign ships. To convey to them our own merchandise under our own flag is the only sure way to open, establish, and increase a regular, reliable trade, and to command the confidence and respect of the people with whom we may thus be brought into direct commercial connection.

But we should not be content with starting lines of steamships to perform regular service between certain specified ports. There is another and a very important step forward to be taken, and that is, to a large extent, the building up anew a commercial marine for

the foreign carrying trade. Commercial men in England would not put afloat a great fleet of steamers, *solely for the carrying trade*, merely as an experiment. They had in the autumn of 1878 many millions' worth of steamships in the process of construction which are intended for the carrying trade only. The question of the superiority of steamers over sailing vessels for the general carrying trade has with them been fully tested and settled, and they are proceeding on no uncertainty, but on well-ascertained and established facts. The question for us to determine then is, shall WE jog on, running in the old ruts with wooden sailing ships, and ere long fall out of the race, and cease to be any longer regarded as an enterprising maritime people?

The branch of industry we have been considering is a great national interest of such magnitude that it should receive the earnest and prompt support of the national government and the people of every section of the Union. While the internal highways of commerce have been reaping the nation's bounty by the hundreds of millions in our most valuable lands and government guarantee of railroad bonds, and many millions in cash have been properly expended in making navigable our interior waters, the maritime interest of the country has been almost entirely left to take care of itself. Or rather, we may justly say, this neglected and suffering interest has been severely taxed for the benefit of other interests in the shape of the iron and other materials that go into the construction of vessels, both sailing and steam.

The registered ship, in connection with our export trade, may be regarded as an aid and an extension of our means of internal transportation, a floating car to which the products of East and West, North and South, are transferred from railroads and river craft and sent over sea to foreign markets. This tonnage should co-operate with the railroads, river and canal freight carriers, and be an efficient co-worker with them in transporting to their destination the exports of the country; and unless all international carrying trade is to be abandoned to foreigners, this great and most important branch of industry should receive such early, firm, and continued attention as will revive its torpid life and restore its departed prosperity.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN PAINTING AT PARIS IN 1878.

II.

AMONGST the very severe things which supercilious foreign critics used to say against the English school before its success at Paris in 1878, nothing was more decided than their condemnation of the clique of artists who have taken their collective designation from their residence in St. John's Wood. Not all the painters who live, or have lived, in the "groves of the Evangelist," belong to the St. John's Wood school. Some, like Landseer and the elder Leslie, dwelt there too soon to be included in the clique, which was composed of men belonging to another generation; others have gone to live in St. John's Wood since the clique was formed, and were too late to belong to it. I knew the clique in its first beginning, and should very probably have been a member of it myself if my pursuit had been figure-painting instead of landscape. All the members of it were clever young men, who have since risen to reputation. The principles of their association were rather friendship and neighborhood than any special doctrine, and in this they differed from the Pre-Raphaelite brethren, who lived anywhere, but had a doctrine of some sort, though they never told the public what it was. Calderon, Marks, George Leslie, Yearnès, Storey, and Hodgson were the original members of the clique, and they are now all either Academicians or Associates. It may be observed that the critics who sneer at the clique collectively often praise its members individually. I have spoken of Calderon already. George Leslie has won a reputation of a very safe kind, due to the inherent charm of his conceptions rather than to any passing fashion. Many years ago he said to me, in criticising some modern peasant-pictures, that to his taste there was such a difference between a lady and a peasant woman that he should always prefer to paint the lady. This rather aristocratic tendency has predominated in all his works; but it is not the pride of aris-

tocracy which attracts him, he likes its grace of manner, its quiet good taste in dress, its social tact and ease. He goes back to the time, about a hundred years ago, when the principle of aristocracy had produced its best fruits in England, when mere wealth was not so powerful as it is now, and when there was a certain simplicity in country society which can scarcely be said still to exist. The refinement of the time dwelt more with the ladies than with the men, and so Mr. Leslie's own refinement of taste, joined to a singularly pure and honest admiration for a pretty woman, led him to paint ladies almost exclusively. He has not his father's astonishing command of expression, but that was a gift of nature which no industry can acquire. On the other hand, George Leslie has gifts of his own, the most notable of which is a complete appreciation of the grace and charm of well-ordered civilized existence. He is, indeed, more especially and peculiarly than any other modern painter whom I could mention, the painter of true civilization. Hundreds of artists paint women more finely dressed and surrounded by costlier furniture, but few indeed are the artists who know so well exactly where to stop in the importance given to accessories. Besides this, Mr. Leslie's color is always agreeable, and sometimes almost precious. "School Revisited" was one of the best of his pictures in Paris. A young lady, well-dressed in the fashion of Mr. Leslie's favorite period, is seated on a plain green bench in the garden of her old school, where she is an object of attentive admiration to six of her former school-fellows. The quaint plainness of the place and dresses is most agreeably relieved by the elegance of the young lady, who is truly the central figure by right of many superiorities. I was pleased with Mr. Storey's rather elaborate picture of "Scandal," not particularly for the subject, which is hackneyed, but for the painter's art. In a handsome old-fashioned interior, arranged with much artistic taste, are two principal groups of ladies and gentlemen in the costume of the seventeenth century. The picture is pleasantly colored, and appears to have been painted under the influence of some old Dutch master; it is good all through as a piece of painting, without crudity anywhere, and this is more than can be said of all works by the same artist. Here, as in many other instances amongst recent English pictures, we may observe a mellowing of the artist's talent which brings him much more into harmony with elder continental art. Mr. Marks is an accomplished painter in oil, but on this occasion I prefer to mention one of his water-colors, "The Princess and the

Pelicans." The scene is medieval. A Princess is in her trim, well-ordered, little medieval garden, fenced in with a neat wall, beyond which you see a bit of seacoast, with a city by the shore and a castle, apparently quite new, with tile roofs and pepper-box towers. The princess, who is dressed in a gold-colored silk robe with gray sleeves, is leaning on a square stone pillar at the end of a wall, and before her are several pelicans near a little fountain. The light is so much diffused that there is hardly any shadow—a recurrence to medieval principles of work, but without affectation of quaintness. The chief interest of this curious picture is that it throws back the spectator so completely into the real middle ages, when the castles which we know only as ruins were in their first freshness, and when princesses really walked in trim and tidy gardens. As Mr. Marks showed us a medieval garden, so Mr. Alma Tadema introduced us to a Roman one. This, too, is confined in space, and we feel the limits all the more that part of the area is occupied by square columns which support a roof of greenery. Few works by Mr. Alma Tadema have been so successful in color. The bit of blue sky that we see at the top of the picture is full of light and color together, and the painter has made the utmost use of his architecture for color, the rude square columns being painted red at the base, whilst the ocherous wall and the pretty details of colored architecture about the household altar and the staircase afford a pleasant variety after the greens of the vegetation. The figures in this picture—a lady kissing a child, etc.—though introduced with great skill and knowledge, are accessory, the real subject being the old Roman garden itself, into which the painter so completely introduces us that we feel at home there almost immediately. This is really one of the happiest functions of the art of painting. It can bring the remote in time before us so vividly that we realize it as if actually present. When we read about medieval or classic life our conceptions of scenes and people are rendered incomparably more vivid by the pleasant instruction which we are constantly receiving from modern painters. Mr. Alma Tadema is one of our best helpers; but he sometimes goes a little too far in the appeal to modern sympathy, as, for instance, in his picture of an ancient picture-gallery, wherein we at once recognize an absurdly faithful likeness of Mr. Gambart dressed as an ancient Roman. Such a recognition destroys the illusion beyond recall.

A mere mention of a work of art is of very little use, and either commentary or description requires space, so that I have been

obliged to pass in silence many things in the English exhibition which deserved very careful notice. I am sorry not to be able to say more about the water-colors, which, as usual, astonished the continental visitors. One of the most popular was Mr. C. Green's "Derby Day," an unpretending drawing of small dimensions, far superior in every artistic quality to the celebrated picture of the same subject by Mr. Frith. It is surprising to me that with Mr. Green's great natural gift of seizing expression, and his accomplished manual skill, his reputation should not be greater than it is. In his own line of art no living Englishman can excel him; it may not be a very elevated kind of art, but it is one which requires a peculiar natural gift, without which the labor of a lifetime would be lavished utterly in vain. The gift is certainly one of the most wonderful ever possessed by man. An artist like Mr. Green can go into a crowd, watch the faces, and photograph the most transient shades of expression in his memory with such marvellous accuracy as to be able to reproduce them, not merely in a sketch as a caricaturist would do; but in a delicately-finished drawing. The difficulty is much enhanced by the fact that he has not the caricaturist's resource of exaggeration, or has it only in such a limited degree that it is not to be perceptible by the spectator. Mr. Green has the rare merit of being able to paint very different classes of society with the same impartial truth; he will paint a lady and do justice to her refinement, or he will paint a London blackguard and do him justice too. Much power in the painting of low life was exhibited in an important picture by F. Barnard, "The East End of London on a Saturday Night." The execution of this picture was really painter's work all through, and it displayed a great deal of rough pictorial power; but the subject was not agreeable. It was late on a misty evening, a very dim moon struggling to light the crowded street, which was much more effectually illuminated by the warmer light of gas. The picture reminded me of Lord Melbourne's appreciation of lobsters exhibited under London gas-light. Here was a fishmonger's place and a butcher's shop; here were stalls rich in cabbages and oranges, between which a cab full of jolly sailors was making its way; here was the inevitable struggle between the woman and the policeman, and in the corner you might discover the group of street musicians, who bring their ideal art into the realism of the roaring street. The true subject of this clever but rather coarse performance was the picturesque side of plebeian London. It was like a page from Dickens.

An exhibition of pictures constantly offers the most striking contrasts both in the temper of artists and their choice of subjects. After the hot coloring of the London street, and its stifling crowd, shall we refresh ourselves in a breeze on the open sea? Mr. Henry Moore allowed us to do this by his picture of "Rough Weather in the Mediterranean," which presented only the very coolest colors, a cloudy bluish-gray sky with a vast expanse of tossing and tumbling sea beneath it, all cold blue and blue green, and very interesting, technically, as an experiment in cold colors, and in that almost monochrome which Reynolds recommended. The picture was full of the freshness of the sea, with a strong wind blowing and carrying spray from the tops of the waves, so different in their blue depths from the muddy waters known to the old Dutch painters. I was pleased with some truthful painting of a Highland torrent in a water-color by Birket Foster, of the Falls of the Tummel. It was quieter in color than much of the artist's work and very true in the play of brown and blue gray on the water, brown being the natural color of the torrent, and blue gray the reflection from the sky. The rocks, too, were carefully studied and larger in treatment than the artist's work has usually been. Mr. Alfred Hunt's water-color of Loch Coruiskh, in the Isle of Skye, was a bold experiment in some respects. The picture was so completely filled up with mountain that there was hardly any sky, and the mountain itself was not much varied in shade nor massed by any strong light. The blue gray pool of Loch Coruiskh is to the right, and the spectator is high enough to see a bit of another lake to the left, all the rest of the picture being filled with rocky mountain very thoroughly studied. The same artist's "Illeswater" was a very delicate study all in pale tones, and very observant, especially in the intelligent treatment of the breezes on the lake; but I find in this drawing one of those peculiarities of English color which are unpleasant to me now, and are so, I believe, to all critics except Englishmen who have never lived on the continent. It is, I believe, an exclusively English peculiarity to take pleasure in the play of crude purples and greens. A Frenchman will tolerate much worse color in grays and browns, but he will not tolerate that. Nature, however, very frequently presents it in her foregrounds, and it is a mere matter of taste, in which no right or wrong can be proved on either side, whether an artist should paint it or dissimulate it.

I have not had space to do justice to Sir John Gilbert's pictures; but he is so well known by the immense number of wood-cuts from

his designs that it can scarcely be necessary to say much about so fertile a genius. He has the most complete command of all the resources of art which are necessary to his own kind of production, and this is especially visible in his water-colors, which are always painted in a dashing and masterly manner with rich color and a well-charged brush. His oil-paintings show, of course, the same qualities of invention, but they are not technically quite so fresh and sound, they look somewhat heavy in execution, and it seems to us as if the painter worked too much without the model, though we do not feel this in his smaller works. After all reservations, Sir John Gilbert is still the most powerful of modern English artists who work chiefly from invention. He comes much more nearly to Rubens in this kind of productive power than any of his English contemporaries, and there is a unity in each of his works which is rare in modern art, and which is due to their origin as mental conceptions rather than impressions received from nature. His water-color, "The Guide through the Forest," is an excellent example. A knight on horseback, attended by his squire and guided by a youth on a gray pony, is followed by soldiers riding through a narrow bridle-track in a forest, from which the party is just going to emerge. It is simply a mental conception, not a study from nature, and the consequence is that it has all the unity of an old ballad; the landscape belongs to the figures and the figures to the landscape; the artist has not drawn the figures first from models and then gone out of doors to seek for some approximately appropriate background. I should not wish all artists to work in the manner of Sir John Gilbert, but when a painter relies upon the mental conception so completely as he does, and, on the whole, with such striking success, I think we ought not to carp at matters of detail.

The American pictures were comparatively few in number, as there were only a hundred and twenty-seven of them, and sixteen water-colors; but the quality was generally good. The only objection to the American exhibition is one which has been made elsewhere, namely, its curious lack of nationality. European influence has so overpowered the American native genius, whatever that may have been, that on entering a room filled with pictures all painted by natives of the United States, an Englishman does not at all feel as if he had crossed the Atlantic; it seems to him, rather, as if he had simply crossed the channel, and found himself amongst his old acquaintances of the European continent. This, of course,

may be very easily accounted for. The American artists learn painting in Europe, and always, or nearly always, on the continent, so that they acquire continental habits of work. English art seems to have very little influence upon them, notwithstanding the blood-relationship between the two countries, and this is the more curious because English literature (not merely the writings of great authors, but the current literature of the day) has unquestionably a great influence in America. The little influence of English art may be partly accounted for by the strong individualism which prevails in the English school, so that it has never possessed the force and influence which come from an apparent unity of doctrine. It is with the fine arts as with religion; the influence of a church depends primarily upon unity, its clergy must all say the same thing, though they may say it in different ways. English painters have always been freethinkers in art, or if at times they have conceived it to be their duty to think in some orthodox manner, as Reynolds did, for example, then their *practice* has been independent. This independence of theirs has brought down upon them much scorn and contumely, but they "go on never minding," and there is this good result that although in some respects their works have not always displayed that workmanlike handicraft which may be learned in a great workshop where fixed principles are in the ascendant, they do at least produce pictures which are generally interesting, and this, in a dull world, is something. Now it is evident from the American gallery at the Paris exhibition that the Americans are not without natural artistic aptitudes, probably quite as good as those of any nation in Europe, but as yet they are the too docile pupils of European teachers, and give us little that is decidedly and originally American. Perhaps in course of time a national art may disengage itself; but it must be on condition that American artists cease to fix their residence in France and Italy. It is becoming more and more difficult to preserve the originality of a school, even when it exists already. Painting is not like literature, its nationality is not protected by language. I must either write English or French, Anglo-French would not be tolerated, but I may paint cosmopolitan, and the cosmopolitan style of painting is becoming more and more prevalent throughout the world. The style which I call cosmopolitan first developed itself in France, and then invaded the neighboring European countries, like French fashions in dress. It has subdued the native art of those countries (always excepting England) to such a degree that the French critics

themselves complain of the sameness which has resulted from this conquest.

Having disburdened myself of these general remarks, which I do not intend to repeat with reference to particular instances, I may now proceed to mention a few of those excellent cosmopolitan paintings which bear American signatures. I was much struck, like most visitors, by Mr. P. W. Dana's large marine picture, "Solitude," consisting of nothing but an inky sea and a misty, cloudy, moonlit sky. It is good evidence, if all other evidence were wanting, that, notwithstanding all the dogmatism of critics, human interest is *not* necessary to make an impressive picture. Here we have nothing but desolation—without locality, for it may be anywhere on the sea; without date, for it may be at any time since the moon shone on waters agitated by the wind; without history, for what historian has concerned himself with the transient existence of a wave? The title implies even more human interest than the picture possesses, for real solitude would be a desert with one human being, and this is simply the entire absence of humanity. Mr. Dana would probably answer that his intention was to make the *spectator* feel alone; that the solitude was that of the spectator's mind in the presence of such primeval things as waves and the moon; but here arises the objection that he will at once imagine himself on an ocean steamer, for he can not fly like an albatross. No, the real subject of the picture is not the loneliness of a man, but nature without a trace of man, and in this lies its peculiar impressiveness.

"His steps are not upon thy paths—thy fields
Are not a spoil for him."

Mr. Dana's picture was powerfully painted, with little color, the sea inky, the sky reddish gray, with darker clouds spotted upon it. Waves are often more minutely studied by modern artists (from photographs), but I do not see how they could be better painted.

I was delighted with a picture by Mr. Arthur Quartley, belonging to Mr. J. T. Johnston, and entitled "Morning Effect in New York Harbor." It was a most artistic performance both in execution and in the management of quiet color. Browns are generally dangerous to color, except as mere underpainting; but in this instance they were managed with such taste and skill that one could only admire. The scene is likely to be familiar to many American readers. It is enriched with four spires and a dome as permanent landmarks, and the foreground was made lively by moving boats, particularly a schooner yacht and a river steamer. I may safely

say that there was not a single picture in the Champ de Mars (comparing all schools together) more perfectly in keeping than this. The loaded sky was painted with the hand of a master, and the rather hazy distance was interpreted with rare intelligence of effect.

I run some risk of seeming to flatter American readers by praising American pictures warmly ; but I am innocent of any such intention. The exhibition was small and well-selected to begin with, and again I mention the pictures which pleased me best, for why dwell on instances of comparative failure ? The function of a critic, as I understand it, is much more to draw public attention to good work than to exercise his wits in mere fault-finding ; so, if the reader pleases, we will look at the good pictures and leave the bad ones to take care of themselves. Again, let it not be understood that those which I pass in silence have necessarily seemed to me of inferior merit. Shall I reveal one of the secrets of the critic's trade ? We can only talk about the picture which enables us to interest the reader, and it so happens that many well-painted pictures, which it would be a pleasure to possess, suggest no remarks except simply that they are good.

Occasionally a picture may attract attention at first by mere singularity, and keep it afterward by better qualities. A landscape by Mr. J. Lafarge, "Paradise Valley, Newport," was of this class. It is surprising how any artist would venture on such a subject, all green land, uninteresting in itself, leading the eye up to an horizon very near the top of the canvas, where we get a glimpse of the distant sea. As for the ground, it is nothing but green pasture land with walls. There is a lamb in the middle of the foreground, and some green plants grow in the right-hand corner, above which is an awkwardly placed tree. The whole canvas presents, at a little distance, very much the appearance of a piece of green silk. It won a medal, I believe, simply by the good quality of its technical workmanship, which leads one to make two reflections : the first, that good workmanship can make any subject pass ; the second, what a pity it is that a good workman should ever select bad natural material.

A picture of "St. Peter's at Rome, from the Tiber," by Mr. George Inness, presented a silvery pleasant effect of early morning, with much breadth of pleasant grays and browns. The distant buildings of St. Peter's were very poetical in a pale gray mass against reddish morning clouds. Between the cathedral and the foreground was a dark grove to throw it farther back, and in the

foreground itself a pool of water from the Tiber extended across the picture. I was glad to see that Mr. Inness held his rank so well in practical art, because I had quoted a severe criticism by him of Turner's "Slave Ship" in my *Life of Turner*, and my English critics are not quite satisfied either with him or me. I wonder how many of those ready writers can paint as well as Mr. Inness?

Mr. Charles E. Dubois exhibited a fine picture of "Autumn," in which the most obvious fault, if it is a fault, was the powerful will of the artist, which gave his picture such an air of resolute choice and decision that the human element was somewhat overpowering. He divided his color into three simple elements or masses, and set to work vigorously, showing brushwork frankly everywhere and using impasto with great skill. The natural scene was a rocky foreground, with a bank beyond it on which grew some massive trees rich in autumnal color. The sky was frankly blue, with rolling white clouds. For strong color, well-massed shadows, and effective light on rock and tree, the picture attracted attention even at a distance; but, like many French landscapes, it had too much the aspect of an enlarged sketch. Mr. R. Swain Gifford's "New England Cedars" was an excellent study, showing great breadth of treatment and knowledge of tree form, the color was generally good and agreeable, the manner easy and sketchy in the right way.

Readers who have visited the exhibition may be surprised that I have not sooner mentioned Mr. F. A. Bridgeman's important picture, the "Funeral of a Mummy on the Nile." Whilst fully admitting the skill and power displayed in this work, may I be pardoned for saying that I never could get up much interest in pictures of ancient Egyptian life? Ancient Egypt is very remote from our sympathies—much more remote than Greece and Rome—and besides that, it is awkward to deal with pictorially. Mr. Poynter, the English Academician, made a hit with his "Israel in Egypt," because the subject interested the public; but the material in the picture was very difficult to manage artistically, much more difficult than the Roman material in the "Catapult," by the same artist. I can truly say that Mr. Bridgeman's picture seemed to me one of the least awkward representations of the ancient Egyptian that I ever met with, the artistic and poetic feeling of the painter prevented him from falling into mere archæology, and the workmanship left nothing to be desired; but good workmanship is not rare in these days.

One of the most essentially American pictures in the exhibition was Mr. J. G. Brown's "The Passing Show." Five boys are standing on the sidewalk of a street in some American town, whilst a show is passing. We do not see the show, but we *do* see the boys most unquestionably, for so much alive are they in their juvenile glee, so intensely interested in what is passing before them, that we have only to submit to the illusion for it to be complete. The lads are artfully arrayed for composition, in height and attitude, not according to military motions but artistic, yet it is only a critic or a painter who would ever think of this. The picture left nothing to be desired in the way of cleverness of execution, but that, though a valuable quality in all paintings was not the distinguishing quality of this. Its real superiority was in the intense realization of human life and expression. This is a natural gift, quite unattainable by labor, and wherever it exists it is likely to become predominant. It is delightful to meet with it occasionally; but happily it is rare, for the refinements of art would be little heeded if so striking and interesting a quality reigned supreme in the exhibition. Every human being, of whatever nation, who came before these laughing boys of Mr. Brown, laughed heartily himself, and forgot for a moment both the cares and the vanities of life.

Miss E. J. Gardner, who has been living for twelve years in Paris, and is there still, as a student working under the advice of M. Bougereau, is also by this time much more than a student, as her two pictures, "A Flower Girl" and "Ruth and Naomi," testify. I published a *photogravure* from "Ruth and Naomi" in the *Portfolio* for February, this year. It is a serious and carefully drawn piece of work, with a good deal of what the French call "style," but much more feeling than usually accompanies that quality. The "Flower Girl" is a very sweet picture, the face beautifully painted, and with much quiet ease of execution, and though the features are pretty, their slightly sad, or at least serious expression, keeps the work safe from the *agacerie* which often infects such subjects. If "A Flower Girl" were given as a theme to be illustrated by many different artists, each in his own way, I can not imagine how any one of them could treat it with more simple grace or more real though unpretending skill.

A very great technical difficulty has been overcome by Mr. Sanford R. Gifford in his picture of "Mount Renier." It is an evening effect on snowy mountains, seen across an expanse of lake with a wooded promontory and shores. Mount Renier himself presents

a dome of snow, and the accompanying masses make a noble *sierra nevada*. It is not, however, so much of the scenery that I desire to speak, though that is of the grandest, as of the artist's management of his material. Nothing in the world is more difficult to deal with than a snowy mountain in evening light. The cool shadows so easily get out of harmony with the illuminated portions of the mountain, and it is so difficult to get those illuminated spaces themselves up to any pitch of light which may even remind us of the unapproachable splendor of nature! I may claim to know something about the difficulty of this, having passed some winters in full sight of a magnificent snowy mountain constantly presenting me these problems. The difficulties are, in fact, as nearly as possible insuperable, and yet Mr. Sanford Gifford has fairly overcome them. His picture of Mount Renier is beautifully harmonious in warm color, and the cooler shadows and reflections are painted with great skill to avoid coldness. Mr. Gifford is at the same time well able to deal with the relations of very pale tones, which he appears to have thoroughly mastered, and with mountain forms, which he draws with great knowledge. A work in a lower class of art, but excellent of its kind, was Mr. Charles C. Coleman's "Decorative Panel." This was a tall narrow picture, painted entirely on decorative principles, the materials being flowers in vases relieved upon a gold ground; I do not mean gilded, but gold-colored in paint, with patterns in it. The flowers, if I remember rightly, were white and red azaleas, and the vases were handsome things, worth painting for their own decorative quality. The merits of the work were not, however, in mere imitation of pretty things, but lay rather in the taste with which the artist had arranged them and in the skill of his interpretation. In decorative painting of this kind there may be a closer marriage of studied form with careful choice of color than is ever possible in effect painting, because the sacrifices are not so great. In decorative painting there is no sketching and no mystery, forms are clearly drawn, and delicacy of line is not sacrificed to the synthesis of effect. When the lines have been carefully determined the spaces are all filled up with the chosen hues, and the work is almost done, the rest being a mere development of details. There can, I believe, be very little doubt that the fundamental principle of all antique painting was decorative; but it is a great mistake to say the same (and this really has been said) of painting as we moderns understand it. When mystery and *chiaroscuro* come in, the art appeals much more to the mind than to the

eye. Clear determinate line and color are decorative elements ; but those mysteries of drawing and chiaroscuro which appeal to the imagination, and are illegible without it, belong to a different class of art. The neo-Greeks in France and England, the hierophants of a new renaissance, would recall us to the decorative principle as in itself a higher principle than the picturesque. In this I can not agree with them. I am fully convinced that decorative art belongs to a younger, to a less mature stage of human development than the imaginative picturesque ; that Botticelli and Holbein, so far as they were decorative in their work, were younger and less mature artists than Rembrandt, and yet, whilst keeping decoration in its proper place, I would not have it abandoned. Rightly understood, it may be both a useful form of art and a cheap one. A good artist could draw decorative subjects in line, and fill up the spaces with well-chosen tints, in a tenth of the time that it would cost him to produce a finished picture. In England this has been done to some extent by the members of the St. John's Wood school, especially by Mr. Marks, who has a strong decorative instinct and seems to enjoy that kind of work particularly. Indeed, if the truth must be fully told, his decorative taste has rather hardened his style in painting of another order.

It was my first intention to speak in this REVIEW of the English and American paintings only, as I have written about the continental schools for another periodical ; but it has been suggested that I ought to give some general account of the state of painting in Europe in the year 1878. Let me attempt, then, to do this as fairly as my remaining space allows.

The first thing that strikes a thoughtful visitor to such a collection as that of 1878 is the vast amount of really considerable artistic ability which is now existing in the world, and the strength of well-skilled rivalry against which a young man just entering the profession has to contend, and contend successfully before he can earn his living. To this it may be answered that it is the same in all the liberal professions. Yes, no doubt it is ; no doubt we should be greatly astonished if the skill and talent of the lawyers or surgeons of Europe and America could be set before us in a visible and intelligible form, like the skill and talent of the painters whose works were brought together in the *Champ de Mars* ; but there is this difference, that every painter in the world is the rival of every other, that locality and distance do not protect him as they protect the lawyer and the surgeon. Even these international exhibitions

themselves are tending to make painting more and more cosmopolitan in every way. How many French artists live by selling their pictures in England and America, where they interfere with the professional success of native painters ! The whole world is becoming a gigantic mart for artistic products, and pictures are sent everywhere to find buyers. Here is an example. Two pictures produced at Naples were sent to Paris on sale, where a dealer bought them with the intention of sending them to Germany, when a buyer stepped in and sent them to an amateur in the north of England. Pictures go wandering all over the civilized world till they find buyers, and then their repose is only temporary, for as soon as the collection is brought to the hammer away they go wandering again. This, however, is less true of English than of continental pictures. English art remains chiefly in England, and this may be one great reason why it has so far preserved much of its national character.

The following *résumé* may give an idea of the general impression produced by the schools of painting as taken in their order from the Seine to the *École Militaire*.

England, to begin with, struck the continental mind as having provided a particularly interesting exhibition. The pictures may, or may not, have held high rank as works of art, but they were almost always interesting. The consequence was that the English galleries were generally crowded, at least during the hours when visitors came to the *Champ de Mars*. The French themselves took the keenest interest in English painting, and the artists particularly were alive to its intelligent choice of subject. An Italian opinion, recently expressed by Professor Rondani, in a lecture on English art at the Paris Exhibition,¹ dwells on other good qualities also. " Like the Italian art of the fifteenth century, English art is full of sentiment and eminently spiritual ; it seems to belong to a people ingenuous, faithful, austere, and kindly ; to an age without malice, primitive, idyllic." There can be no doubt that English painting is peculiarly happy in most of the qualities which lie outside of the strictly technical qualities ; it is often poetic, often thoughtful, often very tender, gentle, and sympathetic, and it very seldom panders to animal passions, or to the lust for horror and bloodshed which by an awful law of our nature seems always to accompany them. Very hard things used to be said against the English school for its

¹ Printed in the *Rivista Europea* for February, 1879.

technical deficiency, and they have been repeated with reference to the present exhibition ; but the general feeling in Europe is that these severe criticisms are now falling out of date. A great technical improvement is now visible in English painting, and the kind of criticism which may have been justly applicable to many English painters twenty years ago is applicable no longer, except to those who lag behind the general culture of their age. With regard to color, there is a peculiar law of development which may be observed in the cases of individuals, and which probably also governs the development of schools. When a painter has the gift of color naturally he does not begin by coloring more agreeably than others, he always begins by coloring crudely and badly, because his eye observes hues which he is unwilling to omit, though he can not harmonize them yet ; the dull painter, who can not see color, clings to what is least offensive, and escapes censure by taking refuge in disguised monochrome. So it is in schools. The color-faculty is not uncommon in England, and for that very reason, so long as it is uneducated, the English are the crudest and worst colorists in the world ; but their error is hardly ever in the direction of mud, though mud is the general refuge of the French. Crude greens, reds, and purples, dreadful combinations of all the most dangerous pigments invented by the colormen—these are the errors of the Englishman. The Frenchman takes refuge in the umbers and ochers and finds safety in mere negation. It can not be denied, however, that the English painters are now passing out of the crude stage, so that notwithstanding some violence here and there, the general aspect of the English gallery was agreeable. Again, in handling, the English are not so petty as they used to be, they paint more simply and with greater breadth and substance.

The next school to England happened to be that of Italy, which, notwithstanding the old Italian masters, is really one of the youngest—if not the very youngest—in Europe. The Italians have begun art over again in a modern spirit, and the men of to-day work absolutely without tradition, exactly as if the old Roman, Florentine, Bolognese, or Venetian masters had never existed. They go directly to nature ; they indulge their own artistic fancies and caprices to the uttermost, and, for the present, they seem to be like untended plants growing wild in a locality where nothing exists to hinder them. It is easy to condemn the present productions of the school, which are generally far inferior to those of France and England ; but it is also easy to foresee that the present

crude stage of Italian art, which is only temporary, will give place in due time to a more serious culture. With all the faults of the modern Italians I am fully persuaded that they have done the only thing that was to be done under the circumstances, in emancipating themselves completely from the too powerful influence of the old masters. What was Italian art so long as that influence lasted? It was nothing but the unintelligent manufacture of *pasticcios*. To-day there is at least a healthy independence and a sort of boyish delight in liberty, an opening of the eyes to the freshness, life, and color of the actual world. You see that the young Italian artists no longer shut themselves up in picture galleries—they go out into the streets and fields, they muse on the sea-shore, they travel on the public roads, and observe people of all classes in all sorts of occupations. When once they get fairly out of the crude stage these Italian artists will be good modern painters. Pasini, the best of them, is as observant of the real world as a painter can be, or ought to be, and yet he is not crude. Michetti and many others are still in the crude stage, and so, with all his skill, is De Nittis, though his Italian crudity has been gradually exchanging itself for French mud of late years, in consequence, probably, of his residence in Paris. It is also a bad thing for his color that he should have studied London, not that the coloring of London is always bad in itself, but because he paints not the beauty that is to be found in London scenery, but southern prejudice against it.

Sweden and Norway have, as is natural, very much in common as to the qualities of their art, and both, for the present, are far superior to Italy. Nevertheless, although they paint better than the Italians, the Swedes and Norwegians are less original, for their art comes in a great measure from Germany (particularly from Düsseldorf), when it does not come from Paris. A mere glance at the catalogue shows how many Swedish and Norwegian painters live abroad, and generally either in Germany or France. This circumstance, as in the case of the United States, takes away most of the interest which would otherwise belong to these northern schools. It would be mere self-deception to admire as northern art what is really a product of central Europe. You would not exhibit a Yorkshireman who had been educated at Harrow and Oxford, and had lived there mostly since, as a specimen of the native Yorkshire mind. He would be an Englishman, but not in the strict sense a Yorkshireman, and so it is with these northern Europeans who study painting far from their own country and settle down in cen-

tral Europe ; they are Europeans, but Swedes and Norwegians no longer, so far at least as painting is concerned. They still, however, preserve the northern poetry in their minds, as you may see by their love of northern landscape and legend, and their hearts and affections turn back to their own wild land. Thus Mr. Arbo paints for us the Asgaardreid, those phantom horsemen of the upper air who, not having done enough evil to deserve hell, nor yet good enough to win heaven, gallop in clouds of ghostly cavalry between the earth and the stars, visitors of evil omen, adding to the noise of earthly combats that of their wild laughter and their clashing arms. In the same spirit Mr. Bennetter painted "Vikings at Sea," and the number of Norwegian landscapes was remarkable. In the Swedish gallery Baron G. O. Cederström¹ produced a sensation with his important national picture, "The Body of Charles XII., carried by his Officers across the Norwegian Frontier;" but on the whole the Swedes were less national in their choice of subjects than the Norwegians, some of them living in France and painting French landscape precisely as Frenchmen would select and paint it. As to technical qualities, these artists are neither better nor worse than the French or German painters who have received the same education ; but as they are fewer in number the very clever men are rare in proportion.

It would be idle to attempt any description of the great French school in two or three pages ; but this is the less necessary as French artists are better known in America than those of any other nation. It still holds its place well as the strongest school in Europe both in numbers and ability, but it is in danger of losing ground relatively as other schools become better educated, often in consequence of the very facilities afforded by Paris itself. There is something in the French nature which adapts it for successful performance in both painting and sculpture. The usual English (and, I believe, American) prejudice against the French as unsteady and incapable of discipline, is certainly not deserved by French artists, who are remarkable for the diligent and patient study they give to their profession, and for their ready submission to discipline when it promises any attainable improvement. Whatever may be the defects of the school a want of careful diligence is not amongst them. Its greatest faults (singular in so lively a nation) are a certain dullness, a too frequent recurrence to worn-out

¹ There are two Barons Cederström, both painters, the other is Baron T. Cederström.

themes, and a desire to give evidence of possessing technical ability, which will always sufficiently show itself when present. The sort of dullness which is often to be found in French painting is, I believe, due to a too great separation of literary and artistic pursuits. Painters, with a few exceptions, do not read, and so they miss that renewal of the mind which is the greatest benefit of reading. They shut themselves up in a difficult and absorbing pursuit, which, when not under the direction of high intellect and feeling may easily degenerate into a handicraft. French figure-painting, in the hands of the less inventive artists, is often nothing but a large study of a model, and this is particularly noticeable in pictures from the nude, which, whether the artist calls them by the name of Diana or Venus, or some nymph of the grove or the stream, are still visibly nothing but portraits of "Les mercenaires de la pose." The very large size of many French pictures is also an evil, because it increases the appearance of emptiness. Young painters tell me that they paint on a large scale in order not to be overlooked at the Salon. People will hunt out a small picture by a famous man, but overlook it if the name is unknown. The effect of this is more prejudicial to landscape than to figure-painting. A large figure-picture is painted in the presence of models, and so far as the actual flesh-painting is concerned may be well-studied; but a big landscape is in most cases only an enlarged sketch. We feel this painfully before the largest landscapes of Daubigny, which would look much better furnished if the scale were smaller. The excess of scale has never been more visibly an error than in the case of Gustave Doré. His enormous canvases do not contain a tenth part of the knowledge and study that Gérôme puts into a small one; but in Doré's case there are probably commercial reasons for this, as his pictures are now painted for his own exhibition in Bond Street.

French color generally offends Englishmen, as English color (in another way) used to offend Frenchmen. I have long since come to the conclusion that color is not necessary to the fame of a painter, and the recent celebrity of J. P. Laurens is a case in point. French artists seldom offend you by crudity of glaring colors, as the English do, but they take refuge, for safety, in the dull earths. Raw and burnt umber are useful for monochrome work and for some other purposes, but in mixture with tints they may soil the work of a painter though they seem to offer him a refuge. French coloring is often founded upon umber, or else (as in the case of Ribot) on black, suggested primarily by ideas derived from printer's

ink or charcoal. It is, however, in the present day, working its way towards a more complete chromatic expression, and although the proportion of colorists in a school can never be large, it is much that there should be no positive prejudice against them. Any Frenchman who can color may, in these times, do so if he pleases. He is no longer paralyzed, by the authority of M. Ingres.

I should be sorry if these remarks conveyed an impression unfavorable to the French school as a whole. It is a most powerful school, full of skill and accomplishment, and it deserves its enormous influence in the world. One of its great superiorities at present is in portrait. French portraits of the better class are now more than ever remarkable for quietly powerful representation and for the absence of pretension and display alike in the sitter and the artist.

Austria and Hungary did more than merely answer expectation ; but it was rather unfortunate for many good painters of the school that Makart, Matejko, and Munkacsy, attracted so much attention. Makart is, of the three, the finest painter, if you estimate painters by the union of powers and qualities, but Munkacsy is the most agreeable. I should say that for national and public pictures Makart would be the better man, whilst for a private gallery I should prefer Munkacsy. No modern painter can manage a great historical canvas better than Makart. Without imitating Rubens, he has some of the great qualities of Rubens, the life and movement, the splendor of human existence, as seen from the outside only. Munkacsy is more thoughtful and serious, and in every way a profounder artist. His "Milton and his Daughters," which (it is said) has just been sold in Vienna for 200,000 francs, and which I saw by itself in the painter's studio without a frame, is at the same time grave and engaging. Matejko seems less of the artist (speaking generally) than either of these two, and more of the historical painter especially, I mean that historical fact, costume, and detail, are to him the main things, whilst artistic arrangements are more interesting to his brethren.

I have not space to speak of the remaining schools, except to say that Belgium held her place by the sustained excellence of well-known artists, and that the Netherlands interested us by the work of men whose reputation is more recent, and whose art is founded much more on modern French and German painting than on old Dutch. The German school, to which a single room was assigned just at the last moment, had a most choice exhibition,

which, for the time, made the French forget their military misfortunes, whilst they candidly acknowledged the artistic merits of their enemy. The general result of the Paris Exhibition, so far as the fine arts were concerned, was to make different countries appreciate each other's genius better than they had ever done before, and there was a degree of liberality and cordiality in international appreciation with reference to the fine arts such as had not been observed in the same degree on any previous occasion. The one great lesson which the exhibition left to us is the value of originality, whether national or individual originality, and the danger of too much cosmopolitanism in the fine arts. Nevertheless, the art of painting has never been followed simultaneously by so many able practitioners as now. It flourishes not only in one or two favored cities, but wherever modern civilization has had time to develop itself. The anxiety for the future has to do rather with political economy than art. Will not such a vast supply glut the market ultimately, and then how is this immense production to continue?

AMERICAN AUTOCRATS.

IT is curious how completely names and customs can survive the facts from which they derived their original significance. The four last months of the year are still numbered after the decimal system of Cæsar Augustus, and the churches of many European cities still ring the curfew bells, the mediæval signal for extinguishing the hearth fires, at an hour when modern city dwellers cook their supper or confabulate in the chimney corner and are in particular need of a good fire. The names of six week-days have even survived the divinities to whose worship they were once dedicated, and our historical and diplomatic records attest the fact that up to the beginning of this century the German Confederation used to be designated as the Holy Roman Empire, because half a millennium ago some of the elective Kaisers had taken the war-path in pursuit of an antiquated claim on the Italian peninsula, and two of them had really been crowned by the Roman Pontiff.

A singular reverence for defunct actualities leads us still to speak of the Spanish-American *Republics*, in referring to the political subdivisions of the southern half of our continent, though the facts which originated a system of nomenclature were perhaps never more short-lived, nor the prospects of their resurrection less encouraging. In the first transport of their national independence our Indo-Spanish neighbors shook off a few monarchical vices together with the monarchical forms of their government, but already in the second decade of their new political era the annals of the *ci-devant* Spanish-American provinces nearly justified De Lamartine's homely apothegm : that liberal institutions guarantee the blessing of a liberal government just as much as the ownership of a horse-carriage guarantees the possession of a horse.

Since the invention of steam navigation has shortened the distance from London to Port Said by seven days, the Mohammedan Orient has ceased to be a *terra incognita*, and we may say with assurance that not one of the supposed absolute rulers from Khiva

to Stamboul would dare to incur the odium of the outrages which some of the so-called Republics of South America have suffered at the hands of their chief magistrates. The people of Peru, Paraguay, Guatemala, Venezuela, and Mexico, have submitted to violations of all civil and human rights that would have lighted the signal-fires of revolt on every hill-top of Hindoo-Koosh, and turned the sword of Osman against the throat of his successor. Their best citizens have been shot without trial and without warning, hundreds of political protestants slain like wild beasts, towns and territories alienated without the consent of the nation, whole populations impoverished to furnish a military despot with the means of protracting an unpopular war, and the last rights of the national representatives usurped by a self-appointed dictator till the *nominis umbra* of liberty could only be found on old coins and municipal documents which still displayed the seal of the betrayed Republic.

Our budget of news from the Spanish-American States generally confines itself to their revolutionary catastrophes ; but the history of their tranquil intervals is, perhaps, even more characteristic of their political condition, and every longer pause between the solemn entry of a new political Messiah into his capital, and his exit in the van of an excited mob, proves that the latter event owes its frequency less to our neighbors' quick resentment of unconstitutional acts than to their hope that by continual changes they may at last stumble upon that *rara avis*, a liberal autocrat. For this hope has not always been disappointed. A few insurrection-proof dictators like Blanco-Guzman and Dr. Francia have, indeed, contrived to maintain themselves by tricks which find their only parallel in the *chronique scandaleuse* of a Central African Potentate. But the majority of the perennial Presidents were really distinguished by their liberality, if we may use that word in its Russian sense ; they committed their arbitrary acts in pursuit of what they conceived to be the true interest of their fellow-citizens rather than from altogether selfish motives.

Lieutenant-General Porfirio Diaz, the present ruler of Mexico, for instance, is a generous as well as a conscientious administrator ; lavish of his private means and chary of the public funds, he can boast that only his heir-at-law ever questioned his financial ability. His foreign policy has extricated the country from a maze of imbroglios, he has exorcised the demons of the Rio Grande, remodelled the Chapultepec military school and alleviated the sorrows of heretics and insolvent debtors ; and the first two years of his admin-

istration have already improved the national credit by forty per cent ; but in that same short time he has managed to perpetrate an amount of despotism that would suffice to dethrone half a dozen Turkish Sultans and French Premiers.

He owes his place to the *coup d'état* by which he "liberated the Nation"—not from a military tyrant, but from a merry monarch, whose military incapacity was his greatest fault ; and sixty-five, otherwise respectable, Mexican citizens are now expiating in poverty and exile the folly of abetting a clever lawyer against a clever Lieutenant-General.

Porfirio Diaz is a monarch of the William of Orange type, and disdains to abuse his power for the gratification of private spites, the more because he has not many personal enemies ; but his political adversaries must prepare for Indian stratagems as well as for Chapultepec tactics, and, like his countryman Juarez, he has generally acted upon the Catalonian proverb which counsels conquerors to hamstring a prostrate foe.

During his (heavy-armed) candidacy he condescended to compromises and circumventions, and though the threats of his partisans and his well-known temper made the opposition a little weak-kneed, he seemed, on the whole, to prefer bribery to compulsion and persuasion to bribery, and affected to yield where he could afford to wait ; but since the decisive triumph of his faction he has never hesitated to break an inflexible obstacle. His countrymen's penchant for *pronunciamentos*—riotous demonstrations—he has converted into a source of revenue. Every town whose *alcalde* fails to suppress a riot within forty-eight hours is punished with fines which, in case of need, are corrected by wholesale confiscations ; states which indulge the national foible, are disfranchised for a year and treated as territories (*comarcas*), whose governors he appoints like so many postmasters, with the crafty proviso that they shall complete their term—*i.e.*, bestride the reconstructed states for the next three years—if they eschew the sins of their predecessors. According to the constitution of our next neighbors, their President can not ordain, but only nominate, the members of his cabinet, their virtual appointment depending on the vote of a certain majority of states. Some of the nominations which were announced last December did not seem exactly popular, and serious opposition was feared, especially from the southern and south-western states. But King Porfirio had overcome worse difficulties than that. He simply requested six of his *comarca* Governors to "take such summary measures as the

occasion required," and report a four fifths majority in favor of his ticket within a specified time.

The Governor of Oaxaca, who arrived at the desired result with a celerity which the absence of telegraphic facilities made quite incomprehensible, was obliged to confess that, "since his firm conviction of the loyal sentiments of his state had enabled him to foresee the issue of the *escruto*" (the process of counting votes) "he had taken the liberty *to omit that ceremony altogether!*" and added afterward, in self-defense, "that he had done so in pursuance of rigid instruction." Chief Justice Vallarte, who owed his seat to this concise way of electioneering, and had to pronounce *ex-officio* on the justness of the proceeding, must likewise have felt that the occasion demanded extraordinary measures, for he indicted his rival for high treason and got the President to banish four of the opposition members. Problems of ways and means the Lieutenant-General solves in the same summary manner, by levying extra contributions on the Vera Cruz merchants and the rich mining States of Durango and Zacatecas. "Tell Cadena that I can not accept his excuses," he wrote to his military representative in Zacatecas, when Mr. Foster dunned him about that indemnity last summer; "tell him (the Governor) that the money must be forwarded before the end of this month; *y Dios se compadece de su pelo*—and the Gods have mercy upon his hide—if I must help him collect it."

The wealthiest corporation in the Mexican Republic is, or rather was, the Pueblo and Great Southern Transportation Company, who used to monopolize the southern export traffic, and could cast a heavy vote in the politics of the Border States, but were suspected of foreign sympathies since the removal of their headquarters to Guatemala. Perhaps in order to test their patriotism, Señor Diaz saddled them with a rather undesirable job, the transportation of military supplies to the peninsula of Yucatan, at the Government regulation rate of eight cents a mile per *carga* of five hundred pounds. The Company forwarded the goods which their agent in the Mexican Capitol had been obliged to accept, and at the end of the year tried to sue the Government for the difference in their respective rates, but were unable to obtain a *versus* in the Common Pleas. But some of the stockholders were natives of Great Britain, believers in civil rights and the might of justice, and, acting upon the theory that a litigant who is kept out of court as a plaintiff must try to get in as a defendant, they indemnified

themselves by selling some of the Quartermaster's stores in their charge, though against the urgent protest of their Mexican lawyer, whose views were founded upon experience rather than upon theories. "It is like playing against loaded dice," he said; "we are bound to lose in the long run." His misgivings were justified when, ten days afterward, the charter of the Company was revoked and their Pueblo depot sequestered by order of the President.

When the ineffable Cortina was dragged to the Mexican Capitol a year ago, his execution seemed only a question of time, and even his wealthiest relatives despaired of legal remedies and advised him to improve the first opportunity of escape. The criminal himself did not think it worth while to ask for a commutation of sentence, and told his counsel, Lawyer Kirby, of Matamoras, that "the President would sign the warrant for his execution because he could not help it." But Señor Diaz informed the nation that he saw reasons to postpone his decision, and meanwhile, "for greater security," retained the prisoner as a guest of the executive mansion, granting him such indulgences as the laws of hospitality required, and lately carried his kindness to the length of appointing Cortina Commander-in-Chief of the Capitol Guards—*i.e.*, superintendent of his own jailers. "*Tel est notre plaisir*" was the essence of the answer he returned to certain inquiries about the legality of the appointment.

In spite of Jeremy Bentham's arguments against the possibility of such a result, Diaz seems to have succeeded in keeping his treasury notes at par with the standard coin of the country by simply proclaiming a Presidential *ukase* to that effect. He keeps the habeas corpus in a state of continual suspense, and has abrogated a constitutional amendment which provided for the publication of court-martial proceedings against citizens accused of capital offenses. The constitution itself he has so far spared, but its walls are so shattered that it could hardly resist a vigorous assault; and his legal bully, Chief Justice Vallarte, has made successful rushes in different places where not angels only, but the German Chancellor, would fear to tread.

Another most dubious claim to the title of a republic is that of the State of Guatemala, which for more than fourteen years has experienced the advantages and disadvantages of the one-man power in its most exclusive form. Don Vicente Granados is the name of the potentate who assumed the control of that State in the winter of 1864, under the name of a "Military Regulator," and has

never since relaxed his grasp on the reins for a single day, though now and then he has permitted one of his partisans to accept a nomination and figure as the incumbent of the Presidential chair for a couple of years. He took personal charge of the honors and emoluments of that position in 1871, and though he graciously pretends to share his power with a Chamber of Deputies, it is well understood that the members of that assembly, and all public functionaries, earn their salaries by obeying instructions, and know better than to neglect a hint that their resignation would be accepted. During the debates on the Honduras question he took post at the door of the assembly hall with a corporal's guard and a couple of sheriffs; and Mr. Horace McGee, the English plenipotentiary, was present when he made a charge into the midst of the Deputies, collared an obnoxious orator, overpowered him, and, with the assistance of a grenadier, caned him on the spot. Only the giggles of the audience interrupted the respectful silence when he returned to his post. He frowned when he noticed the presence of the Consul, but inquired after the state of his health with tolerable composure. "*Es mas que triste*—'tis too bad," he observed as he handed the Consul a perfumed cigarette, "'tis too bad that in a crisis like this we have to lose time with such undignified squabbles."

On the 1st of September, 1869, the "United States of Guatemala" elected as their President one Vittorino Cerna, a personal friend of the all-powerful, but a very pious man, by whose influence the church party hoped to redress many of their grievances. The Archbishop of Guatemala, a fearless Jesuit, whose Vicar had recently arrived from Italy, committed the imprudence of issuing a formal protest against the irreligious power behind the throne, and a week after the publication of this epistle the President was obliged, "by order of General Granados," to imprison the Archbishop and to appoint in his place one of the General's regimental chaplains. The friends and constituents of the ex-Primate called an indignation meeting, which was to assemble in Ciudad Vieja on the first Monday of the new year. But the General, with his wonted promptitude, anticipated possibilities by sending a regiment of infantry to the rendezvous, with open instructions to arrest and confine the indignant gentlemen as fast as they should come in. Nobody came; but the church party appealed to the Pope and the neighboring Republic of Mexico, whereupon Granados *ordered the President* to exile the Jesuits *en masse*. His demand was actually complied with, and so convinced was the public of the hopelessness of resistance that

even the appearance of a Papal commissioner failed to produce the hoped-for orthodox reaction.

After playing the Provost-Marshal for a couple of years, President Cerna got tired of the farce and asked permission to resign; but his resignation was not accepted; the Regulator saw no occasion for a change just yet. With a view of getting rid of his official harness, Cerna then deliberately vetoed a new law which the omnipotent General had proclaimed "for the promotion of domestic tranquillity"—and with the happiest result; Don Granados not only gave him permission to retire, but made him leave the country too, and installed his own family in the Executive Mansion, which they have occupied ever since, though the General, whose talents are of the strategic rather than forensic order, has lately appointed one Rufino Barrios as his Lieutenant-President.

A similar state of affairs has prevailed for some years in the "Republic" of Peru, where Manuel Prado (General, of course) has acted the part of president-maker in defiance of Church and State. Like the Earl of Warwick, he thinks that he who rules the throne rules the country too, and never fails to upset the Presidential chair if the chairman betrays any symptoms of independence. Since 1868 Prado has "pronounced" five times, and as often reconstructed, the Peruvian Government according to his taste. Only once, in 1871, his nominee seemed on the point of being defeated by a more popular rival, but Prado showed himself equal to the emergency. He suddenly remembered that Colonel Balta, the obnoxious candidate, was an officer of his army, who had retired on half pay, but, according to Peruvian law, was still subject to his authority. He lost no time in ordering him to rejoin his regiment, and when Balta failed to report, he was forcibly arrested, dragged to headquarters, and shot for insubordination, October 6th, 1871.

If Andrew Johnson had improved the chances of his friend Seymour by arresting and shooting General Grant, the case would be exactly analogous. Imagine the leaders of the *Inter-Ocean* and the late Washington *Chronicle* after such an event! But General Prado's slumbers were never disturbed by the "buzzing hornets of the press," for every editor in Peru knew that his first buzz would be his last. Offensive papers were not only muzzled, but silenced forever, by the confiscation of their entire typographical apparatus, together with the personal property of the editors and printers. After eleven journals have thus been adjourned *sine die*, their survivors devote their enthusiasm to strictly non-political topics, and pro-

pitiate the wrath of the Dictator by describing his monthly reviews and prize drills with great minuteness of detail. All these things are endured with the same apathetic resignation which enables the natives of the Punjaub to bear with the royal caprices of their Subahdar. Patience of this sort the Sage of Cheyne Row commends as "loyal recognition of facts;" but if our Peruvian contemporaries applied that virtue to nomenclature, they could hardly call their country a Republic.

But that name was even retained by the State of Paraguay, while the *bon plaisir* of Dr. Francia was its supreme and only law. During his seventeen years' administration this South American Cambyzes shot 940 "rebels," banished eighty-four families and untold individuals, and punished some twenty political culprits every month with imprisonment or heroic doses of the strappado. He recruited his army by a weekly press-gang, suppressed all newspapers, with the exception of an official bulletin, coined his own money, regulated the domestic affairs of his subjects, and interdicted all foreign commerce, while no citizen was permitted to leave the country without his special consent, which was very often refused.

His stronghold in the city of Assuncion (*la carniceria*—the butcher-shop—his subjects called it) resounded all day long with the howls of tortured prisoners; and during the last six years of his reign, according to the testimony of innumerable natives and trustworthy foreign visitors, this President of an American Commonwealth enforced a decree that all persons approaching the terrace of the Executive Mansion without a special permit should be fired upon by the sharpshooters on the balcony. From a financial embarrassment he extricated himself by collecting all the silver dollar-pieces of the country and recoinng them with an admixture of fifty per cent of copper, but with the original face value. This ruddy-cheeked money is stamped on the obverse with the bulldog bust of the Dictator, but on the reverse actually bears the legend, *La Republica de Paraguay*.

"It makes your piastres blush to tell such stories," the Dictator's facetious French physician told him one day; but he paid for his *jeu d'esprit* with the loss of 200 of those bashful dollars, which represented his monthly salary.

An even more absolute though less abominable autocrat was General Blanco Guzman, the Dictator and "Protector" of Venezuela, who, in his short reign of three years, confiscated and redistributed

almost the entire real estate of his monarchy, and, like Ali Pasha of Janina, kept a special court-executioner and court-whipping-post-master. He never commuted a death sentence, and never left his palace without a formidable body-guard, but he was a wit withal, a poet and table talker of more than ordinary merit, and a graceful dancer, a sort of despotic Chesterfield, in fact, who reconciled many opponents and found advocates in his last need that would have shown no quarter to a mere military tyrant. He was no stickler for ceremonial propriety, however, and in his social intercourse used and permitted the most perfect nonchalance. If his ministers connived at his political pranks, he sent them hampers of confiscated French high-wines, also poetical epistles and invitations to a royal symposium, or a timely cheque on the National Treasury ; if they proved refractory, he sent them with a *bon mot* to the gallows.

There was no lack of *pronunciamentos*, but revolutions somehow failed to revolve till his rival, Victor Alcántaras, invoked the aid of the Colombian Junta (the States of New Grenada, Venezuela, and Ecuador), and succeeded in arraigning the despot before a federal court, which, after absorbing an enormous bribe, acquitted him of his political murders, but indicted him for gross violations of the national constitution and misdemeanors of which an unbribable majority would have found him guilty if he had not preferred to resign.

Porfirio Diaz has obviated such possibilities by availing himself repeatedly of a device which its inventor, Chief Justice Vallarte, calls a *mudanza temporal*—a “provisional amendment,” which entrusts the executive authority with extraordinary powers upon extraordinary occasions ; and by a strange oversight omits to provide any safeguards against an undue permanence of such occasions, of whose exigency it makes His Excellency the sole judge.

The *mudanzas* which in this way have already acquired the strength of time-honored institutions, invest the Chief Executive of the Mexican Republic with the following modest privileges : He can remove the governors of disaffected States ; repeal the charters of incorporated companies ; exile a political offender with the concurrence of a two thirds majority of a (self-appointed) ministerial council ; change at two weeks' notice the time and place of holding elections for Senators and Representatives ; grant letters of marque and reprisal against rebellious states of the Mexican Union ; delegate dictatorial authority to army and navy officers conducting a campaign against a district in insurrection ; privilege such officers

from arrest till a report on the nature of their offense shall have been examined by a Cabinet committee ; remove any *corregidor* (marshal or commissioner) of the general Government, or officer of the army or navy who shall abuse such power for oppressive or immoral purposes ; remove any *corregidor* who fails to enforce the regulations of the school law ; disqualify any person from holding office, with the concurrence of a majority of the *Consejo Ministerial* ; recruit the navy and regular army by press-gangs ; suppress political publication in or *about* (referring to) any State, district, or town under martial law ; issue writs of attainder against officials accused of actions or words to the prejudice of the executive authority ; secularize convents that fail to comply with the provisions of the school law ; levy forced loans, and suppress "scurrilous" pamphlets and newspapers.

Diaz boasts that all these innovations were ratified by the Chamber of Deputies because they could rely upon his devotion to the spirit of the Constitution. But the same devoted Republican would have secured the privilege of vetoing the enactments of State Legislatures, if a preparatory *mudanza* (requiring State Governors to submit a copy of their proposed messages to the approval of the President) had not been nipped in the bud by a circular of Señor Leon Martinez, the accomplished ex-Governor of Zacatecas, which provoked a bitter demonstration against the Cabinet, and encouraged the Chamber to resist the projected amendment with a firmness which, after the above-named concessions, appears rather fastidious.

"The implied humiliation" (*vergüenza*), "more than the oppressiveness of the proposed by-law, should make us unite for its defeat," says the Señor, "for its moral consequence amounts to a renunciation of the last remnant of State sovereignty. We might as well redivide our country into provinces and let His Majesty appoint as many submissive stadtholders. I know that we have to submit to his cudgel-logic (*razon de palote*) anyhow ; but I would rather be knocked down by a *soi-disant* constitutional President than make my voluntary salaam to a gracious Sovereign. Resistance may cost me my place—let it go ; the more I risk in the scuffle the less can I be suspected of connivance if I succumb. I would sooner let him have my scalp than a diadem."

It is not easy to appreciate the moral difference between the sanction of an unjust law and the toleration of a privileged infractor of all laws whatever, and Porfirio Diaz may hold, with the late

Mons. Janin, that he who wields a sceptre can dispense with a crown, but the ex-Governor's predilections deserve our sympathy for all that. Solon knew well why he objected to the titular arrogations of Pisistratus even more than to his practical despotism, and with an undiminished majority of our fellow-men names and forms still carry so much weight that no enlightened liberal should withhold his applause if Hassan Ben Sidi Mahmoud could be bribed to exchange his tremendous appellatives for that of a Perpetual President of Fez and Morocco, and disguise his blunderbuss-guards as Franc-tireurs with Marseillaise blouses and Liberty-caps ; and for the same reason we will rejoice with our neighbors if the Sultan of Mexico should continue to omit that title from the list of his Imperial prerogatives.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

LIFE AND TIMES OF STEIN.¹—Most intelligent persons who are familiar with the history of the French revolutionary period cordially detest Napoleon Bonaparte. But yet there are very few who would deny that he rendered one great service to mankind when, armed with the vast force generated by the revolution, he swept like a hurricane over Europe and dashed in pieces the senseless and effete things which it was the fashion to nick-name States and governments. Nowhere was this service so conspicuous as in Germany. Nowhere did it effect more ultimate good. It is in this connection that the work of Professor Seeley finds its chief interest and value, and the selection of Stein as the central figure of the picture is fortunate and well judged. Stein was the one man in all Germany who represented fully and thoroughly the spirit finally aroused in Europe by Napoleon, and which proved itself capable of shattering the Corsican despotism of France.

Baron von Stein was by right of birth an Imperial knight, a petty sovereign recognizing no earthly superior but the head of the Holy Roman Empire, and he became the greatest statesman of Germany during the terrible years which opened the nineteenth century. Yet it is due to Professor Seeley that Stein at last takes his proper place in the history of that period. When we consider Stein's abilities and services, the ignorance concerning him seems almost inconceivable. It may be readily explained, however, by the fact that his exploits were of such a nature that, unless fully and minutely told, they would not be appreciated. This has never been done until now. Stein flits through the multitudinous pages of Alison, but nearly every statement there made in regard to him is false, and he leaves no definite impression. The biography by Pertz is little known outside of Germany, and the desultory recollections of Arndt are but trifling memorials. The Prussian names of the revolutionary period most familiar to the world are those of Blücher and Hardenberg. Few realize the work performed by Scharnhorst and Gneisenau, and hardly any one has known of Stein. Yet it was the latter who led and inspired Scharnhorst and Gneisenau, and opened the way for Hardenberg and Blücher.

¹ "Life and Times of Stein." By J. R. Seeley, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge. Boston: Roberts Bros. 1879. 2 vols.

Born in 1757, Stein entered the service of Frederick the Great in 1780. For nearly thirty years he was an official in the civil service, rising steadily and laboriously from one post to another, doing the work that came to him with all his heart and soul, reforming and improving everywhere, and exhibiting always administrative talents of the highest order. The first rush of the French revolution went by him almost unnoticed. He too, despite Professor Seeley's suggestions and arguments, was at the outset utterly blind to the force which had been called into existence in Paris. The pitiful emigrés, the nobility of France, were wrangling on the frontiers and intriguing in every court. Prussia, Austria, and Russia were occupied in complicated swindles at each other's expense, and the small German sovereigns, with their petty realms in a state of contented decay, were grinding their subjects and cheating their neighbors. Colonial extension and domestic reforms were occupying England, profligate cabinets were the chief interest of Spain, while Italy was politically too contemptible to have any pursuit of a public nature. All this time there was gathering in France the force of a nation and a people. A new era had begun. The tremendous weapon of popular and national force was forging. Some great leader was sure to grasp it and level thrones, churches, and States with the ground. Yet no one saw it, no one understood it, no one appreciated it. All looked on in ignorant wonder, and applied their worn-out tests to wholly new conditions. With the exception of Edmund Burke, it is difficult to see that any public man at first realized the magnitude and true meaning of the French revolution. To the men then in power the new force was inconceivable, while those who were to be educated by it, and deal with it, were the young and rising generation. It is no wonder that Stein did not understand it, or that he went his way quietly and unmoved, while Prussia, by a policy which was no policy but simply weak, shifty, and short-sighted selfishness, obtained the precious privilege of being eaten last.

The end might be postponed; it could not be avoided. At the very moment of the French invasion Stein, trained for public service to the last point, his mind full of ideas and reforms, and opening slowly to a just understanding of the situation, was on the verge of holding supreme power. But the cup was dashed from his lips. His royal nature and imperious ways, his clear, strong, determined purposes, his vigorous language, and rough, uncompromising manners, were too much for the feeble, well-intentioned king. He retired for the moment from public life, and Prussia fought the battles of Jena and Auerstadt. Fairest in seeming, the Prussian monarchy was the rottenest of all the great States at heart. It crumbled away in a year at the touch of misfortune, and then Stein was recalled to assume for thirteen months the dictatorship in a ruined, broken, and disgraced State. No words can do justice to the condition of Prussia at that time. She was the mere

chattel of Napoleon. But then it was that the foundation of her present greatness was laid. In his short ministry, Stein passed the emancipating edict abolishing serfdom and exemptions and breaking down classes, began the reform of the administration and the army, and laid the foundation of representative institutions by forcing them upon the towns. Few statesmen have ever lived who accomplished so much in so short a time. Whether Stein devised all these measures or not is comparatively unimportant. He was responsible for every one of them, and they were all fundamental. It was in fact a revolution. In that brief year Stein swept away the old Prussia and began the complete reconstitution of society and government.

But great as was the domestic revolution and the searching reform inaugurated by Stein, they are surpassed by the attempted policy which caused his fall. Brought face to face with Napoleon, at the head of a ruined State, the true means of defence burst upon Stein when he felt the weight of the conqueror and watched the Spanish insurrection. He saw that fire must be fought with fire, that an armed people must resist a popular force. He began to plan a German insurrection, but his counsel was betrayed, he was driven from the ministry, and a decree from Madrid hurried him into exile, a proscribed and hunted man. In one asylum and another he remained four years, solacing himself with history, to be at last called forth by Alexander in the hour of Russia's peril. Through the awful struggle that ensued, he stood by the side of the Czar encouraging and supporting him, and never losing hope. When the miserable remnants of the great French army straggled home across the snow, hounded by Cossacks, and perishing of cold and hunger, Stein was sent by the Czar to arouse Germany and set the popular movement on foot. Armed with full powers, he entered Königsberg, summoned the estates, and brought in the people to force forward the lagging king. He succeeded, but it was the great misfortune, perhaps the great mistake, of his life. He had set on foot the war of liberation, he had roused king, army, and people, but he had done it as the emissary of Russia, and not as a Prussian. This was probably unavoidable, but it put Stein in a false position. In the years which followed he played a great and leading part; he put his name to all the great treaties, he controlled the central administration of all conquered territory, including the mass of small German States; he was popularly called "Emperor of Germany," and princes waited in his ante-chamber. His influence was unbounded, but he was to the public the representative of Russia, not of Germany. He himself says that his position was uncertain and insecure, and it could not have been otherwise. He should have witnessed the fall of Napoleon, and taken part in the Congress of Vienna as the great Prussian minister, not as the friend and adviser of the Russian autocrat. When Russian support was withdrawn, his

influence failed, and after 1815 he practically retired to private life. Yet it was during the time when he occupied this false position that he stands forth in the grandest way of all as the advocate of German unity and of nationality. Overriding all distinctions, he acted and wished to be considered as a German, and not as a Prussian. He was many years in advance of his time in this respect, and, like all great men who are ahead of their age, he failed at the moment, and was, moreover, stranded hopelessly by the pitiable reaction which set in after Waterloo. But posterity understands and appreciates just such men, and it is now that Stein takes his high place as the first great statesman of Germany who believed in German unity, and from youth to old age clung to his belief, and fought for it through good and evil report. Failure and misfortune, unfinished work and misunderstanding, met him at every turn, but the man and his career far surpass any other in the Germany of the time.

We can not agree with the English reviewer who said that Professor Seeley tells us what Stein did, but not what he was. Professor Seeley is not picturesque in his descriptions, but he gives us the material for the portrait. It is easily drawn. Stein was a "great individuality," as Stockmar said, and Bünsen felt that he was a "king." He stands out as clearly as possible to any one who reads the biography attentively. His character was grand, massive, and simple. He overflowed with energy, force, courage, and good sense. He was passionate, irritable, and rude, but this was almost inseparable from such a powerful nature and imperious will. He had no skill in the management of men, and no tact, and this led to his fall, as the lack of such qualities invariably does. No king, least of all an irresponsible despot, will employ a man like Stein except in dire necessity. In the first stage of Prussia's great agony he had to be prime minister. Could he have forced his vacillating master into a popular war in 1808, he must have remained in office. But submission, slavery, and peace put Stein aside, in favor of more pliant men. His unpopularity with sovereigns and courts was heightened by his being an Imperial knight. He stood before kings and princes as an equal, and treated them as such. He could rule the storm, but once he had done so the piping times of peace offered no place for so dangerous and commanding a presence near the side of royalty. But his greatest quality as a statesman was his respect for the past, and his desire to cling to the good and reject only the bad, to develop and reform, not to destroy and create. This quality of mind shows the good Teutonic blood unmixed with any from a Latin source. He towers up above the Frenchmen and Spaniards by his love of ordered liberty as much as he surpasses most of his German contemporaries by his broad, liberal, and enlarged views.

Professor Seeley has achieved an excellent work in giving Stein his true place, and in throwing great light upon German history, which is but little

understood from 1789 to 1815. He is always fair and judicial to the last degree. He is clear and thorough, and the most painstaking research marks every page of his book. But the volumes are hard reading. There is so much analysis and discussion that the reader is never caught by the story and swept along, despite himself, in full sympathy with the hero, and deeply moved by the great events of the time. This is a grave defect, both for author and public, but it does not lessen materially the debt of gratitude which every student of history owes Professor Seeley. The book is not brilliant or vivid, but it is one of the most important and solid of recent contributions to modern history.

THE LADY OF THE AROOSTOOK¹ has already appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*, and has therefore had a large number of readers—so large indeed that, even were it desirable, it would be quite superfluous to trace the outline of the story and enter into a detailed examination of the characters. We prefer, moreover, to speak of the book and its author in a more general way.

Mr. Howells stands at the head of living American novelists, but this is so slight a compliment that it must be strengthened by saying that there is no one except Mr. James who at all approaches him. He has reached a position in which the publication of a new story becomes what is termed "an event." He has also attained the much higher rank of a novelist who is best criticised by reference to his own work, and by comparison only with the masters of fiction. Those who have watched his career remember the interest excited by the appearance of the "Foregone Conclusion." It was justly felt that this story, despite a grave defect in the manner of its end, showed not only dramatic force, but growth and development, when compared with the "Chance Acquaintance." If a similar advance marked the next story, it would be clear that Mr. Howells was not far from a very high place among English-speaking novelists. But the successors of the "Foregone Conclusion" were slighter than their predecessors, instead of stronger. It was therefore with a feeling of relief that the admirers of Mr. Howells saw him abandon little comedies and sketches and begin a new story. This new story is now before the world in book form, and we are in a position to compare it with what has gone before. It is by no means so much superior to the "Foregone Conclusion" as that story was to the "Chance Acquaintance." The "Lady of the Aroostook" is more finished than any thing that has preceded it, and more rounded, while the awkward close of the "Foregone Conclusion" is completely avoided. It is more even too, and better sustained, but it does not show so much dramatic power, and is altogether quieter, and in a lower key. We find in it the deli-

¹ "The Lady of the Aroostook." By W. D. Howells. Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Co. 1879.

cate observation, the fidelity to nature, the shrewd knowledge of character, and a humor of the best and most refined sort with which we are familiar. There is also the same promise of stronger and better things which we recollect in its predecessors. It is this last fact which suggests the criticism we are most anxious to make. The novel is excellent so far as it goes, and we have already mentioned some of its very great merits. But why does it not go much further? There is not enough. There is room and material for a much longer story, and even the principal characters are by no means wholly worked out. It is not a sketch, for it is highly finished, but is rather an incomplete picture, or one which, without the least diminution in strength, might be spread over a much larger canvas. Take, for instance, the characters of Lady Fenleigh, Miss Landini, and Mr. Rose-Black. They are thrown in very artistically, and are extremely good, but they are merely incidental, although full of possibilities. They are perfect as far as they go, but they are only glimpses after all. In a word, like *Oliver Twist* we want "more." Mr. Howells has given abundant evidence of the possession of the best artistic qualities. He is honest, humorous, delicate, and acute. He has a fine sense of proportion, and he never strains after effects. To reach the highest rank and establish his claim to the place of which he is worthy and for which his book gives such flattering promise, he must show more dramatic force, greater and more sustained power. He must take a larger canvas, and fill it with the same elaborate work which we admire in the smaller ones. In short, he must write a "three-volume" novel.

We should be very sorry to have it supposed that what has just been said is intended to convey any disparagement of Mr. Howells' novel. The contrary is the truth. It is because we believe him to have very fine powers, and to be capable of producing something much stronger, better, larger, and more enduring than any thing he has yet accomplished, that we find fault with the "*Lady of the Aroostook*" for its brevity and ask so confidently for more. No one who is a good judge of novels can read the "*Lady of the Aroostook*" and dispute the justice of the request. Almost every page supports it, and the light touches by which the characters are so skilfully delineated fully bear it out. Take, for example, the opening scene in that part of our country which has almost a complete monopoly of the individuality, the undisturbed traditions and the marked features so necessary to the social dramatist. Nothing could be better than this picture of a primitive New England village. The dreariness, the strange ideas, the humorous and the pathetic side, are all brought home with the reality of a true artist. Yet Mr. Howells is not a New Englander. Perhaps if he were, although he could not better appreciate the situation, he might not be so well able to describe it. As it is, the work is clearly the result not of simple knowledge or familiarity, but of the keen observation

and intuitive perception which always mark the best story-tellers. In portraying women Mr. Howells excels, and "Lydia" is admirably drawn and conceived. The little defects, such as "wanting to know," are brought forward first, and strike the reader just as they struck Staniford and Dunham, while the really fine qualities of the girl are only gradually disclosed as the acquaintance ripens. Staniford is also a good character, consistent and complete, with nothing of either the walking gentleman or the splendid hero of romance about him. Through all runs a pleasant vein of satire, too good-natured, to our thinking, in some places, where it touches on the wretched American admiration for Europe, good and bad indiscriminately, and the accompanying contempt for the United States. But the satire is always sound and wholesome, and well directed. We have taken these examples at random, but all the characters support our main criticism equally well. If Mr. Howells can write the "Lady of the Aroostook," we have a right to expect a great deal more—not the "great American novel," but something much better than any thing that hackneyed phrase can possibly convey.

SUGAR DUTIES.—The importance of the sugar interests¹ of our country are, unfortunately, but little understood. In 1877, of the total custom revenue, 30 per cent, or \$37,080,819, was collected from duties on raw sugars, melado (cane-juice), and molasses; and in the same year our consumption of foreign and domestic sugar was 1,492,274,000 pounds. Our refiners expend some *fifteen millions* of dollars per annum, of which, according to a deduction of Mr. Edward Atkinson from the statistics of Massachusetts, 90 to 95 per cent, goes to laborers.

The present agitation, however, for a change in the sugar tariff is not a matter at issue between Free-Traders and Protectionists. Both parties assuming the necessity of duties for revenue, although in this case excessive, the key to the present difference of opinion is to be found in the struggle over the Dutch standard and the polariscope as a means of testing sugars for assessment at the Custom House. The former is based on the theory that color alone is a test of purity and strength in the sugar; and the cargoes are sampled and compared with graded sugars hermetically sealed in glass bottles and distributed by the Dutch authorities. The grades from No. 1 (melado) to No. 10 must go to the refiner before consumption; and although some may go into immediate consumption, the grades to No. 13, are used for the manufacture of the highest grades of soft and hard sugars. The grades to No. 20 contain decreasing impurities. The polariscope gives a test, independent of color, by polarized light; and, as a matter of fact, is now used by most countries, and always

¹ "The Sugar Industry of the United States and the Tariff." David A. Wells. Paper, pp. 119. New York, 1878.

by merchants in their own transactions. For Muscovado (evaporated in open coppers) and clayed sugars (washed by water percolating through a layer of clay) the Dutch standard was probably sufficient : color and saccharine strength, if there were no adulterations, went fairly together, and the charges of adulterations do not seem to be fully substantiated. But on the invention of the vacuum pan and centrifugal wheel, by which the molasses is separated from the sugar in a shorter time and more effective manner, sugar which graded according to the Dutch standard with Muscovado in color proved by the polariscope to contain a much greater degree of sweetness. While sugar made by the new processes in Cuba and Demerara shows by the polariscope not less than 92 (out of 100), the same grade D. S. of Muscovado shows twenty or thirty points below. Therefore, when we remember that in business transactions between buyer and seller the world over, cargoes are bought by the polariscope test, but that our government persists in collecting its duties by the obsolete Dutch standard, it is clear that our refiners and consumers are discriminated against by the tariff, to the advantage of planters in Cuba and Porto Rico. Mr. Wells shows that the latter gain by our tariff about \$1,400,000 per annum. A uniform tax on these sugars of different value, when reduced to an *ad valorem* valuation, means that to-day we admit the product of Cuba and Porto Rico at a duty of *fifty* per cent, while *seventy* per cent, is levied on the sugar of other countries.

BIOLOGY.¹—This book is meritorious in so far as it is the product of much study and wide reading, but it is not always up to the present state of science, nor is it well translated. Many of the facts and conclusions are correct, but the style is obscure, and the statements are needlessly complicated.

"We have simply attempted," says the preface, "to state concisely what life is, and how organized beings are nourished, grow, are reproduced, move, feel, and think."

In this simple attempt is material for a work as long as Rees' Encyclopedia, and to condense it into four hundred and seventy pages is like making Liebig's Extract in the proportion of a bull to a six-ounce pot. Great power of concentration is required, and the product needs a good deal of dilution to make it palatable or even digestible. The mind, like the stomach, demands the stimulus of distension, and a work avowedly of "vulgarization," "to be read by the mass of enlightened people," ought at least to be readable. It need *not* contain "only an infinitesimal dose of science" where "the main idea is diluted with a deluge of light,

¹ "Biology." Ch. Letourneau. Translated by Wm. Maccall. London · Chapman & Hall ; Philadelphia : Lippincott & Co. 1878.

and pleasing words," as is proved by Huxley's *Elementary Physiology*, a masterpiece of readable and accurate conciseness, and a model book of this sort. It is readable enough for the most unscientific reader, and systematic and accurate enough to serve as a book of reference for a physiologist. Few authors have the gift of combining these qualities. Many can write books having one or the other attribute. The present work has neither, and the attempt to sit between two stools has been followed by its classical result. A few quotations will illustrate the general character of the work. On p. 34, Life is thus defined :

"Life is a twofold movement of simultaneous and continual composition and decomposition, in the midst of plasmatic substances or of figurate anatomical elements, which, under the influence of this indwelling movement, perform their functions in accordance with their structure."

This is one of the best things in the book.

On p. 38, Ch. Robin is quoted as authority for the statement that fibres "form themselves spontaneously by genesis at the very dawn of embryonic life," "at the expense of the blastematic liquids secreted by cells." It is now many years since any comment has been necessary on such a statement as this. M. Robin is very largely quoted throughout the book as an authority, a fact significant of itself. For example, on pp. 273-275, on the Processes of Growth, two theories are gravely stated as equally entitled to consideration—the "*Omnis cellula e cellula*," which is the vital principle of modern physiology, is here confronted with the venerable mummy of "*Spontaneous Genesis*," and the latter process is said to be "the rule in the animal kingdom." After this it is not surprising to find that the chapter on the "*Origin of Organized Beings*" is a laborious attempt to reconstruct a stable edifice from the comminuted *débris* of the exploded theories of Pouchet.

All this is many years behind the times. But it is still more extraordinary that a book published in 1878 should contain the following :

"We can only make conjectures more or less plausible on the office of the white globules."

Not a word is said of the whole subject of their migration. But it is needless to accumulate instances. The above extracts show that the book is an unsafe and incomplete guide for a beginner, and untrustworthy or valueless as a work of reference for the advanced student. The style is strongly flavored by the French both in idiom and expression, as the recurrence of such words as "*chlore*," "*brome*," "*functionment*," etc., indicates. Perhaps the best that can be said of the whole work is the curious statement near the end of the preface : "Nevertheless, amongst these facts are some which are indisputable."

The book is well illustrated, with some exceptions, such as the picture of blood on p. 66, in which the white corpuscles look like Albert biscuit. No credit seems to be given for any of the illustrations to the authors from whom they are taken.

DEMONOLOGY AND DEVIL LORE.—No less an authority than Margery Fleming has told us that "the history of all the criminals as ever was hanged is amusing," and the devil, who, according to the Scriptures, was "a murderer from the beginning," ought to come within this category, although it must be admitted that the absence of the gallows in his case is, dramatically speaking, a grave defect. However this may be, Mr. Conway's volumes are for the most part very amusing, and they possess higher and better qualities as well. The work throughout shows care, learning, and research, and besides being agreeably written, is a real contribution to what has recently become a very important branch of historical science. Mr. Conway divides his subject into three classes: demons who are purely natural, or in other words, primitive personifications of the various forces of nature, dragons partly natural and partly metaphysical, and the devil, who in his many forms is wholly metaphysical. The first volume is devoted to demons and dragons, the second to the devil. This classification seems a sound one, but although the demons are perfectly distinct and their origin usually obvious, the dragons are only tolerably clear, and it is very difficult in the case of the devil to reach a definition sharp enough to exclude the natural element and show the exact attributes which render him purely metaphysical. This confusion in the last two classes is due to the fact that in many cases a personified natural force has grown into a metaphysical conception. The devil, to state the matter in a simpler way, has often been developed by the advance of civilization from the simple natural demon of primitive mankind into a spiritual or intellectual embodiment of evil.

Mr. Conway is very successful in dealing with the demons. Their origin and functions are made perfectly clear, the examples are apt, and the line of argument is distinct and readily understood. With the dragons he is less fortunate, and in the case of the devil the inherent difficulties of the subject have not been overcome, and there is much confusion. The main theme is frequently lost sight of, the author's theory and arguments are often blurred and indistinct, and are pushed aside by the number and intricacy of detached cases. The devil is very interesting in Mr. Conway's pages, but the second volume, as a whole, is much less satisfactory than the first. The last chapter—"Thoughts and Interpretation"—might have been omitted with advantage. Mr. Conway, in treating the abstract and metaphysical, does not appear at his best, and as the detached paragraphs of this last chapter are wholly of this kind, they are vague and unsatisfac-

tory. A concise summary of conclusions would have been much better and at the same time more valuable to both the student and general reader.

The space at our command does not permit the detailed analysis which the book well deserves, but there are one or two points which can not be passed over. Mr. Conway brings out with great force, and establishes very clearly, the growth of dualism in conceptions of divine beings as civilization progressed. The God of the primitive man was a being who dealt out both good and evil. As a beneficent being he was to be adored as a malignant one, to be propitiated. Only by slow degrees did the difficulty of such a theory force itself upon the minds of men. The priests probably were the first to perceive it ; but as intellect enlarged, the inconsistency and incongruity of such an arrangement became too glaring, to find general acceptance as a theory, despite its existence in practice even to the present day. The old idea therefore was gradually abandoned. The ancient deity was divided into two parts, the good being or God, the evil spirit or devil. This interesting development is admirably traced by Mr. Conway.

The various myths and legends with which these volumes are filled illustrate very strongly another proposition which lies at the root of the science of mythology, but upon which Mr. Conway does not dwell—*i.e.*, the small number of fundamental ideas or theories possessed by primitive men, and the infinite details and little local differences which surround and almost hide the great landmarks. This rests upon the historical formula that what is said to have happened everywhere never happened anywhere, but is the common property of humanity, represents a simple and natural thought, and is what we call a myth. The most familiar instance of this is the myth of William Tell, but Mr. Conway's book supplies some very striking examples of the same sort, the same widespread origin and consequent importance. A very marked case, although not so extensively diffused as some others, is the idea of a suspicious tyrant warned of the birth of a being who is to dethrone him, and engaging in a general slaughter of infants to prevent the fulfillment of the prophecy. This thought seems to have been an innate idea of humanity in regard to their divine teachers. Christ, Zoroaster, and Krishna alike had their Herods.

We recommend Mr. Conway's book to all students of folk-lore and comparative mythology, and to the much larger public interested in every addition to the history of the human race. It may be particularly recommended to the attention of clergymen, not as a subject of reprobation on account of the attacks on Christianity—of which there are too many, some unnecessary and some in bad taste—but because it is a valuable and popular contribution to a great branch of historical science. The clergy spend a great deal of time in overthrowing the "man of science"—that is, of physical science, who is not merely less dangerous but is also less open

to apparently successful confutation than the historian. The "man of history, philology, ethnology, mythology," and the rest, is tearing down old ideas much faster than the "man of science," and from the nature of the case is more vulnerable, though his march will probably be equally irresistible. The "conflict between science and religion" is at best a poor, futile business; but if it must be carried on, we strongly advise the clergy to turn their attention to Mr. Conway and other workers of all sorts in the vast domain of human history who are now not only permitted to propound all sorts of "dangerous" theories without reply, but are left absolutely alone to deal as they please with great collections of the most fatal facts.

FANNY KEMBLE'S GIRLHOOD.¹—We suppose that as it is the first duty of a woman to look pretty, so it is the first duty of a book like these "Records" to be entertaining, and such it eminently is. It is too long for the general reader, and the letters which suggested it are by no means the best part; but, after all due abatement, it is most interesting.

That a race as dramatically gifted as the Kembles may arise again is possible, but the condition of society and its relation to the theatre, which gave scope and setting to their gifts, can never return. There is, so far as we know, no competent biography of any of the family. Boaden's life of John Kemble is a mass of useless verbiage from which John Kemble's existence is with difficulty disentangled, while Campbell's life of Mrs. Siddons nearly effaces any previous notion of her. The Kembles themselves, moreover, were any thing but literary or analytical, and this Record is, therefore, the first really valuable and valid statement concerning them. John Kemble was only seen once by his niece, and she speaks of Mrs. Siddons as a majestic ruin, but the occupation of Charles Kemble and his family, and their social position, were what their great predecessors had made them.

Mrs. Roger Kemble, a most competent Welch woman, seems to have been the real head of the family, and something of her Welch fervency may have descended to her grand-daughter—mixed in her veins with her mother's French qualities. We have heard the latter, who was a Miss Decamp, spoken of as a very fascinating actress, and can believe all that Mrs. Kemble says of her vivacity, her vehemence, her sharp criticism (her habitual comment on any of her children's blunders was, "I hate a fool"), and her fine taste. One can not help pitying her a little, in the hands of a husband who so serenely absorbed the results of his daughter's labor that no different arrangement seems to have occurred to any of them as possible.

The education bestowed on Miss Kemble was of a somewhat scamb-

¹ "Records of a Girlhood." By Frances Anna Kemble. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1879.

ling and interrupted kind, but she was sent to what were considered good schools, and at home had that best education which is given by good reading and good company. She describes herself as being, in her childhood, a stumbling and an offence to those in authority over her. "I never cried, I never sulked, I never resented, lamented, or repented either my ill-doings or their consequences, but accepted them alike with a philosophical buoyancy of spirit which was the despair of my poor bewildered trainers." In her early youth she had the small-pox, which, she says, changed her from "a very pretty-looking girl," to one with "a complexion thick and muddy," and "features heavy and coarse." At eighteen years old she wrote the play of "Francis the First," which was accepted by the management of Covent Garden, and subsequently acted there. Her ambition was literary, and no expectation of acting occurred to her until the autumn of 1829. Mr. Kemble's affairs then came, apparently, to some sort of crisis, and one day, in despair, Mrs. Kemble poured out her woes to her daughter. Shocked and grieved, Miss Kemble writes to her father begging him to allow her to go out as governess, in order to relieve him of her support. Her mother suggests her trying some part to see whether she has any dramatic power, and proposes her learning *Juliet*. One night she summons her to repeat the part to Mr. Kemble. He kisses and praises her affably, and in a few days takes her back to the theatre to test the strength of her voice. In the great, dim, empty theatre, she went through the part of *Juliet* and acted, she says, better than ever after. A clever critic and good friend, unseen in the depths of one of the boxes, watched the young actress, and at the end of the performance said to Mr. Kemble: "Bring her out at once: it will be a great success." "And so three weeks from that time I was brought out, and it was 'a great success.'" Three weeks for stage training, for getting up dresses etc., was little enough, and Mrs. Kemble says that, remembering this brief apprenticeship, she does not wonder "that Mr. Macready once said I did not know the rudiments of my profession." She was in an unusual mood for a dramatic *débutante*; "My going on the stage was absolutely an act of duty and conformity to the will of my parents, strengthened by my conviction that I was bound to help them in every way in my power." "The theatrical profession was utterly repugnant to me, though *acting* itself—that is, dramatic personation—was not." "I brought but one half the necessary material to the exercise of my profession—that which nature gave me, and never added the cultivation and labor requisite to produce any fine performance in the right sense of the word; and coming of a family of *real* artists, have never felt that I deserved that honorable name." This is sound criticism, and may be accepted even by those whose early theatrical enchantment was wrought by the flash of Miss Kemble's all-speaking eyes. On the other hand, as it is said that no one knows the look of their own face, it was impossible

for Miss Kemble to estimate the power of her most dramatic countenance, or the force of the fiery *élan* which fused her audience into one responsive consciousness.

Her *début* was in *Juliet*; her success immediate and great. For one hundred and twenty successive nights she acted the same part, and the tide of prosperity seemed to flow back to the old theatre. Success in London, then as now, meant the lavish bestowal of good gifts on those blessed beings who, even temporarily, hinder society from being *bored*. Miss Kemble was on the top of the wave. Society admired and courted her, and a girl of twenty might have been pardoned for mistaken views of her relation to the universe. But allowing for gay spirits and the rush of a much needed success, it is a singularly sound and true nature, which shows itself in the "Records." A passionate love of nature, and those other three requisites for a happy life—a love of the true, a love of the beautiful, and a love of the ridiculous—were all keen in this young lady, and one may read the book in vain for a worldly, an unkind, or a selfish thought or phrase. After two seasons in London, Mr. Kemble took his daughter to a series of provincial theatres, and having previously wrought on her feelings by a fancy sketch of himself alone in a strange land, they sailed for America August 1st, 1832, and here, after a good deal of hard travelling and laborious acting, Miss Kemble was married, in June, 1834.

A very entertaining portion of the "Records" is the descriptions of the many notable people with whom its author was brought in contact. We have one amazing, and one very suggestive, anecdote of Lady Byron. At one time a new and cheap edition of Lord Byron's poems was to be published, and Lady Byron desired to append to it "some notice of Lord Byron, written by herself, which she thought might modify or lessen the injurious effects of his poetry upon young minds!" Mrs. Kemble strongly advised against this step, and no such prefix was added to the contemplated edition. That Lady Byron should not have perceived the complicated and grotesque unfitness of such action on her part, implies exceptional deficiencies.

Driving to one of Mrs. Kemble's public readings with her, Lady Byron exclaimed, "Oh, how I envy you! What would I not give to be in your place!" I answered, "What! to read Shakespeare before some hundreds of people?" "Oh, no," she said, "not to read Shakespeare to them, but to have all that mass of people under your control, subject to your influence, and receiving your impressions." "I made her laugh by saying that, more than once, when looking from my reading-desk over the sea of faces uplifted toward me, a sudden feeling had seized me that I must say something *from myself* to all those human beings whose attention I felt at that moment entirely at my command, and between whom and myself a sense of sympathy thrilled powerfully and strangely through my

heart . . . but that, on wondering afterwards what I might, could, would, or should have said to them from myself, I never could think of any thing but two words—‘ Be good ! ’—which, as a preface to one of Shakespeare’s plays—*The Merry Wives of Windsor* for instance—might have startled them.’

There is a lively description of that “ divine devil ” Malibran, the fascination of whose genius was such that sober English people put on mourning at her death ; and we hear a good deal of Sir Thomas Lawrence. He took Miss Kemble’s portrait as *Juliet*, and we have the strange story of his relations with the Siddons family. While engaged to the oldest Miss Siddons (Sarah), and on terms of the most affectionate intimacy with her family, Lawrence discovered that it was the younger sister with whom he really was in love. The extraordinary transfer was accomplished, and Maria Siddons stepped into her sister’s place. She died while still engaged to Lawrence, and on her death-bed obliged her sister to promise that she would never be his wife. The promise was given, and before long Sarah Siddons died also. When Mrs. Kemble first saw her daughter’s portrait, she said, almost involuntarily, “ It is very like Maria.” Whereupon Lawrence fell into a paroxysm of agitation, and when able to speak, said : “ Oh ! she is very like her ; she is very like them all.” In spite of these various emotions—when Lawrence died—a lady whom the Kembles had long known put on widows’ weeds, in the full persuasion that had he lived he would have married her. There is a charming sketch of Mrs. Inchbald, frequent tribute to the splendid beauty and varied gifts of the Sheridan sisters—in fact, the book is full of vivid and lively sketches of all manner of interesting people.

RECENT ENGLISH BOOKS.

THE principal literary event in London during the past month has been the publication of the Duke of Argyll’s work on the Eastern Question.¹ His grace having, by reason of illness, been unable to make known his views upon this subject from his place in the House of Lords last Session—or at least during the latter part of it—has dealt with the whole question in two bulky volumes. He traces the course of Eastern affairs from the Treaty of Paris, 1856, to the Treaty of Berlin, 1878, and to the Second Afghan War. A more conclusive case against the policy of Lord Beaconsfield’s government has never been made out. He shows the difference between 1854 and 1876. In the former crisis of the Eastern

¹ “ The Eastern Question.” By the Duke of Argyll. Strahan & Co.

Question the Emperor Nicholas had brought on a disastrous war by rejecting every reasonable compromise which was proposed to him ; in the latter, the question was raised by native insurrections in the provinces of Turkey, excited and justified by the gross misgovernment of the Porte. The Duke exposes the hollowness of the cry which was raised to the effect that British interests demanded that we should support Turkey, and guarantee the integrity of the Ottoman Empire ; and then, by successive stages, he takes us through the mazes of diplomacy, exposing the blunders which the English Cabinet has made since 1875. He holds that British foreign policy never sank to so low an ebb as during the past three years ; but with regard to the Afghan War he speaks even more severely than he does of the course of English ministers upon the Eastern Question. Unjust and impolitic as he considers the conduct of the Government has been in the east of Europe, he believes it to have been wisdom and virtue itself in comparison with its conduct in India. The time for writing the history of our own period has not yet arrived, but when it does, a future Macaulay will undoubtedly discover abundant materials upon the Eastern Question in these pages by the Duke of Argyll.

In biography and criticism, several important works have just appeared. Of the former class, the ablest effort is the "Life of Lord Beaconsfield," written by Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.A., published by Messrs. Mullan & Son. The author not only details the Premier's career, but gives an interesting analysis of English political history during the past forty years. Just now, when the Earl of Beaconsfield is the object of so much unreasoning adulation, Mr. O'Connor's courage, in expressing his views in the opposite direction, deserves recognition. The key-note of the work may be found in this passage, describing the Premier's character and his career : "Throughout his whole life I do not find, even on a single occasion, a generous emotion, one self-sacrificing act, a moment of sincere conviction, except that of the almighty perfection of himself. I find him uniform in all his dealings with his fellow-men, and behind every word he utters I can only see the ever-vigilant custodian of his own interests. His maturity without virtues is the natural sequel to his youth without generous illusions. There is throughout the same selfishness, calm, patient, unlasting, unresting." Mr. O'Connor writes ably and trenchantly, and the material he has collected in connection with Lord Beaconsfield's life is valuable and interesting. Mr. Leslie Stephen has just collected a third series of his "Hours in a Library." These essays have long been a special feature in the *Cornhill Magazine*. Mr. Stephen writes with much critical acumen, and if we can not invariably agree with his judgments, we can always enjoy the graces of his cultured style. The author is one of our few literary men entitled to the name. He has the sincerity of conviction combined with the power of expression which we look

for in an able and genial essayist. Massinger, Fielding, Cowper, Macaulay, Charlotte Brontë, and Charles Kingsley are amongst the great writers whom he now discusses.

A short time ago a little work appeared under the title of "The Gamekeeper at Home," which immediately earned the applause of the critics for its evidently truthful delineations of the English life and scenery with which it dealt. The same author now gives us a work entitled "Wild Life in a Southern County."¹ It is concerned with the Downs, a part of England than which nothing could be more lovely or more picturesque, but which is only now being "opened up," as it were, by our writers. The author transplants us into the heart of this beautiful country, and by means of his graphic pages we become acquainted with its various features, and discover many things which were not previously dreamt of in our philosophy. The downs, the hills, the villages, the hamlets, the farmhouses, orchards, warrens, rookeries, birds, etc., are all investigated and described with accuracy and vigor. A pleasanter book for an hour's leisure could scarcely be imagined.

Dr. Kenealy, who became so conspicuous during the Tichborne case, and who was afterwards returned to the House of Commons, has just published a collected edition of his poems in three handsome volumes.² With Dr. Kenealy's views upon the convict who styled himself "Sir Roger Tichborne" I have not the slightest sympathy, neither do I regard the doctor as a great parliamentary success; but as to his striking abilities and his erudition there can be no question. These volumes attest that by nature he has a very considerable poetic faculty; and some of the poems possess real beauty of expression and distinct fancy. Exception may be taken to some portions of his longest poem, "A New Pantomime," but it has much vigor and great variety. These volumes are certainly well worth reading, and linguists will discover that Dr. Kenealy is capable of expressing his thoughts in some dozen different languages.

In fiction, the great want still experienced is that of originality. The fine old school of writers has gone, and we have none to replace them. It is true such writers as George Eliot and Mr. Blackmore show what noble work can still be done in the region of fiction, but they are badly supported. Occasionally, however, we come upon a work which deserves to be singled out from the mass of novels which daily issue from the press. Of such a character is the new story by Mr. Gilliat,³ author of that ex-

¹ "Wild Life in a Southern County." By the author of "The Gamekeeper at Home." Smith, Elder & Co.

² "The Poetical Works of Edward Vaughan Kenealy." "Englishman" Office: London.

³ "On the Wolds." By Edward Gilliat, M.A., author of "Asylum Christi." Sampson Low, Marston & Co.

tremely promising book, "Asylum Christi." His new venture decidedly adds to his fame. His heroine, Elina, the daughter of an actress, is a figure quite new, and her development is one that may be followed with the deepest interest. Nor is she alone in the strength of her individuality. There are several other creations—male and female—which in the method of their delineation remind us very much of that of George Eliot herself. There is also considerable humor in the work of a pungent flavor. The scene of the story is chiefly laid in Lincheshire (a feeble disguise for Lincolnshire), and the pictures of scenery which stud Mr. Gilliat's pages are faithful reproductions from this part of England. It spoils the appetite of a reader to be informed of the plot of a novel, and I will therefore forbear from detailing Mr. Gilliat's; but of this I am certain, that no one can read this novel without being impressed with a sense of its power and of its unusual merit.

It was an excellent idea to translate into English Grossi's masterpiece, "Marco Visconti."¹ Tomasso Grossi was a follower and friend of the celebrated Manzoni, and the influence of the master is distinctly to be traced in this novel. The story is concerned with the fourteenth century, and Italian life and manners of that period are reproduced with wonderful skill and effect from contemporary chronicles. Grossi's fame is so assured that nothing needs to be said as to the merit of this work. It should, however, be mentioned that the translation appears to be executed with ability and spirit. The narrative itself possesses a profound, if at times also a painful, interest. Mr. Baden Pritchard has already written one or two novels, but nothing which can compare with his latest work.² He has managed to invest his chief character of old Charlton with a true and pathetic interest. The trials through which he passes, and in all which he is cheered by his daughter Bessie, have a heightening and refining effect upon him. Graham Geith, as boy and man, is also an excellent study. The pictures of school-boy life, with which the novel opens, are evidently drawn from actual experience, and they are executed vividly and with considerable skill. If Mr. Pritchard continues to make equal advances with that which now deserves to be recorded, he may yet occupy a worthy position amongst our rising novelists. "Old Charlton" is well worth perusal. That trenchant writer, the author of "The Member for Paris," has just published a new novel.³ Like all the works of this writer, it is very clever, but it is extremely doubt-

¹ "Marco Visconti: a Novel." Translated from the Italian. By A. D. Charing Cross Publishing Company.

² "Old Charlton." By H. Baden Pritchard, author of "Dangerfield," etc. Sampson Low, Marston & Co.

³ "That Artful Vicar." By the author of "The Member for Paris," "French Pictures in English Chalk," etc. Smith, Elder & Co.

ful whether it will add to his reputation. The desire to say smart things carries him beyond reasonable bounds, and a sneering tone runs through the whole work against Dissenters from the Established Church of England. Such taunts should have been beneath an able and a presumably liberal-minded man. But having said this, it must be admitted that his character of the "Artful Vicar," Paul Rushbrand, is a most original one. Moreover, the author does not depend upon the usual commonplace incidents so much in vogue with novelists to furnish the groundwork of his plot. He works decidedly out of the common groove, and any reader must confess the cleverness of his story. Mrs. Oliphant is the most indefatigable of English writers; stories, essays, biographies, all flow from her pen with surprising rapidity, and yet she is always worth listening to. Her new story, "Within the Precincts,"¹ forms the exception to the rule. The plot is not very thrilling, and the novel depends for its chief value upon its manipulation of character. In this respect it is fully equal to Mrs. Oliphant's previous works, and our only wonder is that, writing so much as she does, she should yet be able to preserve so distinctly the individuality of her various characters.

GEORGE BARNETT SMITH.

LONDON.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- ARMY SACRIFICES. By James B. Fry, Colonel, etc., U.S.A. New York: D. Van Nostrand & Co. 1879.
- THE TEMPERANCE LESSON-BOOK. By Benj. Ward Richardson, M.D. New York: National Temperance Society. 1878.
- BISMARCK IN THE FRANCO-GERMAN WAR, 1870-1871. An authorized translation from the German of Dr. Moritz Busch. 2 vols. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1879.
- ECONOMIC MONOGRAPHS. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1879: International Copyright. By Geo. Haven Putnam.—National Banking. By M. L. Scudder, Jr.—Honest Money and Labor. By Hon. Carl Schurz.—Free Trade. By Charles L. Brace.—Hindrances to Prosperity. By Simon Sterne.—Improved Dwellings for the Laboring Classes. Six pamphlets, swd.
- ZUR ARBEITERFRAGE IN DER LANDWIRTHSCHAFT. Von Dr. Ottomar Victor Leo. Oppeln: H. Grüttner. 1879.
- THE BARQUE FUTURE; OR, LIFE IN THE FAR NORTH. By Jonas Lie. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1879.

¹ "Within the Precincts." By Mrs. Oliphant, author of "The Chronicles of Carlingford," etc. Smith, Elder & Co.

THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW.

JUNE, 1879.

THE PRESENT CONDITION OF GREECE.

THE late historian, Mr. Finlay, rendered himself very unpopular among the Greeks, in whose capital he spent so many years, by trying to make them believe that the best course for them to pursue was, not to waste their little strength in trying to extend the limits of their kingdom, but to win the respect of Europe, and demonstrate their ability to undertake greater charges by making the most of that already committed to them. This advice was most sound ; and it may be safely said that nearly all the misfortunes that have combined to leave Greece in her present backward condition sprang from its practical rejection. If the Greeks, indeed, when, at the close of their struggle for emancipation, they received a diplomatic national existence, could have fallen into a state of oblivion, of fifty years duration, respecting all their past, and begun their career like immigrants into a new country, without any higher immediate ambition than to secure to themselves and their children the comforts of material existence, it would in every respect have been well for them. But it is too much to expect that men who have been reared as bondmen, with four centuries of bondage behind and, alas ! within them, and who have had to battle almost like slaves for freedom, should behave like those who have enjoyed that glorious inheritance of calm, intelligent foresight, which ages of freedom alone can give. The Greeks, when declared independent in 1830, were a nation of thralls emancipated mainly through the efforts of brave native robbers and romantic foreign enthusiasts, seldom or never acting in concert, and sometimes

even in opposition. They have behaved since, if not much better, at least not any worse than might have been expected from people in their circumstances.

The protracted struggle being at last closed, not without a certain amount of fairly-won glory to some of the participants, the Greeks, having no longer the fear of the Turk before their eyes, began to turn their attention to themselves and to remember who they were. Though their fathers had called themselves Romans (*Ῥωμαῖοι*) for well nigh two thousand years, they suddenly remembered that they were really the representatives of the grand old Hellenes, whose wonderful achievements had entered into the history and life of all the civilized world, laying it under deep and lasting obligations. With this consciousness, every distinguished klepht and every party leader who had killed a few Turks, at once, in all honesty, believed that he was a descendant, and a worthy one, of Miltiadês, Leonidas, Themistoklês, or Periklês. Accordingly, if each did not consider himself the only man worthy to be ruler of Greece, at least no one dreamed for a moment of submitting to the rule of any one else. Authority was utterly repugnant to every one of them; all the more, it must be confessed, that to most it was synonymous with the degrading oppression of Turkish barbarism. The result, of course, was anarchy and civil war. It was in vain that John Capodistrias, who had been appointed President by the national assembly as early as 1827, years before Europe acknowledged the independence of Greece, tried to bring about order and harmony. It may be that, schooled as he was in the ways of Russian despotism, his manner of dealing with victorious klephts was not the most judicious; but still, much of his failure must be laid at their door. He was not very far from the truth, when he called them a set of "robbers and thieves," and declared that nothing could be done with Greece until the whole generation had passed away, and been succeeded by another, pious, industrious, commonplace, and manageable. Capodistrias was assassinated on the 9th October, 1831; and then anarchy flourished in full vigor.

It was on this that the powers which had guaranteed the independence of Greece, seeing her utter unfitness for self-government, concluded, with her consent, to interfere and put a check upon the lawlessness of the chiefs. With this view, they determined to send her a common representative, invested with the title of king, and armed with power sufficient to command authority. For this difficult

position they selected, after much difficulty, Otho, second son of the king of Bavaria, who arrived in Greece in February, 1833; but, being a minor, did not assume the government till June 1, 1835, his duties being meanwhile performed by a regency. The Greeks, weary of strife, received their new sovereign with much joy, and most of the party leaders acknowledged his authority. Since no provision had been made for supplying them with a constitution, as they had expected, both the regency and afterwards Otho himself ruled for many years without one, the ministers of the government being at first mostly Germans. Though this last abuse did not continue after 1837, it was not until 1843 that the people, by a kind of revolution, stirred up in part by the influence of Russia, which hoped thereby to make the king abdicate, compelled Otho to empower a government, nominated by themselves, to call a national assembly for the purpose of framing a constitution.

The resolution of the king to appoint Greeks as members of his ministry was the signal for the renewal of all the old rivalries between the party leaders. Each of them, eager to be prime minister, scorned to serve in any less dignified capacity; and no sooner was one appointed to the coveted position, than the others at once began to use all their influence to oust him from it. The old war with fire and sword now gave place to one waged with tongue and pen; the unbridled press (the newspapers in Greece are as numerous as they are short-lived) afforded an excellent field for the latter. This condition of things was aggravated by the introduction of a system of popular representation, based upon universal suffrage; each party leader having at once a following of hungry delegates actual or possible, whose influence he strove to gain and keep by the promise of offices when he should be in power. It is true that the king received an instrument whereby he was enabled to maintain his authority, in the provision made by the new constitution that he should have the right of appointing the senate, whose members were to hold office for life; but this only made it possible for him to sustain longer than he could otherwise have done the struggle of authority against popular caprice and party intrigues. There were, doubtless, faults on both sides. The king was weak and well-meaning; but with a false ideal, and influenced by an impetuous, masculine-minded wife, he alienated the Greeks by exceeding the powers granted him by the constitution. The people, on the other hand, never ceased to regard him as a foreigner, and tolerated him only because

he represented, in some sense, the great powers, through which they expected to receive, not only the much desired extension of boundaries, but all the gifts which they believed an admiring world owed them as the worthy representatives of the Hellenic nation. While they expected too much, it is certain that Otho did not accomplish all that he might and ought to have done. During his reign, although a foreign system of schools was introduced, and a university founded and endowed, Greece attained no material prosperity ; while immense sums of money, borrowed on most disadvantageous terms, were squandered without result.

Matters went from bad to worse for twenty years after the introduction of the constitution ; but at last, in 1863, Otho was expelled by a revolution, and the throne of Greece declared vacant. The thirty years of his reign were thirty years almost lost to Greece. In some senses they were even worse than lost, inasmuch as the one great opportunity for showing the Greeks the value of a strong government, teaching them respect for order, and imparting to them the rudiments of a political education, was thrown away.

Though the Greeks had got rid of one king, they knew themselves too well to think of abolishing monarchy altogether and trying the experiment of a republic. They therefore applied to the guaranteeing powers for a new sovereign. These, after some deliberation, fixed upon the second son of the King of Denmark, brother of the Princess of Wales, who though only seventeen years old was declared of age, and ascended the Greek throne in the autumn of 1863, under the title of George I. Shortly after his accession, the senate, which had enabled the previous king to carry out measures in opposition to the will of the people and their representatives, was abolished, and all authority divided between the lower house (*βουλή*) and the sovereign.

The present King of Greece, — a simple, kindly, honest, unambitious, domestic Dane, as fit to be a king as any thing else, — has, partly doubtless from necessity, partly warned by the fate of his predecessor, shown at least one proof of judgment : he has allowed his subjects to have their own way. If he does them no other good than to appoint three or four times a year a new ministry, when an old one falls, and thereby to some extent prevent anarchy, he certainly does them no harm ; so that his salary, large, considering the resources of Greece, may be said to be honestly earned. Except that he has very little society, he leads a pleasant enough life ; and although his

presence is a galling stigma of political minority to his subjects, he is an almost universal favorite. Nevertheless, he has done nothing to quench the spirit of party, or to strengthen and give continuity of purpose to the government. Although the klephts and the old turbulent heroes of the war of independence have, for the most part, died out, their restless spirit still survives. Their present successors answer as well as they did to the epithets of Capodistrias, without having any of those redeeming qualities which the consciousness of having performed great deeds imparted to the older generation.

Such is a brief summary of the political facts necessary for a comprehension of the present unsatisfactory condition of Greece. And most unsatisfactory it is in almost every way, — materially, socially, politically, educationally, artistically, and religiously.

If we except the work of Prof. Fallmerayer, in which he tried to show that the present inhabitants of Greece are not descendants of the men who fought at Marathon, Salamis, and Plataeæ, there is no book whose name calls up so much resentment in the mind of a Greek as "*La Grèce Contemporaine*" of M. About. And yet, if we deduct from its statements that exaggerated coloring which every Frenchman uses for the sake of effect, and the humorous mode of treatment which M. About affects, there is no other book that gives so correct an account of Greece and the Greeks. A learned Frenchman, who has lived many years in Athens, and is very favorably disposed to the Greeks, asked me once whether M. Laboulaye's book, "*Paris en Amérique*," was calculated to give a correct impression of the United States. "As correct," I said, "as M. About's '*Grèce Contemporaine*' gives of Greece." "You have placed me in a very difficult position," said he. "Why?" asked I. "Because," replied he, "I believe M. About's book gives an entirely correct impression, though I don't care to say so." This was no doubt going too far; but yet, "*La Grèce Contemporaine*" compares very favorably with more recent books, — for example, with Tuckerman's "*Greeks of To-day*," which is far too eulogistic; or Morartinis' "*La Grèce telle qu'elle est*," which, in spite of M. St. Hilaire's prefatory assurance to the contrary, produces an entirely false impression.

The first thing that strikes the traveller painfully in Greece, is the sterile appearance of the country and the comparative absence of all signs of cultivation. And this impression is not much effaced by a closer acquaintance. With the exception of a few plains of no very great extent, Greece is a wasted, exhausted country. Not over fer-

tile naturally, it has for a thousand years at least been incessantly abused. The once densely-wooded mountains, in which boars and lions of old found shelter, are now treeless and bare, except above or near the line of perpetual snow. As a consequence of this, the streams that once flowed from them, watering and fertilizing the valleys and plains below, — streams famous in poetry and history, — are for the most part dry and dusty watercourses, like the Ilissos, or at best mere rills, as the Kêphissos is for the greater part of the year. The Greeks generally charge the Turks with the destruction of the forests, and this may in part at least be true. But the Turks are certainly not to blame for the systematic destruction of trees and shrubs that goes on at the present day. Some efforts, indeed, have been made to plant trees in the neighborhood of Athens, and stringent laws have been put upon paper for the protection of such trees as still remain; but so long as the Wallachians (*Βλάχοι*), many of whom come from Turkey, and all of whom are nomads with no fixed abode, are allowed to range freely over the hills with their flocks of goats and sheep, which devour every green blade and leaf they can reach; so long as the poorer classes are allowed to uproot all the shrubs and carry them home for firewood; and so long as the wine-growers are allowed to destroy the pines by bleeding them, in order to get resin for the manufacture of that most abominable of all beverages, *retsinato* (*ρέτζίνατο*), resinous wine, — so long the Greeks have no right to cast a stone at the Turks. But it is not only the mountains that are bare and barren; almost the whole country has a desolate and neglected look. It is possible to walk for three or four hours through the best portions of it, — for example, through the rich plain of Bœotia, — without seeing a human being or a house. There is not one-fifth of the territory of Greece now under cultivation; and what cultivation exists is of the most primitive kind, carried on, for the most part, with ploughs and other implements in no degree superior to those used in the time of Homer. This condition of things is, of course, in part due to the sparseness of the population, which in all does not amount to much over a million and a quarter, but still more to the want of energy and enterprise.

It may seem surprising that Greeks, of all people, can be taxed with lack of enterprise; but so it is, if by enterprise is meant power to conceive and carry out a long purpose, or a great one requiring the combination of many persons. The mass of the people living in the country villages have no enterprise of any kind. Their mode of

life is little superior to that of savages. Two miles from the royal palace in Athens, one finds himself in the midst of barbarism, among people who live upon next to nothing, know none of the comforts of life, have no ambition, no desire for any thing but idleness, talk, and cards, no form of aspiration but ill-mannered curiosity. It is, indeed, difficult for an Occidental to conceive the condition of contented squalor in which most of the country Greeks live. In very many cases, their houses consist of one room, which the people share with horses, goats, and other animals. Even when they have two rooms, these rarely contain any furniture beyond a few cooking and eating utensils of the rudest kind,—one and the same vessel frequently serving as kneading-trough and cradle. Tables, chairs, stools, and beds are almost unknown. The families which are better off have mattresses to sleep on; the rest, which form by far the larger number, have not even these, but sleep upon pieces of dirty carpet, with all their clothes on. Their food consists chiefly of bread, eggs, milk, and retsinato, with an occasional variety in the way of meat, for the most part goat's flesh. The condition of the villagers themselves calls forcibly to mind the lines in which Homer describes the savage *Kyklôpes*, —

* “Θεμιστεύει δὲ ἕκαστος
παίδων ἢ δ’ ἀλόχων οὐδ’ ἀλλήλων ἀλέγουσιν.”

(“Each man is the source of right for his children and wives, and they care naught for each other.”) In their disregard for each other, and their inability to unite for any common interest, the Greek villagers are equal to the rudest of the *Kyklôpes*. The idea of making a street, or helping the cows to make a road, never seems to have entered into their heads. Many of the houses have neither windows nor chimneys, the light being left to find its way in, and the smoke its way out, through the door or the interstices in the roof. Of course, there are occasional exceptions to this condition, particularly in the larger villages high up in the mountains, where, if anywhere, there is real Greek blood. In Arachova, near Delphi, in Hagios Georgios, near Nemea, and particularly in Dimitsana, a better condition of things is dawning. Dimitsana, indeed, though situated in the wildest part of Arcadia, on the summit of a rock more than five-thousand feet above the sea-level, is, in many respects, far in advance of any other Greek village.

Not only is the country population destitute of enterprise in every sense, but the Greeks generally are deficient in it in the sense above

mentioned. Their greatest defect, now as in ancient times, is their want of cohesion, their unwillingness to be parts of a system, their ineradicable tendency to act each for himself. Notwithstanding an almost fanatical and genuine individual patriotism, there is no public spirit. They are ready to die for their country, but do not know how to live so as to make it worth dying for. Hence all public works are neglected. The streets and squares of the cities, even of the capital, are for the most part shockingly dirty; there are hardly any roads in the country, and but one railway, which is less than seven miles long; the means of transport, too, are so arranged as to impede rather than further trade. As a result of all this, the people have no incentive to be industrious, and more than half of all the arable land in the country lies fallow, because there is no means of conveying the crops to a profitable market. Greece produces some of the best wines in the world, — Malmsey for example, — and yet of many of the choicest kinds not a single bottle leaves the country. The fruits of Greece — oranges, mandarins, grapes, citrons, figs, &c. — are unsurpassed and plentiful; yet none of them are exported except currants, which grow near the shore and are carried away by English ships. I have bought at Sparta, which is only eighteen miles from the sea, fifteen choice oranges for two cents. In consequence of the neglect of public works, the exports of Greece are but a mere fraction of what they might be.

It is stated on good authority that the Greeks, as a people, are not altogether to blame for the neglected condition of their country, but that it has been brought about largely through the intrigues of Russia, which has used all its influence with the wretched, venal politicians of Greece — thieves and robbers are not too hard names for those of them who certainly are traitors — to prevent Greece from ever assuming a respectable position in the eyes of the world, and so becoming a worthy candidate for “the sick man’s” inheritance, which the all-absorbing power desires to claim. I am strongly inclined to believe that there is much truth in this. Russia, though she has more than once intrigued with the Greeks against Turkey, has used them as a cat’s-paw, and has never wished them well. More than once, her conduct to them has been simply treacherous. It was through Russian influence, to a great extent, that Capodistrias made himself unpopular and brought about his own death, thus leaving Greece without a head. During Otho’s reign, the Greek court was a scene of perpetual intrigues between the Russian diplomatists and the

Greek party leaders, to bring Otho and Greece entirely under Russian influence. It was when the Russians found that they could not make a tool of Otho, who inclined to England and France, that, in order to make him abdicate, they stirred up the revolution of 1843. By this, though they did not entirely accomplish their purpose, they caused the introduction of a constitution, which, however suitable for a people schooled in political life, was highly prejudicial to the Greeks, for it weakened the royal authority, the very thing they most needed, and set loose all the turbulent elements in the newly-emancipated country. Russia accomplished her purpose in 1863, when Otho was dethroned and succeeded by a Danish prince, who shortly afterwards took to wife a Russian princess. In the face of all these facts, it need not be doubted that Russia has used all her influence to prevent the improvement of the country, and the development of industry, — the very things, as Mr. Finlay shrewdly pointed out, which would have given the Greeks prosperity and a position in the eyes of Europe.

But if the present neglected condition of Greece is not altogether due to the people as a whole, it must be laid at the door of those who allowed themselves to be made traitors by Russia, — the political leaders. Though there are, doubtless, good and upright men among these leaders, most of them are as bad as politicians can well be. Had John Capodistrias, in dying, called upon the Furies to avenge his murder upon Greece, these direful beings could not have found shapes more suitable for the execution of their purpose than those of ordinary Greek politicians. Selfish, destitute of patriotism or principle, caring for little but the satisfaction of their own vanity, they make no effort to acquaint themselves with the principles of political life, or the ulterior views of those countries that pretend to give them advice for their good. They are always at the mercy of the diplomat who shows them most consideration. As leaders of parties, they represent, not principles, but merely themselves and the empty pockets of their hungry henchmen, who spend their time discussing politics in the dirty *cafés* of Athens, or writing scurrilous articles for the tiny newspapers, of which each party controls one or more. As there are always six or seven equally unscrupulous parties struggling for office, and as only one of them can have it at any given time, the party in power for the moment has to play a game of "cut-throat" against all the rest. It is immediately attacked by all the hungry hounds of the other parties, until, after two or three months of office, the *Boulé* passes

a vote of want of confidence ; whereupon that party resigns, to make room for another, which, in its turn, shares the same fate. The number of parties in Greece is as great as the number of living men who have ever occupied the position of prime minister ; and if the king, on the fall of any party, were to call upon a new man to form a ministry, he would thereby immediately create a new party and increase the confusion. In the first years of his reign, the king did this, but he has since learned better ; and so the number of parties has become limited to six or seven, which succeed each other with tolerable regularity. I shall give a curious illustration of the state of parties in Greece when I come to speak of her attitude during the late Russo-Turkish war.

Such being the political condition of Greece, it can hardly be expected that she should make much progress. Indeed, it may be said that what little progress she does make, through the efforts of individuals, is made almost in spite of the government, whose clumsy, centralizing machinery so greatly interferes with all local self-government and municipal or individual action. If a private person or a municipality wishes to build a bridge or pave a road, the following formality has to be gone through : A petition is presented to the mayor or reeve (*δήμαρχος*), who forwards it to the sub-prefect (*ἐπαρχος*) of the district, who forwards it to the prefect of the department (*νόμαρχος*), who forwards it to the minister of the interior (there is no special department of public works in Greece), who, if he sees fit, grants it, and returns it by the same channel through which it reached him. When one remembers that in Greece ministries are perpetually changing, one need not be surprised that great and numerous delays take place, and petitions which one minister would have granted are refused by another. Thus poor Greece struggles on, loaded with a set of wretched politicians and a political system worthy of them.

But it is not merely in its direct influences that the Greek political system is baneful ; those which it exercises indirectly through education and religion are equally bad. Education in Greece is compulsory and gratuitous. A system of national schools, modelled after those of France, with some improvements borrowed from Germany, was established by law as early as 1834. Theoretically speaking, it is most complete. It consists of primary schools, grammar schools (*Ελληνικά σχολεῖα*), and gymnasia, completed by a University. This perfection of system has led many casual observers, who were unacquainted with modern Greek, and who visited only a few schools in

Athens, to speak highly of the state of education in the country. If they had taken the trouble to visit the schools in other towns and in the villages, and had understood what went on there, they would have come to a different conclusion. Schools, indeed, are numerous, and the children are most eager to attend them; but, inasmuch as the government makes no provision for the training of teachers, as the salaries are mere pittance, and as teachers are frequently removed at the caprice of the minister of public instruction, the methods of instruction are poor, and no very high standard is attained. The schoolrooms are dirty and cheerless in the extreme, even those of the gymnasia and University. No attempt whatever is made to teach habits of cleanliness, neatness, or punctuality. A Greek, as a general rule, has no notion of time or distance; so teachers and professors very frequently come late to their classes, and sometimes not at all. I have seen a janitor in the University begin to sweep out a room exactly at the hour the professor ought to have made his appearance. Fifteen minutes later, the professor would walk quietly in; the students would stop their smoking and take their seats in the midst of the dust, and the janitor would proceed with his work! The defects of the public schools are to some extent remedied by private institutions, which are numerous and in some cases very good. As far as the public schools are concerned, it may be said that they are very poor and very badly managed. The government is negligent in looking to the execution of the law concerning compulsory education, and as the primary schools are partly supported by the communes or parishes, there are many communes that have not any.

After all, however, the public-school system of Greece is beneficial; and this is more than can be said of its religious institutions, which are positively detrimental. Although all forms of worship are tolerated in Greece, she has a national religion,—that of the Orthodox Oriental Church, in relation to which the people are divided into two sections,—the educated, who conform to its usages but laugh at it, and the uneducated to whom it is pure superstition. In neither case has it any effect upon life and character; and it is hard to see how it should. The clergy are ill-paid and ignorant; the churches are mostly mere hovels, often indistinguishable from stables, and the service is bald or repulsive. The salary of the Metropolitan Archbishop of Athens is about twelve hundred dollars; of the other archbishops about one thousand dollars; and of the bishops, about eight hundred dollars. The common clergy have no salary, but live by

what they obtain at weddings, baptisms, and funerals, or in their monthly rounds, when they go to sprinkle the houses and people with holy water. Many of the country clergy cannot write, and some, it is said, cannot even read; in all cases they are very ignorant. Their degrading dependence upon their people deprives them of self-respect. If a priest happens to be in a khan, and a stranger comes in and asks for something to eat, the priest will very probably spread the table and wait upon him. All the preaching in the Greek Church is done by archimandrites, who stand in dignity next below the bishops, and of whom there is one for each department, — thirteen in all. These archimandrites are usually intelligent men, and, if not interfered with by the bigots of the Holy Synod, would do much good. The most popular of them has been fifteen times before that august body on charges of heterodoxy. They are grieved at the condition of the Church, and call loudly for an educated clergy, which would be perhaps the greatest boon that could now be conferred on Greece. As things stand at present, the common clergy, who are far too numerous, only help to keep the people in ignorance and superstition. To their honor it must be said that they are mostly simple, pious, well-intentioned men, and that they lead pure lives.

There is hardly a fine church in all Greece. That at Tenos, where the great annual festival is held, being built largely of marble carried off from the temple of Apollo at Delos, stands first. The cathedral at Athens, with its gaudy red and yellow stripes, is very ugly. The only pleasing Greek church there is St. Nicodemus', where the Russians worship. The service in all the churches is marked by perfunctoriness on the part of the priests and irreverence on the part of the people: their nasal music is to foreign ears simply unendurable.

The close connection that exists between Church and State is a source of much mischief. The article in the constitution forbidding all proselytism by any other church, results practically in excluding all foreign missionaries and their schools, thus stopping all influx of fresh thought, save that conveyed through translations of French novels and other works equally demoralizing to ignorant people. The government forbids parents to send their children to schools in which the religious instruction is not given by a priest of the Greek Church; and, if the parents disobey, the school is closed. Greece has lost many a good influence in this way.

With the exception of instrumental music, the fine arts may be said not to be cultivated in Greece. What little architecture there is

is done by Germans, and most of it does them little credit, —as, for example, the royal palace, which is a great marble-fronted barracks. As to literature, there is certainly quantity, if not quality. As Mr. Rhangavis says, somewhere in his recent very poor “*Histoire Littéraire de la Grèce Moderne*,” hardly a young man leaves a gymnasium in Greece without having produced some literary work; and this early acquired *cacoëthes scribendi* usually lasts through life. Under such circumstances, a great deal of absolute trash of course sees the light; still there are a few tolerable works produced from year to year. The literature of modern Greece does not, indeed, contain any great work; but it has some good histories and works on archæology, a few creditable comedies, and a large number of lyrics quite up to the ordinary average of magazine poetry, —however much that may imply. Great drawbacks have been the very unsettled condition of the Greek language, and the almost universal imitation of French models, both in matter and manner. Nearly all the literature produced in Greece since the emancipation, if we except poems written in the popular dialect, is but a weak echo of Rousseau, Chateaubriand, or Lamartine: there is one work that aspires to be an imitation of Voltaire. The popular taste is sadly corrupted by the number of miserable translations of wretched French novels that are thrown upon the market. There is not a single decent original novel in the language: those of Stephanos Xenos are the best. The periodical press, apart from the newspapers, is highly creditable.

So far as public matters in Greece are concerned, one is obliged to pronounce unfavorable judgments; which may be summed up in the one remark that, since her emancipation, Greece has been the victim of a set of selfish politicians, of whom all have been ignorant, and many the knavish tools of designing foreign diplomats. But there is a side of Greek life upon which a very different verdict must be passed, —the domestic and individual side. In no country in Europe are the family ties more respected, and in none is there less social vice. In spite of poverty, and though they have little or no notion of how to rear their children, parents are most anxious that they should receive a good education, and are ready to make large sacrifices for that end. In this they are vigorously seconded by the children themselves. In no country are children and young people so eager to learn as in Greece. It might be the paradise of the schoolmaster. The hardships that young Greeks will undergo in order to obtain an education are often touching to relate. Perhaps a fourth of all the

students in the University of Athens at this moment, and they number about fourteen hundred, are young men who earn their daily bread as house-servants. I have before me a score of newspapers with advertisements like the following: "A young man of good character wishes to find a family in which he may serve, with opportunity to attend three lectures at the University." The great majority of the Athenian students are poor beyond belief. Many of them have not decent clothes, and come to the lectures without neck-ties or collars. How they obtain books I have never been able to discover. It is a pity that so much endurance and self-denial should, for the most part, lead to so little result as it usually does. There is no place in Greece for half of the young men educated at the University. Many a graduate has to spend his life in a menial position, his education doing little more than helping to render him discontented. Some of the cab-drivers in Athens are men who have passed with credit through the University. And, after all, these are better off than the prouder ones, who prefer to starve as lawyers or doctors. In Athens alone, whose population is about sixty thousand souls (the Piræus included), there are about five hundred lawyers; the majority of them starving and intriguing in favor of some political champion, from whom, when he comes to power, they expect to obtain some miserable government appointment, with a yearly salary of two or three hundred dollars. Thus the abject political condition of Greece turns even the best virtues of her citizens into a curse.

It is difficult to estimate fairly the character of the rural Greeks, their ill-mannered curiosity and their general slovenliness so prejudice strangers against them. If one, however, can get over these disagreeable characteristics, he will find them most hospitable, kindly, and obliging; ready to give him the only mattress in the house, and to sleep on the bare ground themselves. The charge of ingratitude, often laid at the door of the Greeks, is utter slander; there is no more grateful people in the world. I have been told a hundred times the story of Dr. Howe's bringing food and clothing from America to the insurgent Cretans; and, in one of the wildest parts of Bœotia, an old shepherd, who had nothing else to give, gave me his crook, because I came from the same country as Dr. Howe. In Greece, to-day, the words *Εἶμαι Ἀμερικανός* (I am an American) are as potent as ever was *Civis Romanus sum* under the Roman empire. One, of course, meets rogues and cheats occasionally; but, on the whole, life and property are as safe in Greece as in Massachusetts. Almost the

only systematic thieves are the female servants, many of whom are from Crete, the inhabitants of which do not seem to have improved in character since the days of Epimenidês. On the whole, it may fairly be doubted whether any other people could have come out of four hundred years of most degrading servitude with as many personal virtues as the Greeks possess ; and one cannot live long among them without feeling that their vices are accidental and their virtues innate. A single generation of good influences would suffice to bring them abreast of the most advanced people in the world.

The enormous disparity which exists between the public and private life of the Greeks, and which Mr. Moraitinis, in his recent book, attempts to deny in favor of the former, was most glaringly brought out in the part played by Greece in the recent war. Never did a people show more patriotism or readiness to sacrifice every thing, including their lives, for their country ; and yet never did a country play a more pitiable part. When the war broke out, Greece, thanks to her ministers, was utterly unprepared to do any thing. She had neither army, nor ships, nor forts, nor arms, nor money, nor credit ; no means whereby she could seize the opportunity offered by Turkey's distress, to realize her "great idea," — the emancipation and union of all the Greeks, to which for fifty years she had sacrificed her best chances of prosperity and reputation. The poor, helpless politicians went on wrangling for office as before ; and it was not until the people, at last awakened to a sense of their weakness and its cause, compelled the heads of all the parties to unite in one ministry under the premiership of the veteran hero, Constantine Canaris, — of whom no one could be jealous, — that the first efforts were made to obtain arms and drill soldiers. Although each member of the "œcumenical ministry," as it was wittily called, acted pretty much without any reference to his colleagues, and in the interests of his party, Canaris being a mere figure-head, still, so great was the pressure of public opinion, that it was compelled to remain in office the greater part of a year, and to make a pretence of doing something. Then began the arming and drilling, such drilling as was never seen before, — showing how incapable Greeks are of acting together. I never yet saw a line of Greek soldiers that could keep step, or carry their muskets in the same position. All the while, the newspapers gratified the people with mysterious reports of purchases of war-ships from England or America, and considerable supplies of ammunition actually did arrive. A good deal of this was allowed to be utterly ruined by

dampness in the island of Salamis ; and when an investigation was set on foot, at the instigation of a Frenchman, to discover the cause, it was found that no one was to blame ! After some time, the raw soldiers were collected in a camp at Chalkis, where many of them died from exposure, being compelled to sleep with insufficient clothing on the ground, thirty-two in each tent. Later, the camp was removed to the neighborhood of Thebes, where, notwithstanding the assiduity of the king in reviewing the troops, large numbers deserted, from sheer hunger and cold. During these days, the condition of the common soldiers was truly lamentable.

The temper of the "œcumenical ministry" was shown when, in September, 1877, Canaris suddenly died. Then the other members absolutely refused to serve under any one else, and it remained, from that time till its fall, in the following January, without a head, each member acting independently. Professor Bluntschli, of Heidelberg, was consulted by letter as to the constitutionality of this condition of things. I forget what his reply was ; but, at all events, it had no effect.

In consequence of popular pressure, whereby the "acephalous" ministry was kept in office, and the pacific influence exerted upon it by the English and French ambassadors, Greece, during its period of office, took no part in the war. The ministry made no secret of its intention to wait till Turkey was down, and then to give her a last kick, and strip her of as many provinces as it could. About the beginning of January, however, having got notice that Russia and Turkey were about to come to terms without any reference to the claims of Greece, and fearing the resentment of a disappointed people, in spite of all entreaties to the contrary, it suddenly resigned, and refused to assign any reason for its action. The public naturally enough supposed it to be want of unanimity ; but this was emphatically denied. The ministry which followed, and which contained two members of the old "œcumenical," had hardly come into office, and given it to be understood that their policy was warlike, when the news of the treaty between the belligerent powers arrived. This being a death-blow to all the most cherished hopes of Greece, the people were divided between grief and fury. A mob attacked the houses of the late ministers (who wisely took themselves out of the way), and were with difficulty prevented from destroying them. For several days there was danger of an outbreak, so that bands of soldiers patrolled the streets continually.

And now comes the most amusing-part of the play. One evening, the head of the new ministry, having appeared before the *Boulé*, assembled in secret session, told its members that England and France now advised that Greece should embark in the war, and, crossing the frontier, take at least temporary possession of Thessaly and Epeiros. This was a pure falsehood, as was afterwards clearly shown ; but it sufficed to make the *Boulé* vote in favor of war, and so take some of the responsibility off the shoulders of the ministry. Orders were at once given to the Greek army, which was already at Lamia, to cross the frontier ; and, at the same time, the foreign minister requested the French and English ambassadors to demand of Turkey not to oppose the Greek invasion ! This cool request the ambassadors naturally scorned, and severely reprimanded the Greek minister for his action. This was more than the ministry had bargained for ; and, being painfully conscious that the small, raw army could not maintain itself a week in Turkish territory, it pleaded with the foreign ambassadors to get it out of its sad scrape. The ambassadors consented to do their best, if orders were given to the Greek army to recross the frontier. On this being done, they patched up matters by giving a written assurance to the ministers that the Greeks of the border provinces, through solicitude for whom their army was professedly sent out, should be sufficiently taken care of without them. Though this was but a repetition of an assurance which England had given many months before, it somewhat helped to heal the sorely wounded pride of the Greeks. But, after all, they felt their position most bitterly ; and, though the army was formally recalled, many of the soldiers, with the connivance and support of the government, went over into Turkey, and endeavored to foment rebellion in Thessaly. At the same time, bands of men were openly recruited in Western Greece by government agents and with government money, to attempt the same thing in Epeiros. Some of these bands were led by desperadoes of the worst kind. All they accomplished was to draw down the wrath of the now disengaged Turks upon the Epeirots, and get themselves destroyed. When the French and English ambassadors, at the instance of the Turkish minister, complained of these acts to the Greek ministers, these gentlemen professed that they had no knowledge of them, and that they were very sorry for them, as being disgraceful to Greece ! At the same time, they affirmed that they could do little to put a stop to them, so excited were the feelings of the people in respect to the matter. This

went on until Turkey sent word that, unless the Greeks desisted, she would send Hobart Pacha round with a fleet to Syra and Athens. This had the desired effect ; and, though the ministry sent a few men down to the Piræus to scrape up the ground and pretend to build a fort for the defence of the city, it at the same time assured the foreign ambassadors that, if they could persuade Turkey to countermand the order given to Hobart Pacha, the troubles in Thessaly and Epeiros should cease at once ! Cease they did ; and Hobart never appeared.

Things remained in this position until the meeting of the Berlin Conference, — the Greek ministry meanwhile confining itself to publishing bombastic and easily-disproved accounts of Turkish outrages, and consequent Greek insurrections, in the border provinces. This was done with the view of having these provinces, as belligerents, included in the treaty. When the conference met, the majority of the delegates were in favor of doing something for Greece ; and, although they refused to grant her representative a seat in the conference, they allowed him to appear before it, and plead the cause of Hellenism. Unfortunately, that representative was one of the very ministers whose folly and double-dealing had already almost disgraced the cause of Greece ; nor did his conduct change after his arrival at Berlin. Here he fell in with the Russian diplomats, and, for reasons best known to himself, was won over by them ; so that when the English and French delegates declared their willingness to place the Greeks in Turkey under the protection of Greece, they found him entirely irresponsive. He represented “the Greek court,” not the cause of Hellenism. When he was asked to draw for the conference a memorial stating the views and wishes of Greece, instead of asking an assurance of protection for the Greeks in Turkey, and volunteering in the name of Greece to undertake such protection, he merely said that Greece would be content *for the present* (*pour le moment*) with the annexation of Thessaly, Epeiros, and Crete ! Any one who reads the document in which this request was made, will agree with Lord Beaconsfield that it is “extravagant and inconsistent.” The result of the whole matter is well known. The Russian delegates forgot their promise to the Greek minister to secure equal protection for Greeks and Slaves ; and the English and French delegates found the Greek representatives having “their minds in another quarter,” as Lord Salisbury said, and unwilling to accept what they could give. So the best the conference could do was to “recommend” to Turkey a rectification of the boundaries between herself and her powerless

southern neighbor! How much that recommendation was worth will soon be seen, as the rectification is now under discussion.

So Greece, after two years of restless anxiety and waste of strength and means, has once more missed her opportunity, and returns to her dreary political tread-mill, hardly wiser, but certainly sadder, for her experience. Those of us who deeply sympathize with her, while admitting that, if she has not yet been intrusted with great responsibilities, she is not prepared to undertake them, will pray that when her next opportunity comes, she may have been delivered from her blighting curse of ignorant and selfish politicians; and that, meanwhile, accepting the advice of Mr. Finlay, she may mind her own business, and endeavor to develop her material resources.

TO MEET AGAIN.

TO meet again! Her heart is stayed
On this strong hope,—though farewell said
Has whelmed her happy life in woe,—
As flits the bird o'er waves that flow
Where late her happy nest was made.
For him, too, life seems all to fade;
Yet fares he forward undismayed,
Looking to this one end below,—
To meet again!

Day follows day; the slow years grow:
What had they said, could they but know
How all apart their lives were laid?
With what a woe had life been weighed,
When each to each they whispered low,—
To meet again!

F. W. BOURDILLON.

DIVIDED.

WHAT prayers can bring the wanderer
Across the broad sea home?
What fondest speech can the dead man reach
Beneath the ocean foam?
And what can sunder heart from heart,
Save death or distance hold them apart?

Oh, prayers may bring the wanderer,
For Love hears every prayer;
And a loving word by the dead may be heard,—
Love's voice sounds everywhere:
But if love be wroth with love,—ah, vain,
Vain is all hope to be joined again!

F. W. BOURDILLON.

THE INDIAN QUESTION.

THE trouble with the Indian question is, that we nearly always discuss it with mental reservations of one sort or another, which prevent us from treating the subject thoroughly. We talk of doing justice ; we persuade ourselves that we want to do justice ; but we none the less insist that it shall be a justice that must be perfectly consistent with the constant curtailment of the hunting grounds and even the "reservations" of the Indian tribes, and with the equally constant and ruthless spread of our race and our civilization over the whole continent. We are either right or wrong in this. If we are wrong, the wrong reaches back to the first settlement of our European fathers on these shores ; and all that we ever have done or may do in the way of kindness or protection to the Indian, has been only a palliation of an original grievance which can never be atoned for. If we are right, it must be on grounds of international and fundamental law, which should afford some guide for our conduct and our legislation in all stages of our dealings and controversies with the Indian tribes.

Everybody knows that these tribes themselves have felt an ineradicable sense of wrong and oppression, as each in turn has come in contact with our resistless tide of immigration, crowding out and sweeping over one after another of their little communities, — leaving a handful stranded here and there like the few Mohegans near Norwich, or the remnant of the Five Nations upon the head-waters of the Alleghany, but destroying most of them, and pushing the survivors thousands of miles away from their former homes, till a little string of petty reservations in Kansas and the Indian Territory contains all that are left of tribes that once dominated half the continent. In our schoolboy days we used to read the story of the interview between Tecumseh and General Harrison, in which the Indian invited the Territorial Governor to sit beside him on a log, and gradually crowded him off the end by a series of polite requests for a little more room ; explaining at last that this was a personal illustration of the way the

white people were treating the red men. The General had the worst of it in the discussion, for he no more than the rest of us was prepared to face the home thrust put in the savage's question, "What is to be the end of all this?" If the honest answer had been given, and the Indian had been told that there was to be no limit to our spread; that we expected to occupy one after another of their hunting grounds; that they must "move on," or do what was more repugnant to them, become an insignificant mass of paupers in a community whose ways they could not adopt, and whose civilization they could neither comprehend nor like, — Tecumseh would have replied, "Am I not right, then, in organizing a combination of our tribes before we are destroyed piecemeal, and in uniting all the nations of the Mississippi Valley while there is some hope of crowding back the intruders?" From his standpoint his conduct was patriotic and statesmanlike. He failed, as Pontiac failed, because the struggle had already become too unequal.

Fair play demands that we should candidly estimate the conduct of the tribes from their own point of view, and try to understand their sentiments and their opinions, — for they have both. If we are right in assuming that we may justly plan to fill the whole continent from the Bay of Fundy to Puget's Sound with our farms and our villages, we ought at least to try to comprehend the grounds of our assumption, and the reciprocal rights and duties that grow out of our competitive struggle for existence with these aborigines.

It is therefore necessary, if we would make any thing like an adequate review of the subject, that we should examine the grounds of the original claim of European nations to a foothold on this continent, far enough to understand its general character at least, so that we may judge of our relations to those from whom we profess to derive title, as well as to those whom we have dispossessed. We must then seek to get so fair an estimate of the Indian's idea of the matter as to enable us to judge of his complaints with some approach to justice. Finally, if we find, as we are likely to do, that each from his own standpoint has such grounds for his opinion, that neither can be reasonably expected to adopt that of the other, we shall then be in position to estimate the demand which human charity and a noble sense of equity make upon the stronger party to see to it that its progress shall not be blind to the sufferings of others, nor remorseless as to the injuries it inflicts, even in the march of true advancement and of civilization. We shall then be more likely to feel

the solemn obligation laid upon us, to mitigate in every possible manner the evils which our system of industry and of society unavoidably imposes upon nomadic communities which are almost hopelessly incapable of adopting our ways, or of living under our laws. Above all, we may thus quicken our consciences to the disgrace we incur as a nation, if we permit the necessary collision of a civilized with an aboriginal people to be exasperated by reckless bad faith in the fulfilment of contracts and treaties, by stinginess and tardiness in paying annuities, and by the toleration of reckless and shameful aggressions on the part of border communities.

What right, then, had our forefathers to come to these shores at all? The nations of Europe had found it convenient or necessary to establish among themselves, by common assent, a sort of code of rules regulating the partition of the Western world. They agreed, either expressly or tacitly, to recognize each other's claim to so-called "uninhabited" countries in which they founded colonies or made settlements. Such agreements, however, even when solemnized in the form of treaties, hung very loosely upon governments which were pretty generally acting upon no maxim but that "might makes right," and recognizing no title to colonial lands, or cargoes coming from them, but the ability to hold and defend them by the strong arm. We must remember that it was a time when buccaneering was honorable, and when it mattered little to a Drake or a Hawkins whether he cut out a Spanish galleon, or made a descent upon a defenceless coast and carried off a ship-load of the natives into slavery. Even with regard to each other, therefore, the title by discovery and occupation had little meaning for Europeans, and was seldom free from dispute; but we look entirely in vain for any evidence that the natives of the New World were practically allowed to have any rights either to land or to their persons. The smooth phrases in which Puffendorf or Vattel put the right of civilized nations to take possession of countries already inhabited, must be regarded only as the euphemisms by which, after the fact, they defended conquests which were made as unprovoked aggressions, stimulated only by selfish greed for the wealth the new countries were supposed to possess. It is hard to read seriously Vattel's statement, that "the people of Europe, too closely pent up at home, finding land of which the savages stood in no particular need, and of which they made no actual and constant use, were *lawfully entitled* to take possession of it, and settle it with colonies." We know the truth to be that Europe was not overcrowded

with population ; and that vast quantities of its land had not been brought under cultivation. We know that it was the common desire to better their condition, the love of adventure, the wish to escape religious or other persecution, that brought the early colonists away from Europe. It is mere fiction, that long since served its turn, to speak of swarming colonists leaving the old countries as bees leave the overstocked hive. Men migrate to-day from Illinois to the far West, to the mining region of the Black Hills, or to the wilds of Arizona, though the fertile plains of that great State will easily sustain tenfold its present population.

The right which Vattel asserts would have been every whit as strong, if, instead of coming to this continent, the European colonists had gone to the gold mines of the Ural mountains or the steppes of southern Russia. There, also, was land of which the natives "stood in no particular need, and of which they made no actual and constant use." The wandering hordes of the Cossacks of the Don were scarcely tamer than the Delawares or the Shawnees ; certainly no more so than the pastoral Navajoes. The difference was, simply, that the colonists of Western Europe must beard the Czar before they could have landed in the Crimea ; and the wholesome dread of the power of Russia made that a violation of the *jus gentium* in the one case, which in the other is chosen by the celebrated teacher of the law as an example of its applied principles.

The case of the earlier immigrants is a somewhat different one. The claim of the home government to sovereignty over the shores to which they came, as well as over themselves, was only of importance to them in their relations to the marauders of other civilized nations. The charter of King James was a guarantee of some degree of protection against the Spaniard and the Frenchman. As to the Indian, the colonists pretty well understood that they must trust to their own diplomacy or courage for any assurance of a quiet neighborhood with him.

It is possible that the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay colonists may have had some faith in the story that the New England shores had been providentially depopulated to make way for them. It had been ostentatiously put forth in the preamble of the charter to Gorges and his associates, that "We have been further given certainly to knowe, that within these late Yeares there hath by God's Visitation raigned a wonderfull Plague, together with many horrible Slaughters and Murthers committed amongst the Sauages and bruitish people there,

heertofore inhabiting, in a manner to the utter Destruction, Devastation, and Depopulation of that whole Territorie ; so that there is not left for many Leagues together, in a Manner, any that doe claime or challenge any kind of Interests therein." If the little company on board the "Mayflower" left Holland in expectation that they came to settle in a genial clime, with none to molest or to make them afraid, a few short weeks dispelled the illusion. There had, no doubt, been a fearful epidemic among the bands of Indians immediately upon the coast ; but their first interviews with Massasoit informed them that the strong tribe of the Narragansetts had not been a victim to the sickness ; and these were certainly near enough as neighbors to make danger of collision, even from the first.

A sense of imminent personal peril for themselves, their wives, and their children, greatly stimulated the honesty of the early colonists at all points on the seaboard ; and wherever the effort was made to found a permanent colony, something was done to obtain the consent of the savage inhabitants. Presents of finery and tinsel, promises of help against their enemies, the hopes of a profitable market for their peltry, were all used as occasion required, to obtain at least a pretence of title, which as everybody nowadays knows was only a foothold and standing-room from which to apply sturdy European shoulders to the savages, and hustle them back further into the wilderness. To call any of these performances a purchase of vast territories, is an abuse of language. The parties were in no such relations as to make fair contract possible. The native mind could not comprehend the purposes of the Europeans, if it had been told them ; and to tell them frankly was the last thing our fathers thought of. Had the sachems of New England been told that the Plymouth colony was the advance guard of the thousands who meant to possess to the full the whole country "between the forty-fourth and forty-eighth parallels of latitude, and westward from sea to sea," as the company's charter read, would they have made a quit-claim for a few axes and brass kettles, and a cheap-spangled red coat or two ? The supposition is ridiculous. There were present none of the elements of such a contract. Colonists did then what they always have done in dealing with simple peoples unused to trade and ignorant of values, — they purchased a quiet settlement and the opportunity to strengthen themselves impreguably in it, by any temporization, cajolery, or petty gifts which they found efficient. They did not come with a purpose of going back if they could not make a fair bargain with the natives :

they came to stay, "peaceably if they could, forcibly if they must." Their bargains were those in which much is bought for little or nothing ; and were generally of a piece with their original type in the old story of the Tyrian purchase of the site of Carthage, where the hide cut into shoestrings was made to surround a principality, under a bargain to buy

"Taurino quantum possent circumdate tergo."

We have been too much in the habit of treating the subject in a kind of cant, of which we must rid ourselves if we would get at its real merits.

When the Pacific Railway had reached the forks of the Platte River in 1867, and the Indians of the great plains were all in a ferment at the rumors of the mysterious iron road that was to cut in two the buffalo range, and carry the white men's settlements into the heart of their hunting grounds, a distinguished Massachusetts man, with the government inspecting commission, was expressing his faith that fair treatment of the Indians would save the bloodshed and nameless horrors of the border warfare then flagrant. An old frontiersman, clad in Sioux hunting-shirt and fringed leggins, who had pithily expressed the practical view of the case, saying it was the natural conflict between the two systems of life represented respectively by the locomotive and the flint arrow-head, turned the tables on the statesman by replying, "So far as real fairness of treatment is concerned, you should have thought of that before you drove them over the Connecticut River."

The truth is, that however varied may be the circumstances attending our dealings with the Indians, whether as feeble colonists or as a nation of irresistible power, the principle of our conduct has been at bottom the same. We have pushed onward with a steady march, intruding upon their domain, impeding and destroying their means of subsistence, curtailing their coveted freedom, and always finding them in the wrong when they resist and make war upon us after their savage fashion.

When two such systems are chafing together, the momentary occasion of an outbreak is of small consequence compared with the great forces which collide. A bad man of either race has the power to set the frontier on fire ; yet it will not do to forget that the sense of comparative weakness has been so strong in the Indian that he is very rarely the aggressor. The writer has heard Gen. Harney, a veteran of fifty years service on the frontier, declare that he never knew an

instance of an Indian outbreak which could not be traced to some flagrant wrong on the part of a white man. This may be said to be the concurrent testimony of fair-minded soldiers and civilians who have been in position to know the truth. To-day a fresh war is imminent on the borders of Oregon and Washington Territory; but army officers of undoubted character say that now, as heretofore, the first wrong is from the whites. They tell us that a rich frontiersman, who was raising horses, insisted that his mares should pasture on the Indian reservation, in defiance of law and right; that, to protect the stock from degenerating by mixture with the Indian breed of ponies, he habitually mutilated the horses of the Indians when he could catch them. Remonstrances did no good; there was no tribunal to give redress; and that happened which would have come sooner if he had so wronged white frontiersmen,—he was found dead. Demand is promptly made by the frontier settlers for the delivery of the murderer, who is unknown; and Chief Moses, who has been a lifelong friend of our people, is to be driven into war because he does not or cannot find and deliver the person guilty of the killing. Can any rational person suppose that, even if the tribe should give up the accused, they would not feel that by frontier law of the white men themselves such justice is wretchedly onesided? Must not the repetition of the story from wigwam to wigwam leave a sense of burning wrong, which ripens into rooted hate as such wrongs accumulate? Still, these are only the details, the minor incidents, of the great struggle between races which has been described, and may more properly be considered when we come to the question of practical policy, than in making our effort to comprehend the fundamental conditions of the great problem.

Making confession, therefore, of the sins of our own people, we must admit that from first to last we have maintained a steady purpose to dispossess the Indians of their lands, and to build up our national greatness in all the country they once inhabited. We have fully known that the progress of our civilization would be fatal to them in fact, however we may have argued that it need not be so in theory. We have systematically hid from them the results of the bargains we made with them, content that we got a seeming consent to the step we have taken at the moment, and hypocritically upbraiding the savage with bad faith when his slender wits at last discovered how he had been duped, and when he has attempted to retrace his steps. We have uniformly exaggerated our promises and cheapened

their concessions, taking advantage of their constitutional improvidence to gain from them enormous future advantages, at the price of a momentary luxury or drunkenness which cost us very little.

In short, should one deal so with any person equally incompetent to do business in the civilized sense of the word, Courts of Equity, the world over, would characterize the transactions as unmixed frauds, annul the pretended contracts, and give redress accordingly. The acts of individual settlers may often have been more heartless and cruel than those of the savages ; but these alone are trifles compared with the sleepless advance of the national power, never losing sight of the purpose to dominate and subjugate the continent, cost what it may to the feeble tribes whose ill-fortune puts them in our path. We shall be in no condition to deal with the matter, till we fully realize, as the frontiersman hinted to Mr. Ashmun, that it is as a whole people that we are responsible.

But it will naturally be asked, Was there no way to plant civilization on this continent ? Was it to remain a wilderness because savage tribes could not transform themselves into English communities ? No such assertion has been made. On the other hand, it has already been stated that the position of the earliest colonists had merits quite independent of the pretensions of European monarchs. They could go behind the fictions of international law, and assert for themselves a much better title, as men seeking to improve their condition or to escape from oppression, than their European rulers could do. As between themselves and the Indians, those little communities could say, " We are in some sense driven hither by fate ; and we, personally, have a claim to appeal to the higher law, which gives us a right to a refuge and to a peaceful habitation which our former rulers could not have set up." But, without going into the delicate question of the basis of the rights of property in land and of migration, and of the right of any community to exclude intruders, it soon became apparent that a civilized community was really established ; and whether Powhatan and Massasoit were rightly or wrongly dealt with, and their friendship secured by good or ill means, the tribes living further in the interior were in no situation to challenge the original right of settlement upon territory to which they, at least, had no title or claim. The question of moral right and wrong, between the colonists and the Indians, then assumed the form it has ever since had, and with which alone we now have to do. It is this : Has a civilized community, in the presence of, and in contact with, an uncivilized and nomadic one, the

right to enlarge itself by a natural growth, even though in so doing it dispossesses its rival ; and, if so, what should be its method of dealing with such neighbors ?

The only satisfactory practical principle to which we can appeal, in such questions of right as the one last stated, is the celebrated *dictum* of Bentham. Is the result aimed at, one which will produce on the whole an advantage to the human race, and increase the sum of human happiness ? As the settlement of the wilderness by civilized men is followed by the cultivation of science, of art, and of philosophy, and as the earth is made to sustain a tenfold greater population, we say (and probably with reason) that the fulfilment of its destiny in this manner by the great human family more than compensates for the evils which the barbarians may necessarily suffer. We claim that the sum of blessings is on the whole much greater, when man works out his destiny in enlightened communities, which afford the best opportunities for the cultivation of all the higher and nobler elements of his nature. To state it from a somewhat different standpoint, such a view of human progress is one which better satisfies our *ideal* than any other, and is therefore in harmony with the fundamental rules of morality.

Let us assume that this view is a justifiable one. We must not forget, however, that in rendering a decision in this manner we are acting as judges in our own cause ; and whilst this is unavoidable in such cases, because there is no authoritative human tribunal before which both parties may appear, it imposes upon us a duty, all the more solemn and obligatory, to see to it that our action under this *ex parte* judgment shall be frank, honest, and humane.

We are bound to remember, also, that the condition of the Indian necessarily implies an incapacity on his part to comprehend or to approve the sort of judgment we have thus rendered. If he were able to see and to admit that it is a higher and nobler view of human life and destiny which civilization opens to man, he would have taken the largest step toward his own civilization. Prior to this, what we do must appear to him to be only a selfish use of power. We are trespassing upon his domain, making his favorite mode of life impossible, and destroying his happiness, only, so far as he can see, because we covet his possessions. This is the uniform burden of his complaint. In a recent number of a well known periodical, Chief Joseph of the Nez Percés has pitifully reiterated the old list of grievances. He asks why our people have crowded upon his. They were con-

tented in their homes ; they did not molest us : why could we not leave them in peace ? Red Cloud and Spotted Tail have often asked the same question on behalf of the Sioux ; and all the generations of the red warriors, from King Philip of the Pokanokets downward, have in like manner demanded, in wrath or in despair, why we could not have kept away from their borders. It is a great mistake to suppose that they lacked local attachments, or loved their homes the less, because their mode of life appears to us so unsettled. They know every hill-top and stream, and have been as jealous of maintaining their boundaries against each other as any civilized States could be. They make raids upon each other, as Englishmen and Scots used to do, and the confines of neighboring tribes may be desolate as the marches of the border usually were ; but they know exactly how far their fathers have been used to hunt, and never allow an intrusion to ripen into a title for lack of notice to quit, served perhaps in savage fashion, but unmistakable in its purport. This sense of property right is keen and strong. If they are able, they repel an aggression from white man or red with impetuous and impulsive energy ; and if overpowered, they carry away a longing for their old haunts which prompts them to bitter complaints whenever they are given a hearing.

We cannot deny that these complaints must seem to the Indians entirely just and unanswerable. They are far too cunning and quick-witted, in certain directions, to be duped with the evasive or unmeaning answers we give them. They call us double-tongued, because we do not boldly avow the purpose we have and the principle on which we act. If they cannot comprehend the right we have to spread our civilization in the name of general human progress, they at least are capable of understanding a plain statement of the purpose of a power too great for them to resist ; and they would be far more content with a firm and calm declaration of our will, than with the shuffling subterfuges which make the staple of all our great " talks " with them, and which tempt them to quarrel with fate by making them feel that in these parleys they are the superiors of the white men in argument, — that we are constantly doing the things we have disclaimed any purpose of doing, and are making solemn promises only to break them.

As soon as it became evident that we must enlarge our boundaries, we should frankly have put the ground for our demands upon the needs of our growing population, plainly stating our claim of the right

to grow and to require from them new arrangements in consequence of our growth. We should have made such demands only when the need was evident, and restrained our own people by steady and efficient enforcement of law, till the new enlargement of territory was publicly and solemnly proclaimed. Each step taken would thus have accustomed the tribes to the consideration of our policy, and to the proper estimate of our inflexible purpose and resistless power, — things which impress the imagination of barbarians, and make them feel that they are dealing with a calm-moving but mysterious fate, with which it is useless to contend. Combine this with exact performance of agreements, and equally exact and certain punishment of trespassers from among our own people, and we have the elements of control most likely to be efficient with such peoples as we are dealing with.

This is not mere theorizing. The only solid practical rules are those which are based on sound theory. It has grown to be a maxim among our military men, that the only successful way to deal with the Indians is to be more scrupulous to weigh well your words, more chary of promises, more exact in fulfilment, than you would be in dealing with any other people. In short, you should use them as a wise and firm disciplinarian would deal with children. Your purpose, command, promise, or threat must be made simple, clear, and easily understood; calmly put, and faithfully performed. Above all, you must avoid all "humbug," all wheedling, and all ambiguous promises or half promises, made for the sake of a momentary advantage or harmony, but without any serious purpose.

An adherence to such a mode of dealing, if it did not save us from Indian wars, would have preserved our self-respect, and would have constantly widened and strengthened the moral power of our government over the savage tribes. Had we acted on this principle, we should have been much more successful, also, in restraining our own people individually from those aggressions and wrongs which have so often been the occasion of frontier disturbances. The fact that we have assumed to deprive the Indian of what he regards as his ancestral domain, makes it doubly our duty to see that the method of carrying out our judgment shall be as nearly as possible judicial, and that we repress with the sternest determination every private violation of the law which we have declared should govern the case.

If we are right in thus determining the general principles which should govern our conduct of Indian affairs, the application of these

principles to practical conduct may be briefly made. An adherence to rules based on them might have lessened the rapidity of growth of frontier States ; for, as we have said, it would have implied that the opening of new regions to settlement would have taken place only as the thickening of population in the older settled country more imperatively demanded the increase of room. Still, the time would have come, soon or late, when the tribes would be practically surrounded by the white settlements, as they are to-day, and when they must of necessity cease to be treated as petty nations upon our borders, who could move off at our approach. They are now in fact, as well as in theory, residents within the body politic, although it is not yet necessary for them to give up the tribal organization which is the only form of government they find congenial to their habits and their needs.

The fault of our past dealing with these people must be regarded as lying chiefly in the manner in which we carried out our policy ; for policy there has been, in spite of all assertions to the contrary, and in spite of our unwillingness to declare it boldly and define it clearly. We have meant to do precisely what we have done ; namely, to occupy the country with as little hostile collision as practicable.

Leaving out of view the deceptions and indirections of our conduct, the general custom of proceeding by treaty was not an improper one. The Indians needed some evidence of our bargains which was tangible, and we needed some form of contract which a whole tribe would look upon as binding. The tribal organization is their hereditary government. If we were to try to deal with them otherwise, we should fail. They would be tribes still, whether we chose to recognize them as such or not. They would act as tribes ; hunt and make war as tribes. It is good political policy, therefore, to make formal treaties with them as tribes, till in the progress of events disorganization takes place naturally, and they scatter themselves as individual ranche-men or shepherds, and become, without a revolution, members of the State or Territorial citizenship.

The denunciations of treaties with Indians, so often declaimed in the House of Representatives, are ill-founded. Those who utter them overlook the fact that the subject-matter of the treaty is wholly within the control of law, and that legislation may properly be enacted which shall systematize all our relations with the aborigines, reducing the treaties to the rôle of agreements made strictly in accordance with law ; and made in this rather high-sounding form only because the character and organization of the tribes is such that it is advisable,

for the reasons already stated, to retain methods to which they are accustomed. Our commissioners who have made treaties have too often forgotten the true limits of their own power, and the necessity of agreeing to nothing which must soon be undone. Congress must blame itself that it has never set to work seriously, with the aid of the Interior Department, to adopt general legislation adapted to all the contingencies of Indian affairs that experience and foresight can define. It could and should enact that all treaties or bargains with the tribes should be strictly subordinate to and consistent with this legislation; but the act of 1871, which forbade all further treaty with them, was a mere petulant attempt to cut the knot. That law is necessarily made a dead letter, because, as has been shown above, the only alternative, if you refuse to deal with the Sioux, for example, as tribes, is to declare a war of extermination.

By refusing to call bargains treaties, the character of them is not altered. Rights vest under them, all the same; and the national dishonor is not lessened by the breach of those rights, whether one name or the other is given to the form of contract. In an admirable article published in these columns in 1874, Gen. Walker, then Commissioner of Indian Affairs, pointed out the utter anarchy of our Indian system, so far as legislation is concerned; but no remedy has been enacted, and the public scandal and disgrace remains.

There is no fact connected with the subject which our people find it so hard to understand, as the helplessness of the Indian when his tribal organization is broken up. For many years, strong efforts have been made by the lobby at Washington to force the semi-civilized tribes of the Indian Territory to take their lands in severalty and open the country to white settlement. The more intelligent men of those tribes have uniformly opposed this, except in instances in which they had, by some means, been seduced into making common cause with speculators. The venerable and respectable Peter Pitchlyn, chief of the Choctaws, has constantly represented that a division of lands, in the unfitness of his people for competition in trade with the whites, means pauperism and ruin, for the great mass of them, in a single generation. Thus far he has succeeded in standing between them and destruction, but no one can predict how long his efforts may continue to be successful.

Again, our treaties with the Indians have been wrong in providing for annuities for short terms, often too bountiful at first, but sure to be terminated before the improvement of the tribes can make self-

support a possibility. We shall not be rid of responsibility when the annuities terminate by the letter of the agreement. The Sioux and the Cheyennes could not foresee, in 1867, that the building of the Pacific Railroad would be followed by the speedy disappearance of the buffalo and the antelope, and that they would be in danger of starvation. In the face of the history of the past, we are in no condition to say to these people, in the presence of Christendom, "Dig or die!" Our legislation should at once recognize the fact that we must provide for their support till they can be taught at least as much as the Cherokees have now learned.

The "peace policy," attempted at the beginning of General Grant's administration, did not look to a mere shifting of responsibility for the selection of agents upon the religious denominations of the country. It looked to a co-operation between the government and the active benevolence of the people in the work of civilization. It recognized the fact that the government alone could not carry on the distinctively missionary work of education and civilization. It sought to arouse a public interest, which might outlast the few years for which alone the public annuities are provided, and which would insure the completion of the work in a spirit becoming an enlightened nation.

The administration then said to the benevolent societies of all creeds, "We will make the official organization of the agencies co-operate with your educational work, and help it on." Well known citizens were made a Board of Commissioners, to act as the intermediate between the Indian Bureau and the societies, for the purpose of promoting harmony of action, and of inspecting purchases and supplies; thus affording to the government and to the public a guarantee that old abuses should be corrected, and giving promise that when the annuities should end, the benevolent public would be prepared to continue the work of civilization, or of prompting and securing the new legislation which might be needed. It is not too much to say that the saddest hour the cause of Indian civilization has ever seen, was that in which Mr. Brunot and his fellow-commissioners felt themselves compelled to abandon the effort to co-operate with the government in labors which should, by common consent, be regarded its noblest and its most obligatory.

The differences in treatment to be made in the case of the semi-civilized tribes are too evidently necessary to need argument. The Cherokees hold their lands by purchase, and by a patent from the United

States in all respects similar in substance and in legal effect to the deed which is the basis of every white settler's title to his farm. To treat lands held in this manner as a "reservation," subject to curtailment at will of the government, would be an audacious violation of justice and of law. If such tribes should become extinct, the nation might properly assume the reversion of the lands; but it is hard to see in what other condition we can meddle with so plain and clear a title. For all the tribes in the Indian Territory proper, and in the organized States of the Union, and for the Navajoes, the Pueblos, and some others, the problem is no longer one of enduring peaceful relations to the government. Nothing but wanton and systematic oppression could drive them into disturbance. Our duty is to encourage progress within their tribal organization, preventing the unauthorized intrusion of their white neighbors, and patiently awaiting the natural solution of their destiny.

With the tribes still living by the chase, while we insist upon their stay within the limits of their reservations, we are bound to make those limits respected by our frontiersmen, at whatever cost. No economy in supporting the army can excuse us from having force enough at all important points to make wrong-doing hopeless, and to save trouble by surely preventing it. Our history should contain no more pages like that which tells the story of intrusion upon the homes of the Osages while they were upon the summer buffalo hunt, laying up their store of food for the winter, and the subsequent appeals to the President not to eject the trespassers, because they had already built churches and school-houses upon the stolen land!

It may become necessary to make changes in our stipulations with the comparatively few remaining wild tribes; but, if so, it need not be difficult to do it in the spirit of the views we have advocated, and to make even Sitting Bull feel that it is an honorable and honest solution of a controversy. Of course it will not be done in this way, unless we so revise our policy as to make it accord with indubitable facts and with the real results at which we aim. Such further changes should provide for some permanent and not temporary assistance to the tribes, in making the transfer from a hunter's life to that of pastoral people.

Ranche-men are many of them now willing to receive Indian boys as herders of cattle, under reasonable terms of apprenticeship. This mode of life would best suit the Indians, because it is not one of manual labor, and is nearest akin, of all civilized forms of industry, to

the nomadic habits which are hereditary in them. The suggestion has also been made, by a former manager of the American Fur Company, that the Indian youth be enrolled in our military forces on the plains, and in the navy on the lakes; and the plan is well worth a trial. The Pawnees, who have acted as auxiliary troops in late years, have proven most useful and trustworthy. They are proud of their uniform and of their equipment, and have transferred their allegiance, and learned habits of respect and obedience for the officers of the government, almost without knowing it.

Nearly all who have given much personal study to the Indian tribes are agreed that little can be done with the full-grown men but to feed them. The children alone are susceptible of education in any considerable degree. The most promising efforts made during the last twenty years are those which have looked to the industrial education of the Indian youth. Organized and persistent effort in that direction is demanded alike of the government and of the people. Whether we try to make of them soldiers, sailors, herdsmen, or farmers, it can only be done by revising our legislation so that it shall aim clearly and efficiently at the end proposed; and for this, first of all, there must be the creation of such an intelligent public sentiment on the subject as shall command the attention and the action of Congress.

The question whether the control of Indian affairs shall remain in the Interior Department or be transferred to the army, is of little practical moment so long as our legislation is such that both military and civil officers are foredoomed to disappointment in any earnest efforts to solve the problem. When the exigencies of a political party may cut down the appropriations to a point where it is known that starvation at many Indian agencies must ensue; when carelessness and indifference postpone even the intended appropriations, till tribes that would be friendly are driven to outbreak by the hunger of their women and children, — as Bishop Whipple tells us was the case in the last Sioux outbreak in Minnesota, and as has recently occurred again in the case of the Bannocks, — it is plain that the reform must begin in our legislative bodies, and that they must learn to realize that life and death, peace and war, are at stake when appropriation bills are delayed, before we can hope for much from the efforts even of the best meaning officers on the frontier, whether they are soldiers or Quakers.

It would be easy to find officers of the army, like Crook or Hazen, who would make most efficient heads of an Indian administration,

and who would conduct it with wisdom and prudence. But the administration itself would necessarily be civil, even in that case. The work to be done is not military work. The officers performing it, like those engaged upon river and harbor improvements and upon the coast survey, would only be detailed for the purpose. That some men of special adaptation and knowledge of Indian character could be profitably detailed is unquestionably true; but the work of civilization would hardly progress in the actual presence of troops, whose example would undo the lessons taught the red men concerning the folly of living for war and the chase, and the desirability of industry and self-support. The end to be aimed at implies the removal of troops from contact with Indian communities, as soon as we can be reasonably assured of peace; and it would seem in every respect best that we should find some way of having the unmilitary work of education in the arts of peace performed honestly and well by a rightly organized civil service. The fact that it has not been done satisfactorily ought to call our attention to the vices of our civil service for the purpose of correcting them, rather than lead us to turn more and more of our administrative duties over to the army. It ought not to be hard to see what is the natural end of this latter course.

To sum up the views thus presented, it will be apparent that the "Indian problem" is not one in regard to which a definite law can be enacted, which shall dispose of its difficulties once for all. Many of these difficulties can be only partially remedied, and will never be wholly removed. In proportion as we realize the fact that our civilization, in its collision with these uncivilized communities, is causing them sufferings which must appear to them great wrongs, we shall give play to the philanthropic sentiments of an enlightened humanity, and grow more and more disposed to deal with them in a manner becoming a Christian nation. The key to the whole matter is here. If a remorseful public sentiment could be aroused, such as a fair consideration of the truth is apt to inspire, it could not be long before this spirit, reflected in the action of Congress, would produce an earnest effort to systematize our relations with the Indian tribes by statutes which should revise the whole subject, and bring the common-sense of our people to bear upon all the practical difficulties of the work. Any thing done in such a temper would be a great improvement upon the present incoherence and inconsistency of our laws.

When once our legislation had taken a form that right-minded

men need not be ashamed of, we could with much better grace, as well as success, put a stop to the barbarities of savage warfare on the one hand, and the irritating aggressions and outrages of white criminals on the other. The spread of our settlements has already gone so far that the question cannot much longer be postponed. We are drifting into a condition of things the outcome of which is likely to be a general border-war. If the public voice shall demand of the committees of Congress that they apply themselves, with all the aid that the administration can give, to the codification of the statutes on this subject, reducing them to consistency not only with each other but with the dictates of humanity and fairness, the important first step will have been taken.

The next would soon follow, in the form of laws recognizing the truth that very few of the remaining Indian tribes can longer subsist by the chase; that they will only learn civilized industry by slow and uncertain steps; and that sufficient provision must be made to carry them over this period of danger. The fund for subsistence and instruction must be ample, and the provision for the force to keep the peace and command respect must be equally ample. Power and justice must both be unmistakably exhibited. If a "penny wise, pound foolish" economy shall prevent this, the inevitable result is desperate savage war, national disgrace, and an enormous increase even of the pecuniary burden of the people.

THE SUPREME COURT AND THE CURRENCY QUESTION.

A CASE¹ is to be brought before the Supreme Court of the United States, of deeper interest than any cause that has been argued for many years. The Act of Congress of 1878, c. 146, directs the Secretary of the Treasury to reissue greenbacks which are redeemed in any manner by the government, and thus maintain the volume of legal-tender currency. This is inflation, since without such legislation the notes which are now daily redeemed in coin would be destroyed. The Acts passed during the war have been repealed; the Resumption Act provided for redemption only; the Act of 1878 for reissue. Now the question is not whether Congress has power to maintain the existing volume of paper money, but whether Congress has power in time of peace to impart the legal-tender property to paper at all. If it has not, the Act of 1878 is void. If it has, it may in one moment confiscate all debts both public and private. Yet mighty as are the interests involved in the issue thus directly raised, they are subordinate to those which the decision of this cause must collaterally embrace. To pass upon this question, those clauses of the Constitution must be interpreted which define the powers of Congress; and should the Act be upheld, it must apparently be sustained by reasoning which will go far toward investing Congress with authority hardly less absolute than that wielded by the parliament of England. A judgment which may practically annihilate those constitutional limitations which for ninety years have been looked upon as the foundation of this government, must be of absorbing interest to every citizen. Therefore, though the story has been often told, and the legal questions have been often argued by the ablest counsel at the bar, no apology is necessary for attempting once more to draw public attention to this great controversy which is now about to be reopened.

¹ General Butler and Mr. Chittenden have agreed to present facts suitable to raise the questions, and to provide counsel.

There is little hazard in asserting that, before the war of the Rebellion, no statesman or jurist ever supposed Congress could make paper money a legal tender in payment of debts. This is proved by abundant evidence. The original draft of the Constitution provided that "The Legislature of the United States shall have the power . . . to borrow money and emit bills upon the credit of the United States." Gouverneur Morris moved to strike out "and emit bills upon the credit of the United States." A debate thereupon ensued, which is so striking that it is given here just as it is reported by Mr. Madison : —

Mr. GOUVERNEUR MORRIS. — If the United States had credit, such bills would be unnecessary ; if they had not, unjust and useless.

Mr. BUTLER seconds the motion.

Mr. MADISON. — Will it not be sufficient to prohibit the making them a *tender* ? This will remove the temptation to emit them with unjust views. And promissory notes, in that shape, may in some emergencies be best.

Mr. MORRIS. — Striking out the words will leave room still for notes of a *responsible* minister, which will do all the good without the mischief. The moneyed interest will oppose the plan of government, if paper emissions be not prohibited.

Mr. GORHAM was for striking out without inserting any prohibition. If the words stand, they may suggest and lead to the measure.

Mr. MASON had doubts on the subject. Congress, he thought, would not have the power unless it were expressed. Though he had a mortal hatred to paper money, yet as he could not foresee all emergencies, he was unwilling to tie the hands of the legislature. He observed that the late war could not have been carried on, had such a prohibition existed.

Mr. GORHAM. — The power, as far as it will be necessary or safe, is involved in that of borrowing.

Mr. MERCER was a friend to paper money, though in the present state and temper of America he should neither propose nor approve of such a measure. He was consequently opposed to a prohibition of it altogether. It will stamp suspicion on the government to deny it a discretion on this point. It was impolitic, also, to excite the opposition of all those who were friends to paper money. The people of property would be sure to be on the side of the plan, and it was impolitic to purchase their further attachment with the loss of the opposite class of citizens.

Mr. ELLSWORTH thought this a favorable moment to shut and bar the door against paper money. The mischiefs of the various experiments which had been made were now fresh in the public mind, and had excited the disgust of all the respectable part of America. By withholding the power from the new government, more friends of influence would be gained to it than by almost any thing else. Paper money can in no case be necessary. Give the government credit, and other resources will offer. The power may do harm, never good.

Mr. RANDOLPH, notwithstanding his antipathy to paper money, could not agree to strike out the words, as he could not foresee all the occasions that might arise.

Mr. WILSON.—It will have a most salutary influence on the credit of the United States to remove the possibility of paper money. This expedient can never succeed whilst its mischiefs are remembered. And, as long as it can be resorted to, it will be a bar to other resources.

Mr. BUTLER remarked, that paper was a legal tender in no country in Europe. He was urgent for disarming the government of such a power.

Mr. MASON was still averse to tying the hands of the legislature altogether. If there was no example in Europe, as just remarked, it might be observed, on the other side, that there was none in which the government was restrained on this head.

Mr. READ thought the words, if not struck out, would be as alarming as the mark of the Beast in Revelation.

Mr. LANGDON had rather reject the whole plan, than retain the three words, "and emit bills."

On the motion for striking out — New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, — *Aye*, 9. New Jersey, Maryland, — *No*, 2.

Note by Mr. Madison. — This vote in the affirmative by Virginia was occasioned by the acquiescence of Mr. Madison, who became satisfied that striking out the words would not disable the government from the use of public notes, so far as they could be safe and proper; and would only cut off the pretext for a *paper currency*, and particularly for making the bills a *tender*,¹ either for public or private debts. — *Madison Papers*, vol. iii. pp. 1343-6.

Upon most problems of government men have seldom differed more widely than the members of the Convention, but in their fear and hatred of paper money they were united; and they were fully determined that their new republic should never groan under this curse. Chief-Justice Marshall well expressed their opinions in *Craig v. Missouri*, 4 Peters, 432, decided in 1830:—

At a very early period of our colonial history, the attempt to supply the want of the precious metals by a paper medium was made to a considerable extent; and the bills emitted for this purpose have been frequently denominated "bills of credit." During the war of our Revolution, we were driven to this expedient; and necessity compelled us to use it to a most fearful extent. . . . Such a medium has been always liable to considerable fluctuation. Its value is continually changing; and these changes, often great and sudden, expose individuals to immense loss, are the sources of ruinous expectations, and destroy all confidence between man and man. To cut up this mischief by the roots, — a mischief which was felt through the United States, and which deeply affected the interest and prosperity of all, — the people declared in their Constitution that no State should emit bills of credit.

It must never be forgotten that the men of that age thought, that by putting a prohibition upon the States, they had "cut up the mis-

¹ The italics are in the original.

chief by the roots." To suppose that a like prohibition upon the general government was necessary or even desirable, was altogether foreign to their mode of reasoning. They held that the government they were constructing was one of enumerated powers ; that Congress could pass no law which was not expressly authorized by some clause in the Constitution, or which did not follow by clear implication from some express grant ; that should laws be passed which transcended these limits, the Supreme Court would declare them void, on a case being presented at its bar ; and that therefore express prohibitions of particular powers were not only useless but dangerous. Hamilton thus stated the objections to incorporating a Bill of Rights in the Constitution : —

I go further and affirm, that Bills of Rights, in the sense and to the extent in which they are contended for, are not only unnecessary in the proposed Constitution, but would even be dangerous. They would contain various exceptions to powers not granted ; and on this very account would afford a colorable pretext to claim more than was granted. For, why declare that things shall not be done which there is no power to do? Why, for instance, should it be said that the liberty of the press shall not be restrained, when no power is given by which restrictions may be imposed? I will not contend that such a position would confer a regulating power, but it is evident that it would furnish, to men disposed to usurp, a plausible pretence for claiming that power. They might urge, with a semblance of reason, that the Constitution ought not to be charged with the absurdity of providing against the abuse of an authority which was not given, and that provision against restraining the liberty of the press afforded a clear implication that a power to prescribe proper regulations concerning it was intended to be vested in the national government. This may serve as a specimen of the numerous handles which would be given to the doctrine of constructive powers by the indulgence of an injudicious zeal for Bills of Rights.¹

Hence the early statesmen thought that, by granting Congress no authority to issue paper money, and by forbidding the States to do so, they had settled this question for so long as their Constitution should endure. Nor for many years was it even suggested that they had failed. During the war of 1812, the government was reduced to great straits for lack of funds to carry on hostilities. The whole subject was then discussed, and various statutes were passed, authorizing the issue of treasury notes. Yet, though the emergency was great and the peril extreme, the idea² of making such notes a legal tender was

¹ Federalist, No. lxxxiv.

² Such a proposition was once made in Congress ; but the House of Representatives refused to consider it by a vote of more than two to one. (Benton's Abridgt., vol. iii. p. 361.)

not even thought worthy of consideration; the point debated was, whether the government could issue paper at all. At this day, no one doubts the legality of such a measure. The power to borrow money is given in the broadest terms; and there is no simpler or more obvious method of borrowing than by issuing the government promises to pay to all who choose to receive them. The value of such promises may be enhanced by making them receivable for taxes, duties, or debts due to the United States; but there is no difference in principle between such notes and ordinary bonds. In the one case, the government buys goods directly with its note; in the other, it borrows money upon its bond, and with the money buys goods. So far as debts, public or private, are concerned, no man need receive the paper unless he elects to do so. The creditor can always have payment in coin if he desires it, and no man can be injured. The distinction between such notes and a paper currency which is made a legal tender in payment of all debts, is too obvious to need comment. Daniel Webster only expressed the universal opinion when he said, in 1836, —

Most unquestionably, there is no legal tender, and there can be no legal tender, in this country, under the authority of this government or any other, but gold and silver, either the coinage of our own mints or foreign coins, at rates regulated by Congress. This is a constitutional principle perfectly plain, and of the very highest importance. The States are expressly prohibited from making any thing but gold and silver a tender in payment of debts; and, although no such express prohibition is applied to Congress, yet, as Congress has no power granted to it in this respect but to coin money, and regulate the value of foreign coins, it clearly has no power to substitute paper, or any thing else, for coin, as a tender in payment of debts and in discharge of contracts.¹

In the midst of the Rebellion, however, men had little time or inclination to reflect on constitutional limitations. When the existence of a nation is at stake, and men's lives are sacrificed by the ten thousand, and their wealth is poured forth like water, constitutions are swept aside like cobwebs, if they are thought to hinder victory. Money was needed for the war, and money had to be provided; else the army would have been disbanded, and the navy have rotted in port. It appeared to Congress that paper would circulate better if made a legal tender, and they accordingly so declared it; and doubtless the people sustained them in the act. Looking back calmly, from a distance of fifteen years, it seems probable that they were mistaken. There is no magic in the legal-tender clause. A legal-tender note is

¹ Speech on the Specie Circular, 4 Webster's Works, p. 271.

generally valuable to a holder only for the same reason that an ordinary treasury note is valuable, — because of the holder's belief in the ability of the government sooner or later to redeem it in coin. Should the government be overthrown or become bankrupt, both promises would be alike worthless. In one respect only has the legal tender an advantage: it usually acts as a partial repudiation of existing debts. Under the legal-tender law, supposing the currency to be depreciated ten per cent., the government or private persons could pay off debts at ninety cents on the dollar, by paying paper dollars worth ninety cents each, instead of the promised coin. Had the government on the other hand contented itself with issuing simple treasury notes, debts would have been paid on a specie basis. That is to say, allowing the same depreciation as before, debtors would have paid one dollar and ten cents in currency for every dollar they had contracted to pay in gold. In other words, they would have paid what they honestly owed, neither more nor less. Of course, contracts made in currency would always have been payable in currency, in any event, and whatever its discount; and after the government notes had gone into general circulation, most contracts would have been made in paper. How the government could have benefited by one course more than the other, is difficult to comprehend; although doubtless the legal tenders would be everywhere preferred by men who owed more to others than others owed to them. Be this as it may, Congress enacted the legal-tender laws of 1862 and 1863. The people supported Congress in its war measures, and, in the excitement and enthusiasm of the time, the State courts, almost without exception, held them to be constitutional, — though many of the judges must have decided upon patriotic rather than upon legal grounds. The test case of *Hepburn v. Griswold*, however, did not come before the Supreme Court of the United States until 1868, when the war feeling had partially subsided, and when time had been given for calm reflection. The exact point presented for determination was, whether Congress had power to make notes issued under its authority a legal tender in payment of debts, which, when contracted, were payable by law in gold and silver coin. The question was repeatedly argued, and the case was held long under advisement; probably no cause ever received more anxious and deliberate consideration. All admitted that no such power is granted in the Constitution; but it was contended that its existence might be fairly implied as a means necessary and proper for carrying into execution: 1. The war power; 2. The

power to coin money ; 3. The power to borrow money ; or, 4. That it might be held to be a resulting power from the general purposes of the government. At length, after nearly two years spent in argument and deliberation, a solemn decision was rendered. The majority of the court felt themselves " obliged to conclude that an act making mere promises to pay dollars a legal tender in payment of debts previously contracted, is not a means appropriate, plainly adapted, really calculated to carry into effect any express power vested in Congress ; that such an act is inconsistent with the spirit of the Constitution ; and that it is prohibited by the Constitution."

We now approach the most painful and the most humiliating chapter of American judicial history. All must remember the unpopularity of this decision. The republican party, which then had undisputed control of the government, were united in support of the tender laws. The country was in the midst of the period of inflation ; and the national banks, who saw that their profits must decline with a contraction of the currency, led the opposition. Hon. E. R. Hoar, who was then Attorney-General, controlled the legal policy of the government ; and in an evil hour for the nation, the administration determined that, if possible, the decision of *Hepburn v. Griswold* should be overruled. The number of judges upon the Supreme bench was then about to be enlarged, as explained in the following note, appended by the reporter to the Legal-tender Cases (12 Wallace, 528) :—

By Act of March 3, 1863 (12 Stat. at Large, 794), the court was ordered to consist of ten members ; a new member being then added. By Act of July 23, 1866 (14 *id.* 209), " to fix the number of judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, &c.," it was enacted " that no vacancy in the office of associate justice shall be filled by appointment until the number of associates shall be reduced to six, and thereafter the Supreme Court shall consist of a chief justice and six associate justices." By an Act of 10th April, 1869 (16 *id.* 44), to take effect from the first Monday of December, 1869, it was enacted that the court should consist of a chief justice and eight associates, and that, for the purposes of this act, there should be appointed an additional judge. *Hepburn v. Griswold*, it is stated in the opinion of the court in the case, was decided in conference Nov. 27, 1869 (8 Wallace, 626), there being then eight judges (the chief justice and seven associates) on the bench, the lowest number to which the court had been reduced. One of them, Justice Grier, resigned Feb. 1, 1870. The judgment in *Hepburn v. Griswold* was announced from the bench, and entered Feb. 7, 1870. Mr. Justice Strong was appointed Feb. 18, 1870, and Mr. Justice Bradley, March 21, 1870.

Dates must now be carefully borne in mind. *Hepburn v. Griswold* was decided in conference Nov. 27, 1869. The act increasing the

number of judges went into effect upon the first Monday of December following; therefore, at the time this decision was made, the court was full, and no vacancy existed. Moreover, Mr. Justice Grier, one of the majority of the court, resigned Feb. 1, 1870. This was more than two months after the case had been decided; it was after the day upon which the opinion had been read and agreed to in conference (29 January, 1870); and after the day (31 January, 1870) when it would have been delivered in court, had not the delivery been postponed for a week to give time for the preparation of the dissenting opinion. (See 12 Wallace, 572.) The decision of *Hepburn v. Griswold* was, therefore, in fact made by a majority of five judges to three, in a full court of eight members. Judgment was entered upon Feb. 7, 1870. On the 18th of the same month, Mr. Justice Strong was appointed, who, when on the Supreme Bench of Pennsylvania, had sustained the tender laws in an elaborate opinion, delivered in *Shollenberger v. Brinton* (52 Penn. St. 9); and upon the 21st of the following month, Mr. Justice Bradley received his commission. Thus, within six weeks after the entry of judgment, the majority found themselves in a minority of four to five upon this great question,—both the new judges joining with the former minority. Upon March 31, 1870, just ten days after the court was remodelled, Hon. E. R. Hoar moved for a rehearing of the question of the constitutionality of the Legal-tender Acts, thus taunting the Chief-Justice with having changed his opinion since he had left the Treasury Department:—

A statute, upon the constitutionality of which this court, at a time when by law it consisted of nine judges, did, by a majority of only four to three, enter its judgment, with two vacancies upon the bench; and it stands, therefore (reducing it to its essence), that upon the judicial opinion of a single man, whose voice turned the majority, the great question is adjudicated. And if—which is a supposable case—it turned out that it was an opinion about which even the deciding judge of the court had entertained a different opinion at some other time, it would come down to the point that, on the differing opinions, at different times of his life, of a single man, the whole constitutional power of Congress and the Executive, in time of the direst national necessity, after this long popular acquiescence, and these decisions of State tribunals, was for ever to be subverted and set aside and expunged from the practical powers of this nation, by the judgment of this court; and upon the question whether it was necessary for the exercise of admitted constitutional powers, deciding that that necessity is a judicial question, and not a political one.

The gravity of such a decision, your honors, I have no doubt, justly estimate. That it was my duty, if that question could be presented again with propriety, in

the exercise of my official functions, to do so, seemed to me clear. And, may it please your honors, — involving as it does such a great mass of private interests, but more because it seems to me to involve a fundamental principle in the powers of the government, and, in my apprehension, to involve the question whether it is ever constitutional to suppress a rebellion beyond a certain magnitude, — I have decided, at the earliest possible period, to present it to your honors, when the court should be full ; and to ask that, if this is not to be henceforth and for ever the settled law of this land, it shall now be declared what the law is.

To comment upon the statements of fact here made, or upon the tone in which the highest law-officer of the nation addressed the highest tribunal of his country, would be as ill-timed as it would be vain. The Attorney-General said, with truth, that the controversy was largely political ; but, the case once decided, politics had an end. Then a duty which should have outweighed any political consideration intervened ; for to him, above all men, was confided the trust of maintaining the law of the land. If the administration thought that the decision crippled the government, the remedy was plain. They should have caused a constitutional amendment to be submitted to the people. The people alone, in such an emergency, have the right to determine what the safety and the welfare of their country demand. But an attempt to change the declared law, not by an amendment to the Constitution, not even by convincing the judges that they have erred, but by drowning their voices with the votes of men upon whose commissions the President's signature is yet wet, approaches revolution.

No such deadly blow has been ever struck at our form of government. The Supreme Court is the corner-stone on which the fabric rests. Without an independent judiciary, constitutional limitations are a mockery, for there can be no other curb upon the majority. This barrier gone, Congress is absolute. Yet a worse misfortune may befall us than to see the court stripped of power ; for the way has been opened for making the greatest of tribunals a party tool, and for prostrating it at the feet of politicians.

At that time the court refused the re-hearing ; but a year later, *Knox v. Lee* and *Parker v. Davis* were argued. On the first of May, 1871, judgment was entered in both cases. The constitutionality of the legal-tender laws was then affirmed, and the judgment in *Hepburn v. Griswold* reversed by a vote of five judges to four, — Justices Bradley and Strong siding with the majority.

The opinion was delivered by Justice Strong. The impression left upon the mind after reading it is, that, though the judges were agreed upon the conclusion, they could not agree upon the premises

from which that conclusion was reached. The acts of 1862-63, making treasury notes a legal tender for the payment of debts, were held to be an appropriate means for carrying into execution the powers of the government at the time they were enacted. There, however, the court stopped. The precise power for the execution of which the issue of legal tenders is an appropriate means is nowhere designated. The majority of the judges were careful not to commit themselves to any definite constitutional construction, and confined themselves to deciding the law upon the facts presented at the bar. Thus it happens that the decision which would be reached, were the facts somewhat altered, must be largely matter of conjecture. Recent legislation has, however, materially changed the facts. The original legal-tender laws have been repealed. In 1875, Congress passed the Resumption Act,¹ providing for the redemption of the government notes in coin on and after Jan. 1, 1879; and also providing, in the mean time, for the contraction of the legal-tender currency to three hundred million dollars. In this act no provision was made for reissuing any note which should be redeemed in coin on or after Jan. 1, 1879. Therefore it became evident that, sooner or later, should resumption prove successful, greenbacks must be swept out of existence. To prevent such a result, Congress passed an act in 1878,² directing the Secretary of the Treasury to reissue notes redeemed according to law, and by this means maintain the volume of paper at three hundred millions. It is the constitutionality of this last act which is denied. By *Knox v. Lee*, it was finally settled that in time of war Congress may make paper money a legal tender in payment of debts: so much is clear. When the case upon the statute of 1878 comes up, the court will have to go further. It will then be forced to determine whether this power over the currency is only incidental to the general grant of power to levy war; or whether Congress has authority to emit legal tenders in time of peace, under some other grant or grants in the Constitution.

¹ Acts of 1875, c. 15.

² Acts of 1878, c. 146. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that from and after the passage of this act, it shall not be lawful for the Secretary of the Treasury, or other officer under him, to cancel or retire any more of the United States legal-tender notes. And when any of said notes may be redeemed or received into the Treasury under any law, from any source whatever, and shall belong to the United States, they shall not be retired, cancelled, or destroyed, but they shall be reissued and paid out again, and kept in circulation. *Provided*, That nothing herein shall prohibit the cancellation and destruction of mutilated notes, and the issue of other notes of like denomination in their stead, as now provided by law. All acts and parts of acts in conflict herewith are hereby repealed.

Should the judges hold it to be a war-power, their position will be strong. They might well recognize the fact that, in time of danger, Congress must be practically absolute. To defend the country, the government can draft every man into the armies; it can take every dollar of our property in taxes; it may lay our homes in ashes; it may keep every ship in port; it may imprison us without trial; it may hang us by martial law. Why may it not confiscate debts, should that be thought necessary for the public safety? Without at all shaking *Knox v. Lee*, the court might well hold that this power stands on the footing of the writ of *habeas corpus*, which shall not be suspended unless, when in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it. Moreover, such a decision would not be open to the charge of being judicial legislation. There would be no usurpation of the functions of Congress. The court would declare the act of 1878 void, but it would not do so upon economical or political grounds. On the contrary, it would lay down the broad rule that this is one of those extraordinary powers the exercise of which is justifiable in time of war, but for which there is no constitutional sanction in time of peace. No rule could be simpler, or easier of application, for war is a fact within judicial knowledge, of which the bench is bound to take notice. That the effect of such a judgment would be beneficial, few conservative men can doubt. Not only would this harassing question be set at rest; not only would the people regain some portion of that protection against their own folly that the Constitution was meant to afford, and the Supreme Court some portion of its old ascendancy, — but the decision would mark the close of the epoch of strained construction that was inevitable in years of violence, and a return to the sounder precedents of earlier times.

That the judges will view the issue from this standpoint is, however, doubtful. Though they are not committed as a body, some of them have expressed opinions from which it may not be easy to recede; and the act, if held valid, may not improbably be sustained by reasoning which will strike at the heart of the federal system.

The war-power apart, advocates of legal tenders derive authority for their issue from one or all of the following sources: 1. From the power to coin money. 2. From the power to borrow money and to pay debts. 3. From what is termed a resulting power from the aggregate of all the powers of the government. Touching the grant of the right to coin money and regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, little need be said. The plain meaning of the words is so

opposed to that sought to be put upon them, that it is very improbable the Supreme Court will ever set them up as the clause in the Constitution which enables Congress to print the word "dollar" on a scrap of paper, and enact that it shall pass as a coin. This assumption becomes almost a certainty in view of the frank admission by Mr. Justice Miller, in the dissenting opinion in *Hepburn v. Griswold*, that he was unable to see in those words, standing alone, a sufficient warrant for the exercise of this power. After so decided an intimation from such an authority, this clause may well be dismissed from further consideration here.

Neither does the permission to borrow money, even taken in its broadest sense, afford a premise from which the required conclusion can be deduced. On the contrary, the spirit of this grant and the meaning to which it must be twisted are as hostile to one another as honesty is to theft. The government, under well defined restrictions and in conformity with old and well established rules of law, may, under certain circumstances, take the property of the citizen without his consent. For example, his goods may be taken for taxes, or his land for public use under the right of eminent domain. In both of these instances, the process is an acknowledged taking by paramount right recognized by the laws, and the power within proper limitations has never been disputed. In both, the citizen is entitled to receive, and is in fact supposed to receive, full compensation for his loss ; but neither proceeding has ever been thought to have any thing in common with the act of borrowing.

"To borrow" means to take from another by request and consent ; in other words, to make a contract to which both sides agree. The government borrows money when it sells its bonds to the highest bidder. It also borrows money when it gives its notes in payment of its debts, to such of its creditors as choose to take them. Should such notes be issued to excess, they depreciate ; but in that event no one takes them at their nominal value. The government thus borrows exactly like a private person, by issuing its promissory notes which circulate at par while the public credit is good, but which are taken at a discount if confidence is impaired. Legal tenders effect no such purpose. The only advantage they have over treasury notes is that creditors are forced to receive them at their nominal value in payment of existing debts. Hence, when they depreciate, the government can discharge its obligations at a profit exactly equal to the per cent at which its paper stands below par. The theory of those who

maintain that the issue of legal-tender currency is a means necessary and proper to carry into effect the power to borrow money, or to pay debts, rests on the assumption that this profit which the government makes, by paying its debts with paper worth less than its nominal value, is one way of negotiating a loan ; and that such dealing is a payment within the intent of the Constitution. No words are necessary to demonstrate either the fallacy or the knavery of such a proposition. Debts so paid are not paid with the consent of the creditor, the loan is not negotiated with the free will of the lender, and no compensation is given the citizen for the loss inflicted on him by the government. It is not a tax, for it burdens only those to whom others are indebted. When property is taken from a man by force and without compensation, it is called confiscation if taken by his government, and robbery if by his neighbor.

In time of peace, when men are neither maddened by passion nor blinded by fear, that such gross perversion of the meaning of words and of the intent of law should be solemnly sanctioned by the highest court in the land, is inconceivable. Until such a decision is actually made, we are justified in believing that the Supreme Court of the United States will not consent to stand upon such ground.

Probably if the Act of 1878 is sustained at all, it will be upheld as an exercise of one of those powers that result to Congress from the aggregate of all the powers of government. This theory has at any rate the merit of simplicity. Once thoroughly establish it, and constitutional law may be mastered without prolonged effort. The argument is this: The people are assumed to have endowed their government with all the powers usually incidental to sovereignty ; power to emit legal-tender paper currency is one of the powers usually incidental to sovereignty: therefore, Congress has power to emit legal tenders. Under such construction constitutional limitations are at an end. If power to issue paper money is held to exist not because it is granted, but because the judges think that the people ought to have meant to grant it, or would have granted it had they thought of it, or because they think it impossible to establish a government without it, there is no power which has ever been exercised by parliament that Congress may not lay claim to, except those few which are expressly forbidden. Moreover, as questions of political expediency are for the legislature alone, the exigency which demands the employment of these extraordinary powers, and the length of time during which they shall be kept in force, are matters

for Congress in its wisdom to determine. Nowhere is the point better stated than in the dissenting opinion of the late Chief-Justice in *Knox v. Lee*: —

It is unnecessary to say, that we reject wholly the doctrine advanced for the first time, we believe, in this court, by the present majority, that the legislature has any "powers under the Constitution which grow out of the aggregate of powers conferred upon the government, or out of the sovereignty instituted by it." If this proposition be admitted, and it be also admitted that the legislature is the sole judge of the necessity for the exercise of such powers, the government becomes practically absolute and unlimited.

That such a theory is diametrically opposed to the intentions and reasoning of the founders of this government is matter of history. All may convince themselves on this point who will consult the books. What Hamilton feared seems likely to come to pass. Congress is gradually usurping all powers not expressly forbidden. To extend the doctrine of implied powers, so far as it must be extended in order to cover the power to emit legal-tender currency in time of peace, must kill the vital principle of the Constitution, leaving us only the empty shell. The gravity of this question is so great that no attempt to bring it before the people can be ill-timed. The founders of the republic were among the greatest statesmen who have ever lived. They well knew the difficulty of their task. They foresaw that a government based on manhood suffrage, without an aristocracy or a permanent executive, must lack much of that strong conservative bias which has made the institutions of England stable beyond precedent. There was nothing upon which to rely save the respect the people felt for law. This they made use of with consummate wisdom. The power of the executive had long been confined within narrow bounds by the control of the legislature over the purse: the problem to be solved was how to limit the power of the legislature. They determined to do this by means of the judiciary. They defined the powers of Congress in a written constitution, which could be interpreted by a bench of judges. So long as these judges would do their duty, and so long as they could maintain their authority, there would be nothing to fear, because any act of usurpation would be held void, and the people could not be forced to obey invalid statutes. The experiment has been attacked as artificial, as complicated, as demanding more than human wisdom of the judges, and more than human moderation of the politicians. The best answer to such attacks is, that for three quarters of a century its success was

brilliant. The judiciary took its stand boldly, and maintained its position in a series of judgments which are without a parallel in legal history. Only Americans can fully comprehend the mighty genius of Chief-Justice Marshall, or can rightly value those marvelous opinions by which he raised his court to the summit of judicial greatness. To him, more than to any other man, did our system owe its success ; and that system seems now tottering to its fall. In the struggle upon *Hepburn v. Griswold*, the Supreme Court was overthrown by partisans burning with the passions of the civil war. The last step yet remains to be taken ; the judiciary may abdicate its highest functions, and withdraw from the political field. Such will be the probable result of a decision sustaining the Act of 1878. The great conservative barrier will then be broken down. Under written constitutions interpreted by bold and able judges, the legislature has been kept within its proper sphere, and Americans have enjoyed prosperity and happiness far exceeding any thing that has fallen to the lot of other nations. Under this system, the people have been contented, life and property have been safe, liberty and justice have been secured to all men, the rights of the minority have been respected. Whether this people will be as well governed, as happy, and as free, when the will of the majority in Congress shall have unbridled sway, time alone can show.

THE SHAKSPEARE REVIVAL IN LONDON.

A FEW years ago, we, the play-goers of London, lay under the grave charge of indifference to Shakspeare. When his works were placed upon the stage, we would not pay for the privilege of seeing them. The legitimate actor might roar as gently as a sucking dove, but our wayward feet strayed into the paths of burlesque, and danced to the giddy music of Offenbach. No name was too bad for us. Managers who boasted souls for art wept over the vulgar needs which compelled them to consider their pockets. Great players, who had borne banners before Macready, fretted their little hour on the London boards, and retired with dignity to the more appreciative provinces. Meanwhile, we, careless as Gallio, went hither and thither in search of amusement, and found it here and there.

What was the reason of this culpable indifference to the higher drama? The degeneracy of the age, that phrase which of all phrases is allowed the least repose; the depravity of morals, the fatal influence of Paris, — these and a thousand other explanations were found for the lamentable fact. A profound thinker, who loves to go to the root of a matter, proclaimed that poetry had had its day, that the age was scientific and careless of the Muse. Everybody had a reason to offer, and while persons of more or less profundity were discussing the causes of the fact, suddenly the fact was not. The greatest of Shakspeare's plays was represented, and we were all crowding into the theatre. Then the truth became clear. We were not Vandals after all. On the contrary, it was once more proved that the play-going cockney is a sagacious creature, nicely discriminating between the theatres which he will visit with an order and those wherein a seat is worth money; not great in argument but with a happy instinct. We had not partaken of the mediæval banquet because it had been villanously served; we had not moved to the Elizabethan measures because they had been vilely played; we had passed by the dramas of Shakspeare because they had been acted badly, — not only badly but carelessly, without study, without thought, often without knowledge

of the words. Better a thousand times is a good burlesque than a careless performance of "Othello." Here and there, in the arid desert of forced hilarity and excruciating distortion of honest words, is an oasis of humor, where a man may laugh without shame. There are many players who will be funny, if their purveyors of patter do not prevent. So we went where we were amused, and left the robustious periwig-pated fellow to shout his meditations at the gallery, to roll his eyes at the prompter, and to mangle the most melodious verse which man ever wrote. Managers in want of a novelty would scrape together a company, pitch-fork "Macbeth" on to the boards, and presently write to the "Times," to deplore more in sorrow than in anger that there was no support for the legitimate drama. The word "legitimate" had become a warning, a word of offence, signifying pretension with incompetence, sound without sense, a tale told by an idiot to a sparse gathering of his kind. If an actor of intelligence were engaged, he was the attraction, the star; and his fellows were the less brilliant, the more repulsive. Macbeth was surrounded by such criminals, such murderers of poetry and of the Queen's English itself, that his offences dwindled to insignificance. After the suppression of Duncan and Banquo, we began to indulge an unholy hope that he would make a clean sweep of the lot. Othello might have smothered his troupe, and we had not changed color. The manner in which the plays of Shakspeare were presented on the London stage a few short years ago defies description. It is to the honor of us simple play-goers of the metropolis, that we silently resented the repeated insults offered to a great poet; that we welcomed burlesque princes and clever rope-dancers, sensation headers and performing dogs, as a less degrading form of amusement. We were not beguiled by the arts of managers. The great attraction drew the smallest houses; the stars in their loneliness paled their ineffectual fires. "Shakspeare spelt Ruin."

Now all is changed. Our indifference has its reward. It occurred to some persons of illumination that the works of Shakspeare were worth an actor's study. An actor studied the part of Hamlet, and we all went to see him. Where is now the neglect of the Shakspearian drama? The studious actor has become a manager, has engaged actors who are at least careful and conscientious, and an actress who has genius. So all is changed. Stalls and boxes are engaged for many nights to come; the pit door is besieged in broad daylight; the gallery is thronged with artistic enthusiasts. There is

not a burlesque which does such business. Care has been expended on the performance; and the London play-goers are delighted.

Now, a question arises which is of great interest to us, and may be of some interest to our "kin beyond sea." Will this last? Will this theatre, which has opened its doors, its decorations, its superior comfort to such a flood of prosperity, remain the home of the poetic drama? Shall we see a goodly series of Shakspeare's works adequately, or at least carefully, conscientiously, and thoughtfully performed? Let us consider the dangers first. There is one, unfortunately, which is very obvious. The future depends too much on two players,—Mr. Henry Irving and Miss Ellen Terry. There are many good actors in London, and a few good actresses; but these are for the most part walking in other paths of the drama, or starring in other spheres. Here is one effect of our pernicious star system: every body not wholly opaque desires to be a star. There are good men therefore on whom we must not count. We must limit our view to the Lyceum Theatre, where we must suppose (for we are told so) that the manager has gathered the best people whom he could command. Now, in this company there are actors to whom we may be grateful for study and care; but from the company stand out conspicuously these two,—Miss Ellen Terry and Mr. Henry Irving. Here is a grave danger. An illness, a dispute, a coldness, any one of the thousand accidents of daily life, may ruin our hopes. Even if they escape ruin, they must at least be strictly limited. There are some of the greatest works of Shakspeare which we do not wish to see, unless more talent be discovered.

Since, then, our hopes must for the present rest on but two players, let us pass to the consideration of their qualities. It is an ungrateful task to one who is full of gratitude to both for much pleasure and profit. I may define myself as a warm admirer, with a desire to grumble. I am an old admirer, too. I remember that in the darkest days of the drama, when we were so culpably indifferent to Shakspeare, I saw these two artists play together as Katharine and Petruchio. It was a curtailed and, I think, somewhat mangled version of "The Taming of the Shrew;" and it was played before myself and a few good souls in the pit, as a forerunner of some mechanical monster which has vanished into oblivion, with its real fires, waters, mills, steamboats, and steam-engines. Two impressions of Katharine and Petruchio remain with me. I remember that the lady laughed immoderately at her own shrewishness. I think that there was more

simple force in the gentleman than has been apparent in some of Mr. Irving's more ambitious efforts. He banged his servants about with a certain heartiness, and was humorous without being elaborately grotesque. One saw less of the machinery. The art was not so great as now ; but it was also less paraded. Now, one cannot ignore the study. Hamlet smells of the lamp. Expression and action are often excellent, but seldom appear spontaneous. We are amazed by the cleverness, but lack faith. It is only once or twice that we forget to criticise and admire the actor, while we stare breathless at the prince himself. His movements are full of expression and most subtle suggestion, but do not seem quite natural. His speech is often admirable, especially in short sentences ; but he indulges himself in such perverse pronunciation that he is too often unintelligible. He is often good when he speaks ; he is generally better when he moves without speech ; he is best when he neither speaks nor moves. This sounds like paradox, if not insult ; but anybody who remembers Mr. Irving, when, as Richard III., he listened to the raving of Queen Margaret, will acknowledge how supremely good an artist can be in absolute repose. Silent and motionless, he expressed to the full self-confidence, malignity, and measureless contempt. He was a living picture. There are a few portraits in which the painter has recorded, not only the face and limbs of a man or woman, but the inmost secrets of a character. This figure standing on the hearth, and listening to a virago, was this and more. There was a demonic power about him. He breathed evil.

The one essential quality of a great actor is the power of conceiving a character as a whole. This quality Mr. Irving has, and it may well excuse many deficiencies. He has a natural sympathy with Shakspeare, an instinctive recognition of the men whom Shakspeare made. But he does not trust to instinct alone. It is clear that he is a close student of the text ; that by all means he seeks to understand the minutest details of the character which he intends to represent. He shows a due respect for the creations of the poet ; and he succeeds, as with his natural sympathy and close study he deserves to succeed, in comprehending the poet's meaning. This is indeed much : for this we, groundlings and all, are cordially grateful ; for this we go to see him. If we go to see him in a new part, we feel sure that he has formed with all due care and pains a conception of the character as a whole ; that he has diligently picked to pieces and put together ; that he believes himself to understand the man whom he will en-

deavor to represent to us. I share his belief. I believe that in almost every case, in almost every detail, he does understand the man. But it by no means follows that he can represent him satisfactorily. Here a host of other considerations come in. His gestures are always expressive, but too often over-elaborate or fantastic. For the most part, he is too slow in action as in speech. Yet, though he speaks slowly, he does not speak clearly. It is evident that his natural voice is peculiar; but I must believe that he might give the common vowel sounds more justly. No man with the organs of ordinary humanity is compelled to pronounce "God" like "cart." But, though he may yet speak better, his voice must remain peculiar; and its peculiarities must limit his sphere of action. Where violent emotion has to be expressed, his voice sounds thin and strained, — the articulation is faulty.

Mr. Irving knows well when his speech should be violent, and he is most ingenious in indicating what he cannot fully express; but there is a want of power. So the character, which he has grasped as a whole, he represents unequally. One remembers Macbeth in his doubt, remorse, despair, but only by an effort in his defiance and rage. There remains a clear picture of Richard, malignant, cajoling, and contemptuous; and but a faint outline of the monarch leaping from dreamful sleep, awful to the hurrying messengers, rioting in battle. He would play Iago better than Othello; but here our poverty comes home to us, for who in England can play the Moor? I do not desire, nor I suppose do other play-going cockneys desire, that Mr. Irving should renounce all characters which he cannot completely represent. In all that he does, there is so much good that his attempts are justified. Instances of delightful ingenuity, of happy subtlety, crowd thick upon the memory. Only the actor's cleverness and his many points are too much the objects of our admiration. Macbeth, Othello, Richard, live again for us only at moments, not whole and abiding till the curtain falls. Hamlet endures the best, but in his case we see the ropes too much. It is a capital performance; but it has been too much studied, or the study is not well enough concealed. I should like to see Mr. Irving play Richard II., if it would sufficiently excite the groundlings. How well he would show the quick changes of mood in that king, spoiled yet amiable, with the pretty fancy, liberal of simile and metaphor, dilettante; like a fine gentleman-poet comparing the world with his prison, and dying therein like a hero. With what quick ebb and flow he faces his dangers!

“ Not all the water in the rough, rude sea
Can wash the balm off from an anointed king ! ”

“ All souls that will be safe, fly from my side. ”

“ Is not the king’s name twenty thousand names ? ”

“ Of comfort no man speak :
Let’s talk of graves, of worms, and epitaphs ;

For God’s sake, let us sit upon the ground
And tell sad stories of the death of kings. ”

All that scene is supremely good, and the actor has a talent for expressing such changes.

But I will not linger over our hopes. There is one character which we must see, for Mr. Irving must perforce play the part. He will play Shylock with great success. It is a great task, and one for which he is eminently suited. He may, if he will, show us the real Jew, and move our sympathy and aversion in just proportion. We may sympathize with his indignation at the wrongs of his fellow-Hebrews ; at the stealing of his daughter ; with the temperate man’s abhorrence of Christian profligacy and vanity. He is cruel and full of guile ; but guile is the weapon of the weak and oppressed, and his cruelty is mere justice in his eyes. He has no doubt of his own virtue. His is the rebellion of a deep, repressed, narrow nature. He demands justice — hungering for revenge. Much emphasis is generally laid on Shylock’s treachery and hypocrisy ; but save for some two speeches his manner is defiant from the first. In spite of his desire to get the merchant into his power, in spite of the need of guile, his deep-seated antipathy breaks out into speech. At last, when it seems that his end is gained, he stands before the hostile Duke, girt about by foes, with dignity, almost with grandeur. Dear as money is to him, revenge for the wrongs of himself and of his race is above price. It is only when he is cheated of this supreme good that the meaner passion asserts itself, and he falls into contempt and enforced baptism. It is a great part to play, a great character to represent ; and Mr. Irving would play it cleverly, and represent it well.

There is another good reason why the “ Merchant of Venice ” should be given at the Lyceum. Miss Ellen Terry can *be* Portia, if she likes. She has played it in London, and with rare charm. Indeed, if one may venture on such guesses, she has much in common with Portia. Portia, as she draws in quick succession the portraits

of her suitors, is delighted with their comicality. She has a keen sense of humor; and so has Miss Terry. In this scene she may laugh at her own creations. She finds a new strength in her most dangerous weakness. For herein lies her danger: she has a strong tendency to laugh in the wrong place. Now she is the character which she represents; now she stands outside it and laughs at it. She will make you cry; and, while your manly handkerchief is furtively mopping a tear, her own will be hiding laughter. At times she despises her audience, and even her art. She appears unequal, and even capricious. On natures delicately organized, the brutalizing system of long "runs" has the worst possible effect. The actress becomes bored with a monotonous task. One night, she is in the mood and is perfect; on the next, she is out of sorts and gets through it somehow. The system may be good for the pocket: it is certainly bad for the art. It may well be doubted whether acting will ever take its proper place in England, will ever be worthily ranked with the fine arts, until this custom be banished from the best theatres. It benumbs the artist's intelligence, and makes coarse the delicacy of his acting; it intensifies mannerisms and fosters carelessness. I have seen Miss Terry as Ophelia twice. On both occasions she was equally good. I have tried to imagine a better Ophelia, and have failed. To play Ophelia is an easy matter in comparison with the difficulty of playing Hamlet; yet to play Ophelia as Miss Terry can play it is a great triumph. But who dare hope that the lady, if she be doomed to appear as Ophelia for two hundred nights, will for two hundred nights be perfect? One cannot thus play tricks with perfection. No woman that ever played can be a living poem for two hundred nights in succession: the poetry evaporates. If you put a thoroughbred horse in a mill, you only spoil the animal. Picking oakum is not favorable to the artistic temperament. On the hundred and ninety-ninth night Ophelia will laugh at her own madness. If we are to have a fit home for the poetic drama, this monstrous system must be changed. Before Ophelia has degenerated, let us see Juliet. Let us above all things see Rosalind; for Miss Ellen Terry as Rosalind could, an' she would, charm Shakspeare, who might have written the part for her.

Whereon, then, rest our hopes of a Shakspearian theatre? Here is a good play-house, made comfortable and handsome by one of the best upholsterers. The manager has taste, energy, and luck. This manager is, moreover, a studious and talented, eminently an interest-

ing, actor. He is assisted by a lady who has great gifts, and who is especially fit for the poetic drama. But there is cause for fear as well as for hope. More than enough has been said of the peculiarities of these two artists. There is graver danger in the fact that they are so far in advance of their company. We must wait for the development of younger actors, — wait with patience, if with anxiety. Will there arise imitators of Mr. Irving? If so, what will they imitate? Will they learn from him to spare no pains, that they may represent a poet's creations as well as in them lies? Will they be studious, careful, and subtile? or will they copy the actor's mannerisms, and mispronounce their vowels? Will the young women, who dedicate themselves to the noble work of representing the women of Shakspeare, respect the art? If they have not genius (and genius is not to be found under every bonnet), they may at least study and take pains; may try to be what they seem, from the rise to the fall of the curtain. For the growth of a school we must wait; but we need not wait for the end of the baleful system of running plays like cab-horses, till they drop. It is, I believe, held by managers, that we are such fools that, if one play be played on Monday and another on Tuesday, no advertisement will prevent us from coming on the wrong night; that we are so irascible that, having been once in error, we shall come to that play-house no more. They do us injustice. We are sensible, and we can learn. We should soon acquire the habit of consulting the programme for the week, as we already consult that of the opera. The death-blow of the system of long "runs" is essential to first-rate art. If a man, who painted a successful picture, were compelled to paint a hundred like it, how would it affect his touch? Imagine a violinist of genius forced to play an admired concerto every night for a year or two! Must we wait for a sensible reform, until an actor goes mad and babbles his poetic lines in an asylum?

But, it may be asked, what is this to Americans? It may be said that, if we were indifferent to bad representations of Shakspeare's plays, we were not more indifferent to them than you are to our indifference; that you care not a jot whether we prefer Shakspeare to Lecoque, or Lecoque to Shakspeare. It may be so. But I think otherwise. As a shrewd nation, you are well aware that in these days fashion travels by telegraph. If we acquire a theatre, where the poetic drama is shown to us; where care and generous outlay given to such dramas is found to pay; wherein long "runs" are not, — you are likely to get one again, despite Mr. Booth's recent failure in this

direction ; a failure which is of ill-omen to all revivals of Shakspeare. Moreover, what more likely than that one or both of the artists whom I have mentioned by name, may some day seek fresh laurels on your side of the water. Then will arise the clamor of criticism, of argument, of admiration, of detraction. It is safe to prophesy excitement ; for these artists may be criticised, but not ignored. They are at least vastly interesting.

So I end, half in hope, half in fear. There stands the theatre, well appointed and well adapted to its purpose. Will a school grow up within it ? If so, will it be good ? Will the present care, study, and generous outlay last ? Will plays be run to death, or a wiser system of variety prevail ? These questions I cannot answer. But one thing I know. It will pay to trust us, to believe that we have a sense of what is good. The managers who make fortunes are those who never deceive us ; who have never beguiled us to ill-acted, half-prepared performances, by glowing advertisements of crammed houses and stupendous success ; who always insist on study and on many rehearsals ; who pay liberally for good acting, and for the fit mounting of every piece. The clever, shifty, screwy manager is like the cabman who overdrives his horse for another half-crown ; like the good fellow who marries for money. The cabman makes his half-crown, but his horse is laid up for a week. To the foolish the mercenary lover appears practical ; but his chances of happiness are small : he is a visionary, with small appreciation of facts. The manager may gull us once ; but we for the most part dumbly resent the trick, and we return to his place no more, — unless he send us an order.

Such men are we, the habitual play-goers of London ; somewhat cold in approval, and not free from prejudice ; half fish and wholly islander, yet not Caliban. We are not easily warmed to enthusiasm ; but, if our trust be once secured, we are not easily changed.

ENGLAND AND TURKEY.

1856-1876.

IT is generally agreed that England "drifted" into the Crimean war almost unconsciously. Mr. Kinglake, in his brilliant history, has endeavored to prove that this *drift* was directed by Napoleon III., and has made out a very good case. Others have attempted to show that the war was a necessary result of the aggressive policy of Russia ; and this has been, for twenty years past, the favorite theory in England. But whatever may have been its origin, it is certain that the conflict was finally brought to a close by the Emperor of France, in opposition to the almost unanimous wish of the English. Whether England was or was not the cat's-paw of France at the outset, at least it is certain that she alone, of all the nations engaged, gained no sufficient compensation for her immense expenditure of men and money. On the contrary, she lost what prestige she had formerly enjoyed at Constantinople: she lost the friendship of Russia, and to a certain extent that of Austria and of Prussia. Whereas Napoleon III. gained not only the recognition of his usurpation, but also of his claim to be the most powerful sovereign in Europe. Italy gained a hearing in Europe, which in due time secured for her both unity and independence. Turkey was received, as she never had been before, on equal terms into the family of European nations. Even from a military point of view, England rather lost than gained in reputation. Her fleets accomplished nothing in the Baltic. Her commissariat broke down at the very outset in the Crimea. Her troops, though brave, were badly officered, and most of the laurels of the war were won by the French. England was only just ready for the fray, when the war closed.

But there was no help for all this ; and the English government philosophically accepted the situation, and sought to secure in the Congress of Paris such general advantages as might be set off against the mistakes and misfortunes of the war. The two great ends which she sought were the humiliation of Russia and the strengthening of

the Ottoman empire; and Russia was humiliated, very bitterly. Her situation was in every respect deplorable, and she had to submit to terms which were moderated only by the policy of Napoleon and the matchless diplomacy of Count Cavour. The second object was not so easily to be attained; for it involved not only the protection of Turkey from external aggression, but also the cure of those internal maladies which were known to be rapidly consuming her vigor. For the healing of these, the famous charter of rights, known as the Hatt-i-houmayoun, was devised under the inspiration of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, solemnly promulgated by Sultan Abd-ul-Medjid, and included, accompanied with certain precautions, in the Treaty of Paris. Thus the work was crowned; and there was a day of jubilee through all Europe, save only in defeated Russia. England, France, and Italy welcomed home their victorious armies with every possible demonstration of joy; and statesmen rejoiced that the Eastern question, so long the *bête-noir* of diplomacy, had at last been settled. It has been reported, though how credibly cannot be determined, that some of the wiser heads of England were in favor of postponing the return of a part of the allied forces from Turkey, until the changes promised by the Hatt-i-houmayoun should have been accomplished. The sultan would doubtless have made no objection to such an arrangement; for he was an honest man, and unquestionably intended to keep his promises. But France would not listen to the proposition; for the emperor was now as anxious to finish the business as he had formerly been to begin it. Count Cavour, too, had sent his brave Sardinians to the East only to lay a foundation for a united Italy, not to reform Turkey.

It is possible that even the continued presence of Lord Stratford in Turkey might have answered the same end as an army of occupation. But he, too, had soon to be sacrificed to the exigencies of Napoleon III.; and in his place came Sir Henry Bulwer, a man of brilliant talents, but without any statesmanlike qualities, moral character, or sound judgment; a man who had made trouble wherever he had been,—in Spain, in France, and in America. Under his evil influence, the English government seems practically to have adopted the theory that the independence of the Turkish government was of more importance than its reformation; or, it may rather be, that they believed, if its independence was secure, it would in due time carry out of its own accord all necessary reforms. Sir Henry Bulwer himself adopted the extreme view that the Hatt-i-houmayoun was an

entire mistake. In a despatch, dated Therapia, Nov. 18, 1860, he writes to Earl Russell: "The Hatt-i-houmayoun itself was merely valuable as a declaration of principles which might serve as a landmark for future legislation. It did nothing in itself in the way of legislation, and I doubt much whether, by pointing too suddenly and extensively at an entire alteration in manners and feelings, it did not give rise to many of the evils which usually follow such experiments, and actually followed those of the same kind made in France in the eighteenth century." While the British ambassador held these views, it is evident that no pressure could be put upon the Turks to compel them to fulfil their promises. From this time forth, the British government seems to have regarded the Treaty of Paris as having simply secured the humiliation of Russia and the absolute independence of Turkey. Lord Stratford had entertained no such idea of Turkish independence, and he had for many years occupied a position of commanding influence, being both feared and obeyed by the Ottoman government. His successors, however, now adopted the opposite plan of treating the Turks like spoiled children, and sought to gain influence by gratifying every whim of the sultan. The result was such as might have been expected. English influence in Turkey sank to the lowest ebb, and France became supreme at Constantinople, and continued so until the fall of Napoleon III. During this period, it does not appear that she ever seriously attempted to secure the execution of the Hatt-i-houmayoun, although she did interest herself in the introduction of many minor reforms in the administration. Most of these failed, because they were adopted in a form so thoroughly French as to make it impossible for the Turks to comprehend and apply them.

As to the Turks themselves, they had neither the desire nor the ability to carry out a project so essentially revolutionary as was contained in the Hatt-i-houmayoun. Even the sultan himself probably had not appreciated the real force of these promises when he made them. The Turkish government has always been a religious despotism, — almost a theocracy. Its ruler is Kaliph, the recognized successor of the prophet. He administers the *Sheraat*, or sacred law of Islam, as the only law of the empire. His power is upheld by a Moslem army, which marches under the holy standard of Mahomet. His Christian subjects are simply tolerated, and have no part in the government. The Hatt-i-houmayoun proposed to change the government from a religious to a national form; to recognize the

entire equality of Moslem and Christian; to abolish the sacred law and replace it by a civil code; to change the army from a Mahometan to an Ottoman force, by the admission of Christians; and to open the highest offices of the empire to all subjects of the sultan, without distinction of creed. Such a fundamental and revolutionary change might possibly have been made under the pressure of force at the close of the Crimean war; but since that time no Turkish statesman has ever had the power to undertake such a work. It must be admitted that its failure to keep these promises has no doubt been more the misfortune than the fault of the Turkish government.

In giving a more detailed view of the events of these twenty years, we may divide them into three periods; covering respectively the missions of Sir Henry Bulwer, of Lord Lyons, and of Sir Henry Elliott.

The death of Rechid Pacha the Turkish reformer, and the removal of Lord Stratford early in 1858, were followed by the arrival of Sir Henry Bulwer as British ambassador, in July of the same year. He held the post until the end of 1865, when he was removed chiefly on account of his disgraceful intrigues with the Viceroy of Egypt. Of his character we have already spoken. His own view of his mission may be found in a series of letters "From the East," written by him for the "Pall Mall Gazette" early in 1867. These very remarkable effusions, the authorship of which was apparent before it was formally announced, are chiefly devoted to the glorification of himself and of the Turks. In them he declares that the "Hatt-i-houmayoun, which not thirty persons in Europe ever read," was a mistake, and that Turkey made more progress in reform during his mission than all Europe besides. It may be safely said that to-day not a single man could be found in the world, who would accept this view of those seven years. The principal events of Turkish history during this period were the insurrection in Crete in 1858-59; the Montenegrin wars in 1861-62; the revolution in the Danubian principalities in 1859; the bombardment of Belgrade and other troubles with Servia in 1861-62; the massacres of Jeddah in 1858, and of Syria in 1860; the conspiracy against Abd-ul-Medjid in 1859, and the accession of Abd-ul-Aziz in 1861; the demands of the Bulgarians for a separate church organization, and the consequent agitation in that province throughout this period; the attempts at financial reform which resulted in the pretence of a budget in 1861, and in the reality of the issue of new foreign loans in 1858, 1860, 1862, 1863, and 1865, amount-

ing in all to nearly thirty million pounds sterling. These events led to interventions on the part of the European powers in 1859, 1860, 1861, and 1862; to the occupation of Syria for a year by French troops; and very nearly to a general occupation of European Turkey, and the appointment of an international commission to govern the empire. It was during these years that the Circassians were colonized in the Christian provinces of European Turkey, to recruit the Mahometan population; and in 1864 the government, by a violent persecution of converts and by attacks upon the missionaries, put an end to the conversion of Moslems to Christianity. Throughout the entire period, taxes were increasing, commerce was declining, and misery and distress prevailed among all classes.

Such were the immediate results of the Crimean war; and such were the events in regard to which Sir Henry Bulwer boasts, "*quorum pars magna fui.*" It is unhappily true that while during these years England had little influence which was of any value to herself, or of any advantage to the people of Turkey, her ambassador did have an important part in helping on the ruin of the country. It was in no small degree due to his false reports, that the Turks succeeded in borrowing such large sums of money in England. It was by his advice that the half savage Circassians were colonized among the peaceful Christian villages of Bulgaria; by his advice that the Turks refused to grant any privileges to the Bulgarian majority of the Orthodox Church, and thus stirred up an agitation which resulted in the events of 1876; by his advice that the government undertook to maintain its Mahometan character intact, by preventing the conversion of Moslems to Christianity. He even went so far as to advocate the abolition of the capitulations, which would have resulted in putting Christian foreigners in Turkey upon the same footing as the natives. It was chiefly through his influence that the English government was led to accept the doctrine that the independence of Turkey was of more importance than the reform of Turkey, and that it ceased to favor the execution of the Hatt-i-houmayoun. There is no doubt that he was engaged in intrigues with the heir to the throne, and it was believed that he was concerned in the conspiracy against Abdul-Medjid in 1859. His intrigues with the Viceroy of Egypt finally cost him his place. He perhaps influenced, though he did not actually direct, the policy of the English government in regard to Syria and the provinces of European Turkey. With this brief outline of his doings, we may here take leave of this mischievous

diplomat, with the remark that the Turks never had a more dangerous counsellor.

The English government acted vigorously, and the English people nobly, at the outbreak of those terrible massacres which deluged Mount Lebanon with blood, and which were countenanced, if not ordered, by the Turkish government. It was no doubt jealousy of France, rather than love of Turkey, which controlled the later negotiations, although the independence of the Ottoman empire was always held up as the great end of all the hopes of Europe. The settlement of the question was on the whole satisfactory; but England acted throughout as the friend and supporter of Turkey. It was her advice which led to that vigorous action of the Turks intended to take the matter altogether out of the hands of Europe, which hurried off troops and Fuad Pacha as a special commissioner from Constantinople. About this time, Lord Stratford proposed a plan for the whole of Turkey, somewhat similar to that which he proposed in 1876 for European Turkey; namely, to put the empire under the control of an international commission for a term of years, until the reforms promised by the Turks should be put in force. But Lord Stratford had at that time little influence with the English government, although Palmerston and the Liberal party were in power. It was the fashion then to exalt the independence of Turkey, and Lord Stratford's ideas were looked upon as antiquated. It was this ground which was taken by England in the conference caused by the difficulties in European Turkey. Nothing must be done for Montenegro, nothing for Herzegovina: they must submit to the sultan. In Servia and the Danubian principalities changes were reluctantly approved. On the whole, the relations of England and Turkey during these years were so managed as to alienate the sympathies of the Christian populations, to convince the Turks that, whatever they might do, they had nothing to fear from England, and to encourage them in pursuing a course which was rapidly bringing on the ruin of the empire. And all this mischief was done under the pretence of maintaining the independence of Turkey and restraining the ambition of Russia.

Early in 1866, Lord Lyons succeeded Sir Henry Bulwer, but remained in Constantinople only eighteen months, when he was promoted to the English mission at Paris. He was in almost every respect the opposite of Sir Henry: not by any means brilliant; modest even to diffidence,—but a man of high moral character,

good judgment, and earnest purpose, who had already won the highest esteem as British minister at Washington during the Civil War. Unfortunately, he did not remain in Constantinople long enough to exert much influence, either upon the government at home or upon the Porte.

The principal events occurring during his stay were the outbreak of the Cretan revolution in 1866, the troubles with Greece, the evacuation of Servia, the troubles in Bulgaria, and the voyage of Sultan Abd-ul-Aziz to Europe, — this last taking place in the summer of 1867. The difficulties with Greece, Servia, and Bulgaria grew out of the Cretan insurrection. There are many mysteries connected with the outbreak in Crete, which will never be explained. It originated in the general misgovernment of the island, and especially in the tyranny of the Governor-General at that time. The Turks were fully informed of the state of things there; and Lord Lyons, as well as other foreign ambassadors, urged the Porte to remove the governor, and to take measures to prevent an outbreak. The Porte did nothing, but even seemed quite willing that there should be a rebellion. It would appear that they saw in such an event an opportunity for finally crushing the Christian element in the island, and securing it once for all exclusively for the Mahometans.

The people petitioned, in April, 1866, that the privileges promised them by the Great Powers should be granted by the sultan. In July, this request was refused; and in August the war began. In September, a provisional government was established, which declared the island annexed to Greece; and it was by the aid of Greece that the war was subsequently carried on. On the part of the Cretans, it was a heroic struggle for freedom, and, save for the opposition of England, it would have resulted in the annexation of the island to Greece. Lord Lyons felt no little sympathy for the rebels, and recommended to his government, early in 1867, a plan for the autonomy of the island under a Christian prince. The English government hesitated long, and at one time was evidently inclined to favor a still more radical plan. It was while the question was still undecided, that Lord Lyons was promoted, and Sir Henry Elliott was sent to Constantinople in the autumn of 1867. Meanwhile, the Turks had bought off the Servians from their alliance with Greece, by giving up Belgrade and evacuating the principality. The feeble attempt to raise a rebellion in Bulgaria had failed, and scores of innocent Bulgarians had been hung or exiled to the prisons of Diarbekir by Mithad Pacha.

The Great Powers were very liberal of advice and collective notes of warning to the Porte during this period ; but no decided action was taken in favor of Crete, — though Lord Lyons no doubt prevented the Turks from declaring war against Greece. The visit of the sultan to Europe was no doubt planned just at this time, by Aali and Fuad, pachas, as a political move to prevent interference in favor of the rebels. In this light it was a success, since he was received in France and England with enthusiasm, as a friend and ally. But, so far as the people of Turkey were concerned, it does not appear that any good ever accrued to them from this famous tour. The sultan was bewildered and dazzled by the glare of European civilization ; but he learned nothing of which he could make any use on his return.

The arrival of Sir Henry Elliott, in the fall of 1867, marks the beginning of the third period. He owed his appointment to the fact that he belonged to one of those families which are recognized in England as having an hereditary claim to office. He had been British minister to Italy, — an appointment which he had received from Earl Russell, and which had been denounced in the English papers as a scandalous case of nepotism. In fact, however, he was a man of respectable ability and high moral character, and was well fitted for any ordinary office. Had he not been placed in a position of exceptional difficulty, he would no doubt have won general respect and commendation. But at Constantinople he utterly failed in every thing, beyond the ordinary routine of business. His published despatches abundantly confirm the opinion of the community in that city, that he never attained any higher conception of his mission than that his two great duties were to please the Turkish officials and to thwart the Russian ambassador.

The most important historical events during his mission were the continued rebellion in Crete, with accompanying troubles with Greece, finally settled in the conference of 1869 ; the modification of the Treaty of Paris as to the armaments on the Black Sea, in 1871 ; the commencement of a network of railways in European Turkey ; the great famine in Asia Minor, due in a considerable degree to the stupidity and neglect of the government, and ameliorated chiefly by the noble generosity of the English people ; the separation of the Bulgarian Church from the jurisdiction of the Greek Patriarch ; the downfall of the influence of France, and the substitution of that of Russia, at Constantinople, in 1870 ; the promulgation of a long series

of *iradés* for reform, all of which were equally abortive; the refusal of the Turkish government to receive a deputation from the English branch of the Evangelical Alliance; the rapid increase of the Turkish debt to more than £200,000,000, and the final collapse in 1875; the deaths of Fuad Pacha and Aali Pacha, who were regarded in Europe as the only Turkish statesmen since the death of Rechid Pacha, but who were really responsible for the financial ruin which followed in the time of Mahmoud Pacha; the rebellion in Herzegovina and Bosnia in 1875; the murder of the French and German consuls at Salonica by a Moslem mob; the outbreak in Bulgaria in the spring of 1876, with the terrible massacres and atrocities which followed; the deposition and death of Abd-ul-Aziz; the Servian and Montenegrin war; the deposition of Murad V., followed by the accession of Abd-ul-Hamid in September, 1876; and the conference of Constantinople in December. To this list may be added, troubles with Egypt, a revolt in Arabia, and various less important rebellions and massacres.

The relation of England and Sir Henry Elliott to the important events of this period, up to 1876, may be disposed of in very few words. It was controlled always by the idea of maintaining the independence and integrity of the Ottoman empire at any cost, of giving good advice at all times, but of never actually doing any thing which could be disagreeable to the Turkish officials. In fact, the suggestions made were often very bad; but, whether good or bad, they amounted only to advice, and had very little influence except in confirming the Turkish government in its belief that, do what it might, it could rely upon the support of England. The Cretans had held out nobly; Greece had sacrificed every thing in the hope of securing the island which properly belonged to her; Russia had used every influence to aid them; but, thanks to English diplomacy and Turkish obstinacy, the question was settled by granting to Crete a constitution, destined never to be put in force. The English people were not pleased with the result, and many began to ask whether there might not be some mistake in the policy of upholding the Turks at the expense of the Christians. But for the time nothing came of these questionings.

The partial abrogation of the Treaty of Paris, during the Franco-Prussian war, roused the indignation of England, although she finally accepted the situation with dignity. But the curious part of the affair lay in the fact that the change was settled at Constantinople, between

the Porte and the Russian ambassador, was approved by some at least of the Continental powers, and was known among the Turks before Sir Henry Elliott had any information concerning it. Another curious episode connected with this war was that, at its outbreak, the sultan telegraphed his sympathy and good wishes to the Emperor Napoleon, and was afterwards obliged to apologize for so doing. But it is hardly probable that in this case he stopped to ask the advice of the English ambassador.

The question of the Bulgarian Church was not a new one; and from the outset the Bulgarians had most earnestly sought the aid of the British embassy. Sir Henry Bulwer manifested some interest in the question; but seems to have encouraged the scheme of the French embassy for uniting the Bulgarians with the Roman Catholic Church, as the easiest way of cutting them off from the sympathy of Russia. This scheme proved a complete and ridiculous failure. Lord Lyons had previously interested himself in the subject, but was not in Constantinople long enough to accomplish any thing. Sir Henry Elliott appears to have regarded the whole movement as a Russian plot, and to have opposed it from the outset. Even since the separation of the Bulgarian Church, English influence has been used to favor a Roman Catholic movement in Macedonia, although at the same time English officials have exerted their influence in support of the American Protestant Missions. The true policy of the Turks was either to refuse the demands of the Bulgarians altogether, and to keep them under the tyranny of the Greek patriarch, or to grant them all that they asked, and thus secure their hearty good will. As it was, they did neither the one thing nor the other. After allowing the controversy to go on for years, with ever-increasing demands on the part of the Bulgarians, they finally promised all that was asked, and then actually carried out only a part of what they had promised. The result of this way of dealing with the question was to keep all Bulgaria in a ferment for twenty years, and to rouse the hostility of the most quiet and loyal Christian subjects of the Porte. So far as is known, the Turkish government was encouraged in this suicidal policy by the English embassy.

Another religious question was raised in 1875, by the arrival in Constantinople of a deputation from the English branch of the Evangelical Alliance, charged with the duty of presenting a memorial to the sultan in favor of religious liberty,—a step which was deemed necessary on account of the persistent persecution of converts to

Christianity on the part of the Turkish government. The policy of the English government and of the Porte, under these circumstances, was perfectly evident. Religious liberty had been secured in Turkey by the efforts of Lord Stratford, and the Turks professed to respect it. Of course this influential deputation might at least expect to be welcomed by the English embassy, and to be received with a generous abundance of cheap promises by the sultan. Not at all! Sir Henry Elliott turned a cold shoulder to the deputation; and the Turks, taking their cue from the ambassador, treated them with contempt and refused them an audience. The deputation very naturally returned to England, to report that the Turkish government was no longer worthy of the support of the English people, — an opinion which was very soon confirmed by the failure of the Turks to pay their interest on the national debt. In this connection, it should be said that Sir Henry Elliott had no such responsibility for the financial ruin of Turkey as belonged to Sir Henry Bulwer. He is not known to have encouraged extravagant expenditure or loose borrowing; on the contrary, he inclined to exert his influence in favor of economy, though unfortunately this came too late to do any good. He also undoubtedly acted with wisdom in refusing any aid to the various schemes which were afterwards devised for settling the claims of the bondholders.

But we must hasten to the consideration of the series of events which began with the insurrection in Herzegovina, in July, 1875, and which culminated in the conference of Constantinople. The events themselves are too fresh in the minds of all to need a formal repetition here. We shall, however, have occasion to refer to them incidentally in tracing the policy of the English government. This policy, for more than a year, was one of absolute neutrality and non-intervention, except on the point of defending the independence and integrity of the Ottoman empire against any foreign aggression. But the policy of Sir Henry Elliott was something more than this. It was the active support of the Turkish government against all enemies, foreign or domestic; and especially against Russia. Up to the time of the fall of Mahmoud Pacha, and the consequent deposition of Abd-ul-Aziz in May, 1876, Russian influence was dominant in Constantinople. After the fall of Mahmoud Pacha, Sir Henry Elliott was the chief counsellor of the Porte until the opening of the conference, and perhaps still longer.

The bankruptcy of Turkey was not chargeable to General Ignatieff,

the Russian ambassador, any more than to Mahmoud Pacha. The debt had been contracted long before ; the money had been spent ; no more could be borrowed, except on ruinous conditions ; and there was nothing to be done but to stop payment. It was unfortunate ; it was destructive of Turkish credit ; it alienated the friendship of the bondholders, — but there was no help for it. It is simply absurd to say, as has often been maintained, that it was part of a deep-laid plot of the Russian embassy to prepare the way for Russian aggression. It would be just as true to say that Russia planned the murder of the consuls at Salonica, which also exerted a most unfavorable influence upon public opinion in Europe.

The secret purchase of the Suez Canal shares has been declared by Mr. Disraeli to have been a purely commercial transaction ; but there is good reason to believe that, at the outset, it was part of a grand scheme for the transfer of the allegiance of the Viceroy of Egypt from Constantinople to London. It was certainly so regarded on the Continent and in Turkey ; and it went far to encourage the feeble outbreak of rebellion in Herzegovina, which soon extended to Bosnia, and was actively supported by the people of Austria, Montenegro, and Servia. This rebellion did not originate in Russian intrigue, although it was no doubt encouraged to a certain extent by Russian influence. But peace might easily have been restored during the winter, if England had been willing to unite in giving European guarantees to the people for the performance of the promises of the Porte ; or even if she had been really neutral, and had not encouraged the Porte to refuse all such propositions. That she was not neutral is evident from the fact that she did insist very vigorously upon Austria preventing the Dalmatians from giving aid to insurgents, and that she protested energetically, at St. Petersburg, against the action of the Russian consul at Ragusa. Under the influence of General Ignatieff, the Porte was carrying on the war in a languid, half-hearted way, and would have yielded to any earnest pressure on the part of the European powers ; but England, and especially Sir Henry Elliott, said, "No ; the rebellion must be put down by force." Even the abortive Consular Commission was opposed by England ; and, as we learn from the Blue Book, the English consul joined in it only at the request of the Turkish government. From the same source we learn that England united in the harmless note of Count Andrassy, only in order to please the Grand Vizier, who earnestly desired it. If Lord Derby had persisted in his refusal to unite in either of these attempts, it would have been

more honorable for Great Britain, and far better for Turkey. In order to secure his signature, both instruments were so modified as to amount to nothing, except, indeed, an encouragement to the rebels to hold out, and to the Turks to persist in resisting European interference. The Consular Commission had no power to do any thing more than ask questions and give friendly advice. The Andrassy note proposed in the mildest terms certain reforms which the Turks had already, over and over again, promised to make. These were now promised once more, in a new imperial *Hatt*, which granted on paper far more than had been asked, but which was received with about equal indifference in Europe and in the revolted provinces. Mr. Disraeli and Sir Henry Elliott seem to have been nearly the only persons inclined to congratulate England upon the result. The Berlin Memorandum did not secure the signature of England, because the Grand Vizier did not request it, and because it contained a mild intimation that it might be followed by something stronger; but still more because the English government already had information from Sir Henry Elliott of the plot to depose the sultan and set up Murad V. It was probably believed in London, as it was at the British embassy, that this conspiracy of Mithad Pacha with the Ullema and Softas was a grand reform movement, destined at once to regenerate the empire and to introduce a golden age of liberty and progress. It is generally believed at Constantinople that Sir Henry was an active partner in this conspiracy. He telegraphed for the fleet to come to Bescica Bay as soon as the first step of the conspiracy had resulted in the overthrow of Mahmoud Pacha. It arrived there two or three days before the deposition of Abd-ul-Aziz. It is not unlikely that this was something more than an accidental coincidence. It is also believed that Mahmoud Pacha had some knowledge of this conspiracy, and that he had arranged with Russia to send a force to Constantinople to sustain Abd-ul-Aziz. This makes it all the more probable that Sir Henry Elliott took a more or less active part with his special protégé, Mithad Pacha, in the conception and execution of this *coup d'état*. It was a success. Abd-ul-Aziz was dethroned, and died; Murad V. was made sultan; and the Berlin Memorandum was never presented. At the same time, by order of Mr. Disraeli, the British squadron at Bescica Bay was increased to a powerful fleet; and the world was given to understand that England was ready to fight, if necessary, to defend the independence of Turkey. Mr. Disraeli has denied this, as he did the idea that the purchase of the canal shares was a part of a scheme for annexing Egypt. But the world will probably continue to believe

that the fertile imagination of the novelist had more to do with both these acts than the good sense of the statesman.

The assassination of two of the Turkish ministers by a Circassian protégé of Abd-ul-Aziz, a fortnight after the *coup d'état*, removed Hussein Avni Pacha, and rendered the sultan insane, — thus concentrating the power in the hands of Mithad Pacha, whose chief counsellor and supporter was Sir Henry Elliott. The Russian ambassador was temporarily withdrawn, and English influence was supposed to have gained a splendid triumph. Under its benign sway Turkey was to be at once defended and reformed. Public opinion in England was bewildered, and Mr. Disraeli could not resist the temptation to blow his trumpet, and sound a note of self-glorification.

But meanwhile a new factor in the problem had appeared. A feeble attempt at insurrection had been made in Bulgaria, a month before the fall of Abd-ul-Aziz. It had been planned for many months, and the details were well known both at the Porte and at the British embassy. The Pacha of Philippopolis had assured the government that, if a force of five hundred men should be given him, he could prevent the outbreak ; but for some reason no attention was paid to his proposition, and on the contrary every opportunity was afforded to the conspirators to commence their work. It is probable that the Turkish government believed that a war with Servia was sure to come, and wished to secure their line of operations by terrorizing Bulgaria before the war broke out. They succeeded, and the story of the terrible massacres which followed is too familiar to be repeated here. The Turks do not appear to have thought that there was any danger to be apprehended from this course ; and it now appears that the central government was directly responsible for the general character of this attack upon the Bulgarians, though not perhaps for all its details. Such atrocities, on a smaller scale, had previously been so common as to have excited little interest in Europe ; and Bulgaria was thought to be a country so little known, that any thing might be done there with impunity. To this day, the Turks fail to comprehend how these massacres could have produced such unlooked-for results. But no more fatal blunder was ever committed. Mr. Bright nobly said, in a speech at the time, that there was a power in the outstretched hands of those outraged women, and in the cries of those feeble infants, which reached the heart of humanity, and overthrew all the schemes of diplomacy.

The relation of the English government and of Sir Henry Elliott to these terrible atrocities has been somewhat misunderstood ; but, at

best, it is a melancholy episode in the history of British diplomacy. Sir Henry is a man of common sense as well as of humane spirit, and he saw from the first that it was a terrible mistake for the Turkish government to encourage these barbarous atrocities. Beginning as early as ten days after the outbreak near Philippopolis, he used all his personal influence with the government to induce it to adopt more merciful measures. But unfortunately his fear of doing any thing to injure the Turkish government, — or, as he expressed it, any thing to play into the hands of Russia, — led him to make light of these events in public, and to represent the reports of them as “monstrous exaggerations,” at the very time when he was trying to stop them. No doubt his representations prevented, to a certain extent, the perpetration of similar atrocities in other parts of Bulgaria ; but his influence for good would have been far greater, if he had enlisted public opinion on his side, instead of seeking to mislead it, in order to save the reputation of the Turks.

The conduct of Mr. Disraeli admits of no such partial justification. It was simply infamous. Even if he had known nothing more than we find in the published despatches of Sir Henry Elliott (an absurd supposition, since not one despatch in twenty is published), his treatment of the subject in the House of Commons was not only an insult to the English people, but a direct encouragement to the Turks to go on with their work of destruction. It did, in fact, go far to neutralize the remonstrances of Sir Henry Elliott, and to confirm the Turks in their belief that, do what they might, they were sure of the support of England. So far the English government was no doubt responsible for these unspeakable horrors. But the premier's cruelty had another result upon which he did not count. His words smote upon the hearts and consciences of the English people, and roused such a storm of indignation against himself and against the Turks as the world has not seen since the time of the Crusades. It was not so much the Bulgarian massacres, as Mr. Disraeli's treatment of them, which changed the whole face of the Eastern Question, brought to a head the long-gathering discontent of the people with the Turkish alliance, and reversed the traditional policy of the English government. This change of policy was not immediate, but gradual. Lord Derby was evidently reached by the current of public opinion as early as July ; but, so far as is known, neither Mr. Disraeli nor Sir Henry Elliott had been touched by it at the opening of the Conference of Constantinople. Mr. Disraeli, now become Earl Beaconsfield, in his latest speech spoke of the Treaty of Paris and the independence of Turkey

as inviolable. Sir Henry Elliott maintained the same antiquated theory in the Conference, and to the last did his best to encourage the Turks to resist the demands of Europe. But, from September 1, Lord Derby and the government as a whole seemed to act as though they believed that Turkey could no longer be treated as a sovereign and independent power, but must be compelled by Europe to respect the rights of her Christian subjects. So long as Sir Henry Elliott was the sole representative of England at Constantinople, this change of policy had but little influence upon the Turkish government, which evidently believed that Lord Derby's despatches were written to appease discontent in England, and not to influence affairs in Turkey.

At this point our review properly ends. Hereafter it may be shown that this change of policy was perhaps but little more than an expedient to secure a longer tenure of office to the conservative party; at any rate that it was not a sincere and genuine conversion. The result of the policy of the twenty years which we have reviewed was not such as to encourage any return to it. The object which this policy was supposed to favor was the restriction of Russian influence in the East. To this every thing else must be sacrificed: the Turks must be flattered, defended, and supplied with money; the Christians must be kept down and made to submit to the misrule of a Moslem despotism; even the private interests of Englishmen must be put in the background, lest Turkish pride should be offended by too urgent demands for justice. The result of this policy was that Russian influence in the East steadily increased, while England lost at once the respect of the Turks and the sympathy of the Christians, and what she lost Russia gained,—since the Turks respect only those whom they fear, and the Christians naturally sympathize chiefly with those who manifest an interest in them. This interest of Russia in the Christians may have been as selfish as the interest of England in the Turks; but when a man is drowning, he does not stop to inquire whether the hand extended to pull him out is moved by disinterested benevolence, or by some other motive. There are probably few Christians in Turkey who would not prefer the protection of England to that of Russia, for they understand and appreciate the free institutions of England; but the experience of these twenty years has led them to feel that they have less to expect from England than from any power in Europe, except Austria.

The policy of England did not even secure the development or stability of the Ottoman government. Under her fostering care and

protection Turkey went to ruin. She borrowed two hundred million pounds, wasted most of it, and became bankrupt. Native industry was destroyed, and the people were reduced to despair. The administration of the government went steadily on from bad to worse. Massacres and rebellions grew more frequent, until even England was forced to interfere to save the whole country from anarchy. It has been asserted that it was necessary to support Turkey in order to secure the friendship of the Mahometans in India. It is a sufficient answer to this absurd proposition to recall the fact, that England's support of Turkey in the Crimean War was immediately followed by the great Sepoy rebellion in India. The policy of protection and non-intervention which was followed for twenty years proved to be a miserable failure ; but England is not to be too harshly judged for adopting and so long adhering to it. There can be no doubt that twenty years ago Europe believed in the capacity of the Turks to carry out thorough reforms, and in the honesty of the promises of the Hatt-i-houmayoun. It was believed that the Crimean war had secured religious liberty and full equality for the Christians. Since then it has become apparent that all this was a delusion ; but it has not been easy for England to modify her old policy. The Eastern Question involves the conflicting interests of so many nations, that the very thought of reopening it has always sent a chill to the heart of diplomacy. It has, therefore, long been an accepted principle of every country in Europe, except Russia, that intervention in the affairs of Turkey was a last resort, and equivalent to the declaration of a general European war. Austria, far more than England, has been the apostle of this idea of non-intervention ; and Austria was the chief obstacle to the settlement of the difficulties which grew out of the Bosnian insurrection. Moreover, to the inherent difficulties of the Eastern Question must be added the fact, that the general policy of England in regard to Continental affairs was for many years cautious and even timid. It was often said that England had ceased to be a European, and had become an Asiatic, power.

Nothing could have overthrown this policy but the pressure exerted upon the government by a great uprising of the English people, such as followed the Bulgarian massacres. This outburst of generous feeling restored to England her influence over the destinies of the East. It will be seen in a succeeding article how far she has improved this great opportunity.

SOME OF THE REMEDIES FOR SOCIALISM.¹

I TAKE it for granted, that, in discussing Socialism, you are discussing it rather as a practical than as a speculative matter; that is, that you are not concerned about the plans which social philosophers have produced in every age for the reorganization of society; you are concerned about the dangers with which society in our day is threatened, owing to the spread of socialistic opinions among those who have, or seem likely to have, the power to put them into practice. I do not propose, therefore, to trouble you with a definition of the various kinds of Socialism, or with an examination of the theories of its leading apostles. Every one who feels much interest in the subject is sufficiently familiar with these. In the remarks I am about to make, I shall understand the term "Socialism" as simply covering all schemes which have for their object to make the State either wholly or in great part the owner of the capital, and either wholly or in great part the employer of the labor, of the country. It is only in so far as it contemplates this that Socialism is a source of anxiety. As a mere theory of the nature of capital, or of the nature of labor, or of the proper relations of capital and labor, it may furnish a very interesting chapter to the history of social or economical ideas. But I assume that you are debating it rather as politicians than as social philosophers; in other words, that you are considering—to use the popular phrase—"What you are going to do about it." For this reason, too, I have chosen to say something, to-day, about "Some of the Remedies for Socialism," rather than about Socialism itself. There is, however, still another reason for putting this limitation on my remarks. The press has for some years, and especially during the last two years, teemed with descriptions of Socialism, and with accounts of the progress and power of socialistic ideas in this and other countries. You are all familiar with them. Many of them are very able and interesting. I do not think much can be added to the

¹ A Paper read before the Ministerial Union in Boston, April 21.

literature of the subject. But I confess I have been very much struck, in reading them, by the inadequacy of the means by which they all or nearly all propose to protect society against what they describe as a really serious danger. After drawing a very alarming picture of the designs of socialists against all the things we most value, and especially against the family and against property, and of the extent of the preparations made for carrying them out, we are apt to be told at the close that we must frustrate them by greater activity in the teaching field, in the distribution of books and papers, in the delivery of lectures, and, above all, by getting socialists to believe in the Christian religion. In fact, this last is the main solution of the socialist problem and labor problem, offered by one of the ablest and most thoughtful of our publicists, — Dr. Woolsey, of New Haven, — in his recent book on Political Science. I shall only say of this, which I may call the didactic method, — and I by no means wish to belittle it, — that it presumes far too much on the ignorance or thoughtlessness of the socialist apostles. They are generally men of some education; many of them are men of great mental acuteness. They cannot be overthrown by a dialectical *coup de main*, and they have in their writings thoroughly examined the defences of the existing social order. It leaves out of sight, also, the fact that to the ardent, and therefore dangerous, socialists, the literary defenders of the régime of liberty and competition all come into the arena discredited by obvious self-interest. In other words, the apologists of property are almost always the owners of property. It may be said, so are the socialists: Justus Schwab, in New York, keeps a thriving lager-bier saloon. But the socialist orator always proclaims his readiness to surrender his possessions as soon as he can find somebody competent to accept them for the general good; while the defender of society cannot deny that he means to keep what he has got, and in fact is protecting his goods. The didactic method, too, underrates the extent to which Socialism is a revolt against all authority. The defender of society is never quite successful in concealing the confidence which he derives from the fact that he has all the ages behind him. He is apt to forget that, with his antagonists, hatred for the past, and contempt for the experience of mankind, — which is, after all, the great basis of authority on social matters, — has become a sort of mania, and, that it is the very newness of their own doctrines which most fascinates them, and the magnitude of the revolution at which they aim which most inspires them.

As to the power of the Christian religion, in the solution of the problem, I trust I shall not be misunderstood when I say, that those who rely on it most seem to overlook the fact that, in spite of the immense consolation the poor and lowly have derived from it in every age, it no longer presents itself to the discontented as a new and untried expedient. Socialism has in fact grown up by its side. The Church has long ago reconciled itself to the inequality of conditions, and has been a most powerful supporter of political abuses which no one now ventures to defend. Moreover, under the voluntary system, Christianity has an undeniable tendency to become the religion of the well-to-do,—a state of things illustrated by the remark of a New York clergyman, that he always noticed that, in his church, the first thing a member did when adversity overtook him was to sell his pew. By the well-to-do I do not mean the wealthy either, but the prudent, careful class, who manage to get all the essentials of comfortable existence out of the world as it now is, and who rather enjoy the game of competition by which the good things of life are now divided. A creed by which this class lives and consoles itself, and has lived and consoled itself for a thousand years, of course cannot come to the unhappy and the mutinous, in our day, with the tremendous power of hope and encouragement which it possessed when it first made itself known to the ancient world. Unquestionably, it is one of the great social forces; but it is a force which is felt rather in keeping the social army together than in recalling the stragglers and deserters. But I cannot help believing, for my part, that the danger to which Socialism exposes our society is overrated; that it is one of the diseases of our civilization which are sure to attack it every now and then with considerable virulence, but can never prove fatal, or even do very great mischief, or last very long at any one period or place. It is one of the diseases, too, like so many of those that afflict the human body, which seem to be more amenable to air and exercise and careful diet, than to doses of medicine of any sort,—whether in the shape of repressive legislation, or moral or religious instruction. In other words, it is what the doctors call “functional derangement,” rather than organic disease.

The remedies for it, in fact, are best indicated by an examination of its causes, or rather of the agencies which have made it so prominent a phenomenon as it is at present. To put the matter a little more accurately, it will, I think, be found that the causes which make socialists so active, and make them so formidable just now, indicate

clearly enough the uselessness of making any direct attack on it ; and the probability that it will disappear with the accomplishment of some easily attainable economical and social changes, or will greatly decline even if it never wholly disappears. One reason why they have been so successful in impressing our imaginations, — and it seems to me the most effective, — is that the attacks of socialist writers on the existing social order have been so energetic and so skilful, that they have diverted public attention, to a considerable extent, from the remedy which *they* propose ; namely, the award by the State to each man of what he needs, and the exaction by the State from each man of what he is capable of furnishing. None of their ideas would, in their eyes, have any value, without these means of putting them into execution. It is through this that they are a disturbing agency in modern politics. This is an astounding programme, involving nothing less than a transformation of modern society, — or rather the creation of a new society, not as a product of human nature, such as our present society is, but as a piece of cabinet-work, made to order after drawings and specifications. Nevertheless, their activity seems to grow or decline as their expectation of carrying it out, by getting hold of a government, increases or diminishes. Of this the history of French Socialism is an excellent illustration.

France was the first country in Europe in which socialistic ideas assumed much prominence, or displayed much activity. This was not due to any tendency in the French character towards communistic modes of life. In no country in Europe is the sense of property so strongly displayed in the manners. The distinction between *mine* and *thine* is nowhere so markedly recognized. The average Frenchman's eagerness in getting, and tenacity in keeping what he has got, form one of the most striking and influential facts of recent French history. No people in the world shows such capacity and persistence in making small savings, and in providing for the future through small savings, as the French. In no country is marriage among all classes so much affected by pecuniary considerations. In no country is there less exhibition of a desire to share, a greater exhibition of a desire to be independent, — to have something that one can call one's own, and live on it. Nevertheless, Socialism has for fifty years hung like a black cloud over French society. It has exercised a most corrupting influence on French politics. It has furnished the materials for more than one bloody insurrection. It has made French conservatives timid, fretful, and acrid beyond those of any other nation. In

truth, it has come near destroying among the well-to-do classes of French society all desire for government of a higher type than a military despotism.

It seems quite safe to ascribe this to the fact that in no other country did it seem so easy, and indeed was it so easy, to seize the government, and, by seizing the government, to secure authority over the whole community. All French revolutions, previous to 1870, have consisted in the seizure of the administrative machine in Paris. This done, no further resistance was to be expected in any quarter. The provinces looked on quietly while a new Constitution was being framed, or new experiments were being tried, — no matter how obscure or obnoxious the new rulers might be, — and accepted the result without murmuring. In Paris, therefore, socialist leaders for half a century felt themselves within easy reach of a trial of their system on a great scale, and with ample funds ; and Paris consequently was during all that period the headquarters of the movement, the centre to which its apostles and martyrs drifted from every other country on the globe. It must be remembered, in further elucidation of this point, that Socialism is not by any means wholly a persuading creed. It is also a fighting creed. It in fact resembles, as to its mode of propagandism, Mahometanism rather than Christianity. It has no hope of converting *all* its enemies ; for some of these enemies are not heathen simply, but robbers. The tone of all its writings has somewhat of the implacability of the Koran towards the unbeliever. The maxim, "Property is theft," no matter how mildly it is uttered, is another way of saying that infidels ought to be destroyed.

Just so long, then, as the seizure of the governmental machine by a sudden dash seemed feasible, Socialism flourished in France in spite of all measures of repression. But just as soon as it was demonstrated, in 1870, that the capture of Paris did not necessarily involve the possession of the government ; that Paris might be captured, and the provinces refuse to obey, — the movement collapsed there, or rather transferred itself to Germany, where the establishment of universal suffrage and the widespread discontent caused by collapsed speculation seemed to open up a new and promising field to it. I think it may be said then, without examining the illustration more in detail, that one of the most powerful stimuli which can be given to Socialism is to be found in great centralization ; that is, in great concentration of governmental power at a single point. Nothing is surer to kindle the fanaticism of the chiefs, and rouse the hopes of

the rank and file. The movement will probably grow in Germany with the growing power of the central government, until it has either thoroughly alarmed the country, or is tempted into trying a stroke of some kind, and experiences a crushing defeat. It is probably also safe to say that it will never take strong hold in any community in which there is a great distribution of power, and that healthy local government will always and everywhere prevent its assuming a practical air, and keep it in the position of a bit of speculative philosophy.

The Nihilist movement in Russia, it may be well to remark *en passant*, seems to have nothing socialistic about it, and does not seem to have reached the working classes at all. It appears to be a disease of the educated or half-educated class ; a sort of revolt of frivolous semi-culture against the silence, aimlessness, and brutality of despotic government. It closely resembles, in all but its ferocity, the rapture with which the French nobility in the eighteenth century took up the philosophy of the Encyclopædists. The savage attacks on public functionaries, of which we read, are apparently mere protests against a régime in which there is no room for intellectual activity, and in which authority is represented solely by the army and police, or, in other words, by brute force. I may remark here that the absence of forensic traditions, — that is, of a long-established bar and courts, representing the idea of justice dissociated from force, — and the absence of an old and respected church, representing the association of religion with morality, makes Russian despotism something unique in the world's history. The Roman Cæsar, in his worst days, was checked and restrained by a powerful bar and an old and deeply-rooted system of jurisprudence. All Mahometan despots live under the law as extracted from the Koran by the Sheikh-ul-islam and the doctors. The Chinese emperor acts through a dense body of immutable custom ; but between the czar and the Russian people there is an immense vacuum, in which an educated and intellectually-active class finds it difficult to breathe. It is right to add that the progress made by the nation, within the last twenty-five years, especially under such conditions as these, reflects the highest honor on the ruler to whose initiative and persistence it has been due. His present difficulties simply prove that reforms in which the cultivated intelligence of the country does not take a prominent part, and which do not make provision for its activity, cannot achieve the highest success in such a world as we now live in. A class under such a régime, raised by its culture above the rest of the nation, is not likely to seek relief in any thing constructive.

Nihilism, therefore, falls below Socialism, and seems to resemble a nervous convulsion rather than a political agitation.

Another cause of the present activity of Socialism, which contains also a suggestion of remedy, lies in the fact that, though it spreads itself principally by exciting the hatred of the poor against the rich, in practice the propagandism takes place mainly among that portion of the poor which lives by daily wages ; or, in other words, that portion of the poor whose means of subsistence are precarious. Socialistic ideas have made no impression, and can hardly be said to have been preached, among the farming poor, or that portion of the poor which makes a living by the land, and whose subsistence is not precarious, or at all events is assured from one harvest to another, although their existence is on the whole harder and more monotonous than that of the city artisans.

Such success as Socialism has achieved among the first of these classes has been greatly facilitated — I was going to say made possible — by the drift of population into the cities, which has been going on for the past forty years. Twenty-five years ago, in England, eighty-seven out of every one thousand of population were engaged in agriculture. In 1871 this proportion had fallen to seventy in one thousand. In the United States, where land can be had almost for asking, there were at the last census, out of 28,200,000 persons over ten years old, only 5,900,000 engaged in farming, in spite of the heavy immigration of the previous ten years. Or, to put the matter more clearly, between 1860 and 1870, while the farming class increased only 18 per cent, the commercial or exchanging and distributing class increased 44 per cent. In France, in 1851, 25½ per cent of the population lived in the towns ; in 1876, 32½ per cent lived in the towns, — and this in spite of the fact that the increase of population through births is two per cent per annum in the country, and only one per cent in the towns.

I can say nothing here of the immediate cause of this phenomenon. It was primarily due to the prodigious impulse given to trade and industry by the application of steam to manufactures and transportation, and to the rapidity with which the attractions of city life have been enabled to act on the rural imagination. Population which drifts in this way from the city into the country rapidly acquires what may be called the urban temperament, — with its restlessness, its love of amusement, its impatience of drudgery, its envy of those who get luxuries without manual labor. And it is this, more than aught

else, which furnishes the raw material from which socialists are made. But this is not all. The laborer who quits the country for the city practically exchanges living from year to year for living from day to day. He loses his local attachments and associations. He loses the habit of people and of places. He ceases to have neighbors, and sees in everybody a rival. In many cases his employment is not permanent or assured, and the temptation to spend money in pleasure is hard to resist. He lives, too, in an atmosphere of discussion, because he lives in a crowd; and the question he naturally hears most discussed is the inequality in the division of property, and he is naturally a frequent and eager listener to plans for such a reorganization of society as will relieve his life of its two great troubles, — anxiety about the morrow, and deprivation of a share in the luxuries which he sees around him.

This source of socialistic feeling and opinion is certainly not likely to be as fruitful during the next forty years as it has been during the past. The cities are not likely to grow in the same ratio. No matter how great the progress of invention and discovery may be, we are by no means likely to add to our instruments of production any such potent agency as steam. The immense disturbance in the distribution of population which that agency has wrought, and the like of which within the same time has never been witnessed before, is in all probability nearly at an end. The chances are that the next fifty years will be a period of adaptation to the new conditions, of the readjustment, as it were, of manners, and laws, and ways of thinking. In this process, the rural districts are pretty sure to resume their old weight or predominance in social and political progress. In one country (France) they have distinctly done so, under the eyes of this generation. France is no longer ruled by Paris or Lyons, but by the peasantry of Lorraine, Provence, Normandy, and Champagne. We shall probably witness everywhere the same restoration of the equilibrium. It is going on in this country to-day, as we learn every morning by the news from Kansas and Texas. In fact, this is what the revival of business means. What depression in business means, is that the manufacturers and traders cannot get enough of the products of the soil in return for their own labor or industry. For, I believe, it is generally agreed that there cannot be a universal glut. There cannot be more of all the good things of life than people can use. But there can be, and often is, more of particular things than they can buy. When we hear, therefore, that the iron business, or

the cotton business, is at a standstill, what is meant is not that there is too much iron or cotton cloth, but that the men who make it cannot get enough of other things in exchange for it ; and the remedy is obvious, — a fuller supply of the other things ; the direction of more capital and labor to their production.

The spread of socialist ideas has been further aided by what may be called the moral inflation, which as well as the commercial inflation was created by the wonders of steam and machinery. Steam has not only increased the population of great cities, and increased production in all fields, but has caused that over-hopefulness about the consuming powers of the world which has resulted in what is called a panic, and from the effects of which we are now suffering. Panics, it has been observed, recur about every twenty years in this country, and about every ten years in England ; and it is generally admitted that they are largely due to the unwarranted expectations of a generation which has had no experience of the difficulties of getting rich rapidly. It is to be observed, however, that commercial crises properly so called, — that is crises which arise out of over-production, as distinguished from crises brought about by gambling, or purely fanciful speculation, like the Tulip Mania, or the South Sea Bubble, or Law's Mississippi Scheme, — are for the most part due to extravagant expectations, rather than impossible expectations ; that is, to the belief that things may be accomplished in five years instead of twenty. A demand is counted on for this year or next year, which it will take a great many years to create. Railroads are made in regions in which there will be no paying traffic for a generation to come. Mills are built to supply manufactured products for which there will be no steady market until the owners have been long in their graves. But in most cases we are now witnessing the fulfilment of dreams by which speculators were ruined forty years ago. The railroads whose construction in 1846 in England wrecked so many fortunes, are now paying respectable dividends ; the railroads at the West which were the main cause of our panic in 1873, will also be highly profitable, in all likelihood, ten years hence, if not sooner. There is hardly any mining or manufacturing or transporting vision of thirty years ago, however wild it seemed then, which is not now receiving fulfilment in a greater or less degree under our eyes. So that it may be said, with a fair approach to accuracy, that commercial crises are for the most part due to running ahead of possibilities rather than to conceiving or expecting *im*-possibilities. But of course

the realization is only reached through a prodigious amount of loss and disappointment and ruin ; and it is hardly ever reached at all by the generation which dreamed the dream. The men who reap are apt to be the sons, or even grandsons, of the men who sow.

There can be little doubt that we have been witnessing a process of inflation and extravagant expectation in the moral world very similar to this of the commercial world. The actual capacity of human character for improvement in the social and political sphere is occasionally overrated, just as the buying power of the population is overrated in the commercial sphere ; and there follow the same bitterness and wreck and vexation when the bubble bursts, or, to use the popular phrase, when the community gets down to the "hard pan" of facts. France passed through one of these periods of social inflation after the first Revolution, and she is only now witnessing the fulfilment of the dream of 1789. Ever since 1840, there has been a somewhat similar ferment in other countries, showing^g itself in prodigious expectations as to the result of certain new political machines which about that time began to be put in motion. Representative institutions, based on a widely diffused suffrage, had about that period begun to be tried in England. The French Chambers, for the first time in forty years, obtained control of France. Universal suffrage was gaining possession of the Northern States in this country. The press was growing in power and circulation. Travel was becoming easier. The administration of justice was greatly improved. The principle of religious toleration was meeting with universal acceptance. New markets in strange parts of the globe were opening to the products of the leading nations. Emigration was reviving on a scale which had not been witnessed since the seventeenth century. Popular education was beginning to receive serious attention ; and the whole Western world became filled with the vague expectation that "the good time," so long sung, was near at hand. Wars were at an end. Kings were to cease from troubling, and poverty was by some process, which nobody was able to describe exactly, to disappear or be greatly diminished. Such legislative experiments as were made, too, in the direction of social improvement, were very successful. Conservative predictions as to the mischievous results of change were again and again falsified, until conservative opinion became thoroughly discredited, and conservatives themselves so much demoralized that resistance to change may be said to have completely died out. As a general rule, persons of a conservative temper throughout

the Western world at this moment are possessed by the belief that it is useless to oppose change; that if any considerable number of persons earnestly demand it, it is sure to come, no matter what its character; and that the proper use for those who dislike it, to make of their time, is to get ready for it, as for the working of a law of destiny.

This period of political inflation may be said to have lasted down to 1860. About that time the anticipations of the working classes as to the effect of political liberty and of the producing power of machinery on their condition began to decline. To borrow the language of the stock exchange, the great political and social reformers had sold all their bonds, and the time had come to pay their coupons, and they found themselves unable to do so. The world was not any thing like as comfortable as they said it would be, when "every honest man had his vote, and every child his school," and gigantic engines were doing the work of millions of human arms. There was still a great deal of war, and a great deal of poverty. The accumulation of capital in a few hands went on more rapidly than ever. The poor were not released from grinding anxiety about their future. The great engines did not give human workers more leisure: they simply enabled more workers to earn wages. Poor men found it as difficult as ever to go into business on their own account, and obtain complete control of their own fate. In short, the awakening began. The expectations of social progress created by extraordinary material progress were discovered to be wildly extravagant. From this awakening Socialism has derived a great deal of impetus. It has caused a distinct loss of interest among the working classes in politics, or in other words in plans for improving the *existing* social system through legislation. It has even brought a certain discredit in their eyes on political liberty, or government by persuasion. It has, above all, furnished the leaders with a powerful argument in support of the idea that from the actual, social, and political system they can expect no real improvement in their condition; that this must be sought, to use the words of Bakunine, in "the total destruction of middle-class civilization," and the construction of a new order of society on its ruins.

A certain amount of aid has been given to the spread of this despairing view by the habit of discussion, which is one of the most marked characteristics of our time. It is not so very long ago, — plenty of men now living remember the time very well, — when such attacks as

socialists make on existing institutions were met with horror, or a flat denial. It is not very long ago since respectable men refused to argue publicly over the foundations of existing society. Every well-brought-up person carried with him a little list of subjects which were not debatable; and there is no doubt that this stern limitation of controversy had a powerful effect in chilling speculation on questions of practical life. A radical social reformer had so much difficulty in getting any one to listen to him, that he could not well defend himself, unless he was a man of very fanatical temper, against the feeling that he was nursing a chimera. In our time, however, every proposal, however extravagant, is met with argument. We endeavor to give the man who makes it formal reasons why he should not attempt to carry it out. In order to win his attention, we almost always — often unconsciously — admit that there is a good deal, or at least something, to be said for his view. The socialist not unnaturally assumes, when you admit any thing at all, that you would, if you were candid and disinterested, admit a good deal more; and he concludes that, at worst, he is half right. His case, as he sees it, rests on the existence of hopeless poverty, or, in other words, on the great imperfection of existing social arrangements. No one denies that these arrangements are imperfect. A great many philanthropists and reformers, who have no sympathy with Socialism at all, even throw the blame on the existing holders of property. When the socialist hears this admission, he feels that he has won half his battle. You agree with him as to the evil: it only remains, he thinks, to get you to agree with him as to the remedy; and this you are prevented from doing by the fact that you are yourself interested in the evil, and in part responsible for it. In fact, as I began by saying, the socialist controversy, as thus far carried on even by the opponents of Socialism, has consisted to a large, and as I believe to too large, an extent in descriptions and counter descriptions of the defects of the existing régime. Most of the opposition takes the form of attempts to prove that these descriptions are exaggerated, or that they do not fairly distribute the blame. This is very necessary work, doubtless; but it is not the only work, or even the most important. We need a more thorough examination of the remedy which is proposed by all socialists in one form or another, and which is in fact accepted by many reformers who are not socialists, and who disclaim all sympathy with them, and, indeed, honestly believe they are fighting against them. That remedy is the control by the State of the capital of the

country, and the employment by the State of its labor ; and a great many reformers who are not ready to swallow the whole of this are ready to swallow a large part of it, by greatly increasing the powers of government over the work of production, and greatly increasing the interference of the State in the relations between labor and capital. That this may be increased in many ways ; that it ought to be increased in some ways as the sole remedy for certain evils,—I do not deny. But it is an expedient which cannot be resorted to with too great caution, and the limit of which we have in most fields reached already, or are very near reaching. In saying this, I am not talking of what is desirable, but of what is practicable. I am willing to admit that it might be desirable that the State should relieve every human being of all anxiety on every subject in life, but his health. I am even willing to admit that it might be desirable that it should charge itself with the care of his health, by supervising his food and clothing and exercise.

But we are constantly forgetting in our discussion of social reforms — and this charge, as I have said, may be brought against others than socialists, properly so called — that the amount of administrative capacity possessed by the race is limited, and that there are plenty of signs that already, under the régime of competition and individual liberty, our affairs are making greater demands on this capacity than it can bear. I think every man who is conversant with affairs will admit that in every field of activity, in all branches of trade and commerce, in manufactures, in transportation by sea and land, in the army, in the navy, and in every thing in which direction or superintendence is needed, the demand for presidents, managers, generals, and captains for high executive officers of all kinds is deplorably greater than the supply. We have already far more money invested than we can find competent men to look after. We have more railroads, mines, factories, banks, and colleges than we can find competent heads for ; larger armies than we can find officers for ; more Parliaments and Cabinets than we can fill with even ordinary statesmen.

Two-thirds of the failures in the commercial world — this is certainly true of corporations at least — are due to the lack of administrative power on the part of those in charge of them ; that is, the power of adapting means to ends, of getting other people to submit to rules and regulations, and to carry out instructions faithfully. This is as true of government as it is of trade. Every civilized nation is suffering more from the difficulty of adequately filling executive

offices than from any thing else. The laws in nearly every country are far better than the administration. In matters of government, however, this want is not as strikingly visible as in industrial enterprises, because political mistakes and shortcomings are not followed by the same penalty. When the president or treasurer of a corporation brings it into difficulties by his mismanagement, he cannot levy assessments indefinitely on the stockholders to fill up the breaches made by his errors. The concern goes into bankruptcy, or a new man takes his place. But when rulers of States make mistakes, they are covered up by the perennial flow of the taxes. You cannot wind up a nation because its managers have proved incompetent and its affairs are in disorder. It has to go on, and make the best of the situation.

So that even as society now is, with all its imperfections and shortcomings, there is no country in the civilized world in which the work of government is not kept close up to the limit of the administrative capacity of the people. It is already doing as much inspecting, controlling, and regulating as it can find competent officers for. Of course, this capacity increases; but it increases slowly. Government can now manage larger undertakings than it could have managed a century ago; but there is no sign that it finds itself any better able to trench on the domain of individual freedom than it did a century ago. The volume of public affairs has grown larger, but the volume of private affairs has grown large in a greater proportion. The number of things the government does for man has greatly increased; but so has the number of things he does for himself, and so has the number of his wants. We need more laws and more policemen; but that is because there are more of us, and because we are more active than our fathers ever dreamed of being.

All the great legislatures of the world are already overburdened by the work they have to do, or are trying to do. From England, France, Germany, Italy, and the United States there comes the same cry, that parliamentary government is endangered by the magnitude of the responsibilities it is assuming; and that salvation must be sought in decentralization, and in the resolute refusal of private business. All recent changes in State constitutions in this country have been in this direction. They forbid special legislation, and they remove certain subjects wholly from legislative control. The meaning of all this is, not that the things the legislature is forbidden to do are not often desirable in themselves, but that the legislature is not competent

either morally or intellectually to do them ; and that, therefore, the work might better be let alone altogether.

Nevertheless, the demands now made on the administrative capacity of the civilized world, large as they are, are nothing to what they would be if the socialist experiment were tried ; nothing to what they would be, even if the responsibility of the government for individual happiness and success were largely increased under the existing régime. The existing distinction between public and private affairs, which now barely makes government possible, would disappear under Socialism ; and the result would be that the administrative work even of a small town would be a greater job than any man, or body of men, has yet undertaken. The affairs of a large city would be too much, it is safe to say, for human capacity. You have a good deal of difficulty already in finding competent mayors, and competent public commissioners, and competent common councilmen, — and by competent, I mean possessing a combination of certain mental with certain moral qualities. Yet consider how small is the sphere of a mayor's or police commissioner's or common councilman's duties ; at how few points it touches the citizen, and how small a portion of his activity is regulated by it. But suppose every inhabitant of Boston had turned all his possessions into the City Treasury ; suppose the city owned all the goods, machinery, and manufactories of every description, and were to be charged with the whole work of production, transportation, and distribution. Suppose it were the business of the City Government to tell every man in the population, every Monday morning, what he was to do during the week, and see that he did it, and supply him during that period with clothing and food and shelter for himself and his family, and with his proper share of amusements and culture, — where would you find the persons competent to superintend the work ? How would you choose them ? Who would superintend *them*, and see that *they* did *their* duty ?

One has only to ask these questions to answer them. In fact, the whole supposition sounds, I admit, a little absurd. Such plans hardly seem to merit serious discussion. That any community would ever be got to try such a scheme is so improbable, that it seems hardly worth while to examine it. Nevertheless this, or something very like this, is what all socialists look forward to with more or less distinctness. If it were oftener examined or thought out, however, I am sure Socialism would look less formidable. In truth, the administrative difficulty furnishes the real refutation of all socialist

writings. It puts all their books, however able or acute, in the category of Utopia. It makes all the chiefs, Lasalle, Marx, Bebel, Bakunine, Blanc, or I care not who, really very harmless enthusiasts. All they say of the faults of the existing society may be true ; but the minute they begin to supply the remedy, they array against them what is in social matters far stronger than any body of doctrine, — the common sense of everybody who has ever hired another to work for him, or has ever tried to get ten men to do the same job together. Enthusiasm in public causes is a great force ; man's capacity for devotion to his fellows is practically unlimited ; but it makes a distinction in its work, which M. Thiers described very wittily, when he said that you can readily "get a man to die for his country, but you cannot get him to make pig iron for his country."

Even if the administrative difficulty did not exist, the strong hold which property has on human nature, in its present shape, might be relied on to prevent any really formidable attempt to try the socialistic experiment. An institution which is not only imbedded in one of the strongest of human passions, but which forms the basis of our morality, — indeed, one might almost say furnishes us with the bulk of the material out of which morality is made, — is not likely to be overthrown, or seriously shaken, by the attacks of persons whose main objection to it is that they do not themselves possess any share in it. We are so much given to the contemplation of the temptations and evils which property brings with it, that very few of us consider the tremendous void which would be left in our mental and moral life without it. There is hardly one of the virtues which has not its root in it ; so that to destroy it successfully, or substitute something else for it, would not simply involve a political and social revolution, but something like a change in the nature of man. There has, as yet, been no sign anywhere of the spread of Socialism among owners of property ; and no argument has yet been produced which seems likely to prove nearly as strong for the surrender of it for the common benefit as Christianity has furnished : and yet on this point Christianity has made but little impression in eighteen hundred years.

But, however little danger there may be of a real trial of the socialist experiment, it cannot be denied that we are in danger of a deepening jealousy and dislike of the owners of accumulated property, and of an increasing disposition to use the powers of government to impose on them an unequal share of the public burdens. Our civil-

ization is probably more endangered from this cause than from any other, for it rests more distinctly than any civilization which has preceded it on security for accumulations, and certainty as to the future. Widespread diminution of this security and this certainty would not produce any thing in the nature of a cataclysm; but if it were greatly to reduce the rate of progress, and the hopefulness of the half-dozen nations which now carry the world forward, — bring their States say to the condition of Mexico or Spain, to say nothing of the Eastern monarchies, — it would be difficult to say how far the process of decay might go, or in what it might end. Barbarism is an insidious disease; and, as has been well remarked, we constantly forget over how small an area of the earth's surface progress, in the sense in which we use the word, exists or is thought of.

The danger which threatens us in this direction arises out of the fact, — of which we are at this moment witnessing very striking illustrations, — that a larger and larger amount of population is becoming dependent on industrial chiefs whose judgment is every year undergoing a more severe strain. This is true, whether trade is carried on under a high or low tariff. The English manufacturer, for instance, under the régime of free trade, has for the past twenty years been seeking his market at greater and greater distances; and the farther away it is, the less he understands it, and the more liable he is to be dislodged from it. The means which he formerly possessed, too, of keeping himself informed about it, through the medium of permanent agencies, has been well nigh destroyed by the electric telegraph, which has substituted impromptu orders for steady custom. The result is to give all production more or less of a hap-hazard, speculative character, and to render possible the sudden and appalling collapse which we are now witnessing in English trade. The working class, on whom the consequences of such mistakes of the capitalists fall, are an immense and growing body, and have shown under the late calamity a disposition they have never shown before, to question their employer's ability to manage the business or to watch the markets. It is impossible not to see in their discontent the germ of interfering legislation, — if legislation ever come within their reach, — which might have nothing of a socialist character, and yet rob the accumulation and handling of capital of most of their attractiveness. Nor does the régime of protection offer a much more pleasing prospect, as far as the working man is concerned. The market is, under a protective tariff, restricted, and is consequently more under

the manufacturer's eye, so to speak ; and this, at first sight, seems to render him less likely to make mistakes. But the protectionist market is essentially an artificial market ; and as it is kept up by legislation, it is almost certain to be kept so high as to throw, every twenty years or so, greater quantities of capital into particular lines of business than the demand of the country can possibly support. The point of satiety reached, the collapse comes, and lasts till the growth of population or some newly discovered foreign demand puts the surplus machinery again in motion, or until capital seeks new channels. In this case, too, during the waiting period, the working classes suffer terribly, and apparently from no fault of their own. I am afraid that as the production grows in volume, and the masses of capital managed by single persons, or small bodies of persons, increase in bulk, these calamities will become more widespread and searching.

What is the remedy for this ? It must be a remedy which will not weaken self-reliance, or partake in any degree of the character of a stimulant, — at least in so far as legislation undertakes to supply it. In the first place, then, it ought to be the policy of the State to promote the growth of the class which lives from year to year, as distinguished from the class which lives from day to day, or from week to week ; and by this I mean of course the farming class. Every man who lives on a farm is a man delivered from the risk of destitution through any other man's errors. If he cannot sell his crop, he can always eat it.

In the second place, the habit of saving should be promoted by every feasible plan among the class which lives on weekly wages, and has to take the risks of manufacturing. All moral influences which go to fortify character of course do promote this habit ; but it is the duty of the State to stimulate it still further by the provision of absolute security for the savings. Every man who has saved even twenty-five dollars gets therefrom a leaning in favor of private property, which I am afraid it would take a great many sermons and articles and lectures to communicate to him. The conversions from highly communistic views of society which one occasionally witnesses, under the influence of a legacy or other sudden acquisition of wealth, to very stern views of the sanctity of individual ownership, is an encouraging indication of the way the path of safety lies. The task before modern society — in fact, the most important of all its tasks — is the conversion of the class which lives by wages into property holders, how-

ever small. This is the one remedy for Socialism which has never failed. I cannot trespass on your time with any detailed consideration of the means which may be resorted to for this end ; but chief among them are the provision of legal facilities for the purchase of houses and lands, of which striking examples are to be witnessed in Philadelphia, and secondly, such a system of savings-bank management and inspection as will make fraud or loss not only rare, but impossible. Every poor man who puts away a dollar in a bank for a rainy day ought to be as sure of getting it back as the holder of a national bank-note now is of having it redeemed in full. If I were asked to select the occurrence of recent years which has done most to shake the foundations of social order, and supply materials for socialistic hatred and speculation, I should point to the enormous losses sustained by the prudent poor through the fraudulent or reckless management of savings banks and life-insurance companies. There is no subject of social reform which at this crisis demands more attention, and none which will better repay it.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

MATTHEW ARNOLD'S MIXED ESSAYS.¹ — "That was excellently observed, say I, when I read a passage in an author where his opinion agrees with mine. When we differ, then I pronounce him to be mistaken." Mr Arnold constantly arouses a feeling of opposition, and becomes a subject for Swift's second division of criticism much more frequently than for the first. Yet to save ourselves from the Dean's satire, we are quite ready to confess that there is a great deal "excellently observed," although we cannot agree with it. There are many things too in Mr. Arnold's very suggestive Essays with which we not only do not agree, but which we cannot even admit to be "excellently observed."

Mr. Arnold says, in his preface, that there is a unity of tendency in these Essays, and adds, very modestly, that this unity is probably of more interest to himself than to his readers. The unity of purpose is certainly clear, and can hardly fail to be interesting, since the author is Mr. Arnold. The preface states accurately and concisely, but in general terms, what the tendency of the Essays is. It can be put, however, in a more concrete form, which is better for the purposes of criticism.

The theme of all the Essays, except the last two (the connection of which with the main subject is more remote than in the case of the others), can be briefly stated in a few general propositions. Democracy is advancing in England, as it has done and is doing everywhere ; its progress is irresistible, and its ultimate triumph inevitable. When it is supreme, administration — which, as Mirabeau said, is government — will fall into the hands of the average man ; that is, in England, into the hands of the middle classes. "The Puritan middle class," says Mr. Arnold, "with all its faults, is still the best stuff in this nation. Some have hated and persecuted it ; many have flattered and derided it, — flattered it that, while they deride it, they may use it. I have believed in it. It is the best stuff in this nation, and in its success is our best hope for the future. But, to succeed, it must be transformed." In another place he says : "Our Puritan middle class presents a defective type of religion, a narrow range of intellect and knowledge, a stunted sense of beauty, a low standard of manners." That is, the Puritan middle class has only one element of civilization, if we accept Mr. Arnold's definition of these elements, — the sense and power of con-

¹ "Mixed Essays." By Matthew Arnold. New York : Macmillan & Co. 1879.

duct, or morals. In all others it is fatally defective. But it is to become at no distant day the governing class in the English democracy. "The difficulty for democracy is, how to find and keep high ideals." If the English middle class comes to supreme power in its present condition, "then the dangers of America will be really ours, — the dangers which come from the multitude being in power, with no adequate ideal to elevate or guide the multitude." Mr. Arnold has a genuine horror of being "Americanized;" but if his picture of the English middle classes is accurate, they will at first do something worse than "Americanize" the government. The American democracy is far more highly civilized, and in many more directions, than the future rulers of England, as drawn by Mr. Arnold. The picture is, we believe, altogether too dark; and however much Mr. Arnold may admire the middle classes theoretically, it is pretty clear that, in practice, they outrage and offend his taste and sentiment, and appear to him much worse than they really are. But, however all this may be, Mr. Arnold's problem is to make the middle classes fit to govern England. Two solutions are suggested in the first two essays on "Democracy" and "Equality." One is to make the State furnish the necessary ideal for which the aristocracy does not suffice, and raise the middle classes by a system of secondary schools controlled by government, and on a level with those of the aristocracy. This is unquestionably a very sensible scheme, except for the practical difficulty that the reform would have to be carried out by the State before the middle class were in control, — that is by the aristocracy. Otherwise it would amount simply to saying that the middle class, when they are the State, must elevate themselves; which looks like begging the question. The second remedy suggested by Mr. Arnold is, equality. Here again he is quite right; careful observers would readily agree with him that inequality in England "materializes the upper, vulgarizes the middle, and brutalizes the lower class." Equality is the true solution, — social equality, which will destroy the snobbish brutality which is the fault of the upper class, and the equally snobbish servility which is the bane of the lower and middle classes. And again Mr. Arnold contends, and with great force, that the first step towards equality must be through an equal education of all by the State. He also urges, or rather suggests, a law akin to that of the French in the regulation and limitation of the power of bequest, — a reform of very uncertain value. To an American it certainly seems unquestionable that the power of bequest should be interfered with as little as possible.

The fourth essay deals particularly with the subject of secondary education. The others, except the last two, may not improperly be termed lectures to the Puritan middle class upon some of their many grave defects. The third essay, for example, discusses the narrow Puritan prejudice against Irish Catholicism and the endowment of a Catholic university by the State, to which the refusal of this measure by the Liberal party is probably justly

attributed. Here is an instance of the lack of civilization among the middle classes. "If you endow Protestant universities," says Mr. Arnold, "why in the name of justice should not Catholic tax payers have their university endowed?" The obvious answer is that the State has no business to make religious endowments of any sort, or to meddle with religion in any way. But this would lead to disestablishment, which is a very dreadful thing in the eyes of all Englishmen in whom the sense of propriety has not wholly faded out. It is very unwise, no doubt, to destroy any conservative institution which helps to form the barriers against communism or socialism; but this is not the ground on which Mr. Arnold rests his defence of the Church. His argument is that the Established Church carries the germ of truth in an attractive form to the people. Now the English Church has many merits, chief among which is a service in incomparably fine English; but to advocate it as a popular church seems a little strained. The Church of England has too little splendor and too little superstition to be popular, like the Church of Rome; while, on the other hand, it lacks the simplicity which enables the Baptist and Methodist forms to appeal strongly to the masses. Taking the condition of things as they exist in England, there can be no doubt that abstract justice requires the endowment of a Catholic university in Ireland; but we confess to a good deal of sympathy with the practical man (narrow and shallow, it is to be feared, Mr. Arnold would call him) who says that Irish Catholicism is a dangerous and troublesome thing; that the more Ireland gets, the more restless and outrageous it becomes, and that you had better let well alone.

"The Guide to English Literature" touches another similar point, that of general education, and contains many just, sensible, and shrewd remarks as to "Literature Primers." But it also contains a passing criticism upon Shakspeare, which is simply intolerable. Mr. Arnold says that Shakspeare was a great artist in his impersonality, but that he was not a perfect artist because he did not observe "the law of pure and flawless workmanship." He then quotes the following lines, which are certainly not very good for Shakspeare, as proof of his statement:—

"Till that Bellona's bridegroom lapp'd in proof
Confronted him with self-comparisons."

These lines, according to Mr. Arnold, are "detestable." One feels inclined to say to Mr. Arnold what Charles Knight said of Johnson's remark, that the line—

"And make the hussy Fortune break her wheel,"

was a miserable line: "It would be well for Johnson if the 'Irene' contained a few such miserable lines." The whole passage about Shakspeare, singularly out of place in commenting on a primer, is in any connection hyper-

critical to the last degree. Let us leave Shakspeare's mistakes to German professors, and strive to appreciate, above all in *Primers of Literature*, his endless beauty and strength, without quarrelling over his being termed "the greatest artist of all time," and without picking little flaws in work which, take it for all in all, is the most perfect that has ever been produced by man. Such criticism leads to nothing; and, besides being as a rule bad, is, whether good or bad, perfectly futile except in the elaborate notes of careful commentators.

The essay on Milton deals with the great poet of the Puritan middle class. Mr. Arnold calls in a Frenchman in order to display the possible hostile criticism of Milton, which is no doubt often just, and is certainly instructive. The essay opens, however, with an onslaught upon Macaulay. The chief objection to Macaulay seems to be that his opinions are those of the great body of English-speaking people; or, as Mr. Arnold puts it, the first book that an Englishman desiring culture gets, after his Bible and Shakspeare, is Macaulay. This, to Mr. Arnold, apparently puts Macaulay on a low plane, and makes him valuable simply as leading to higher things. Macaulay was not a good literary critic, and said as much himself; but he had a wonderful historic insight, as well as a splendid style, and that he should represent the opinion of the English race is his highest praise. The general judgment of mankind is right, in the long run; and it is because Macaulay represents it, that he appeals so strongly to all who read him. To say, with Macaulay, that the struggle between the Puritans and Cavaliers was the struggle between Oromasdes and Ahrimanes, may be strained, but it is absolutely correct if compared with Chillingworth's statement, quoted with so much approbation by Mr. Arnold, in the essay on Falkland, that it was a contest "between publicans and sinners on one side, and Scribes and Pharisees on the other." Mr. Arnold is too refined and too sensitive, to appear to any advantage in dealing with the Puritan rebellion. The essay on Falkland shows this, even more conspicuously than the one on Milton. Falkland, frankly speaking, was a complete failure, and yet Mr. Arnold sets him up as the really admirable character of the Revolution. Kindly and temperate Falkland was, certainly; but his chief glory to Mr. Arnold is that he saw the evil of both sides so clearly, and looked so deeply into the future, that he was of no use to any one. What was needed in those days, was a man who was not ahead of his time so far as to be unable to deal with it. Falkland, in some ways, was worse than useless; and although he may deserve a statue, as a high-minded gentleman and gallant soldier, there is no question that he failed, and deserved to fail. He threw away his opportunities, and kept his eyes fixed on a distant future, when the present had quite enough for him to do, and was quite good enough for him. That such a man as Mr. Arnold should admire Falkland excessively is natural enough, but it is

inconceivable that any man should cite Bolingbroke as an authority against the Puritans and Oliver Cromwell. To call Cromwell, Bunyan, and Luther "Philistines of genius," indicates Mr. Arnold's cast of mind and the school of criticism to which he belongs; but to slur John Hampden, in regard to the ship-money, and in comparison with Lord Falkland, is something of which we should hardly suppose an intelligent Englishman capable.

The fact is, Mr. Arnold is a very brilliant sentimentalist, and when he deals with questions of the day he appears to advantage, and is moreover, unlike most sentimentalists, sufficiently practical. But when he approaches a period like the Puritan rebellion, he fails signally from the historic point of view: he is always setting up ideals, and judging men by the standard of what ought to have been, and not of what was. Cromwell, for instance, had no time to split hairs, or to think how much better things would be if they were only a little different. Oliver Cromwell was a very great man, called upon to deal with a succession of tremendous conflicts; and he solved the problem, after a fashion at least, which was more than any one else could do. But, to Mr. Arnold, he is merely a Philistine of genius. Names are of no great consequence; but, if Oliver Cromwell had been like Lord Falkland, there would have been no material for one of the most splendid pages in English history, and Englishmen might have waited longer than they did for the "happy revolution" of 1688, the Protestant succession, constitutional monarchy, and the rest. Or, on the other hand, if Lord Falkland had been a really great man like John Hampden, he would not have fallen fighting for a worthless cause and worthless king, disappointed and disgusted with life, and overwhelmed with the crushing sense of failure and mistake. Sentimentalists of genius have a high place in the world's economy, but they do not find it in the Puritan rebellion, either as actors or historical critics.

We have left ourselves no space to speak of the essays on Goethe and George Sand, which are, like all the others, suggestive and interesting, but not so closely connected with the main theme. The book throughout is able, original, and full of thought, and has, as we said at the beginning, many things "excellently observed."

MR. DRONE'S TREATISE ON COPYRIGHT,¹ although designed primarily for the use of courts and lawyers, is no mere legal text-book. A large and very important part of it is devoted to an historical inquiry into the origin and character of literary property, — a subject quite as interesting from its economic and literary, as from its legal, aspect. It is a subject which has

¹ "A Treatise on The Law of Property in Intellectual Productions in Great Britain and the United States. Embracing Copyright in Works of Literature and Art, and Play-right in Dramatic and Musical compositions." By Eaton S. Drone. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1879. 8vo. pp. liv, 774.

impressed into its service, during the past two hundred years, much of the most distinguished ability of the race to which we belong. Beginning with Lord Mansfield, and ending with Lord Brougham, the list of eminent judges who have been called upon to examine and adjudicate upon the rights of authors embraces half the names which have made the English Bench distinguished; while from Dr. Johnson to Macaulay and Hood, there is almost no author of eminence, in whatever field of letters, who has not expressed an opinion on some one of the many forms in which the copyright question is continually making its appearance. Within a year, an extremely able and enlightened commission has gone over the whole ground in England, and, almost at the time of the appearance of Mr. Drone's book, a leading publishing house in New York addressed a letter to the Secretary of State at Washington, urging upon him the appointment of a mixed commission to consider anew the question of International copyright. If there is one thing clear about the copyright question, it is that it has by no means reached a settlement; and even a cursory examination of Mr. Drone's book will convince the reader that a considerable time is likely to elapse before a settlement is reached. We do not propose here to consider the legal aspect of copyright at all; but merely to point out one or two admitted facts, which appear to us to be conclusive, upon principle, of most of the questions which arise as to the rights of authors. In stating these, we are really giving in other language conclusions identical with those reached by Mr. Drone in his valuable Treatise, to the opening chapters of which we must refer the reader, if he desires to familiarize himself with the latest discussions on the subject of the origin, nature, and probable future of literary property.

In the first place, then, it may safely be taken as settled that *book* copyright is a right of property, and that it is just the same in origin and character as the right of the laborer to his hire, though it is protected necessarily in a different way. A book is the result of the expenditure of time and labor in a particular way, for a particular purpose: whether the result is a book, or a house, or suit of clothes, cannot make any difference. The reason why there is so much confusion on this subject is owing to the fact that, in English, the word "property" signifies two things, — *ownership*, and the *thing owned*. Without going into legal technicalities, it is evident that *ownership* means generally the possession of all those rights, with regard to the thing owned, that in common parlance make the thing *mine*; for example, the right of possession, of sale, of preventing the interference with its enjoyment by others, of disposition by will. When a man enjoys all these rights with regard to a thing, we say that he owns it. Now there is no doubt that literary property, as it exists all over the world to-day, is of this character. If an author writes a book, and takes the steps which the law enjoins, he will own the copyright of his book as completely as he owns the house he lives in, or the horse he rides. He may sell it, lend it, give it

away, and he may prevent any interference with his use of it by resort to the courts. The only difference of any importance between it and ownership of any other kind is that, after a certain number of years, it comes suddenly to an end ; that is, the difference between copyright and all other kinds of property is that the latter are perpetual in duration, while copyright is limited. It is, moreover, an established historical fact, that copyright down to the time of the passage of the first copyright statute in Queen Anne's reign was unlimited and perpetual, and that perpetual copyright was *taken away* by the statute of Anne. We do not say this on our own authority, but on that of the most eminent English judges of the last century, who investigated the subject as an historical *fact*, and decided that, previous to this statute, every author's right in a book had been precisely what his right had been in his houses, lands, or chattels. No other right of property, so far as we know, has passed through such curious vicissitudes ; and the conclusion to which the history of the matter points is, unless we are mistaken, that it lies upon those who maintain that copyright should retain its present restricted character, to show why. If it is a right of property, and if it existed as a property right from the discovery of printing down to the time of Queen Anne, and was then suddenly sapped of half its value by a statute (which by the way was ostensibly passed in the interest of authors), why should authors always be called upon to come forward and show a reason for their demands, whenever an International copyright law is proposed, or an extension of the period of copyright requested ? It would certainly seem as if it were the duty of the other side to show some reason for maintaining the present unjust and exceptional *status quo*.

The potent word, which is a key to the false position in which authors are invariably put whenever the copyright question arises, is, of course, "monopoly ;" and the second point on which we desire to insist, and which we wish could in some way be made as self-evident as it is perfectly clear on examination, is that there is no more "monopoly" in copyright than there is in any other kind of exclusive ownership. Monopolies are objectionable for a single reason, that they restrict the right of dealing in some necessary article of commerce to a particular person, and thus prevent the public from obtaining what they would otherwise obtain freely, unless through the payment of an excessive price. But this does not apply to books at all. Tennyson and Longfellow and Bryant are not commodities, which the public have any right to have supplied to them at the lowest competitive price. If they were, then it is perfectly clear that the public ought in some way to be able to compel authors to write for their benefit ; and if an author is known, as is often the case, to be contemplating the production of some work, and unduly delays it, there ought to be some process, say at the instance of the Attorney-General, for compelling him to go on with it, and bring it out. Put in this way, the supposed rights of the public to have books supplied

to them at such a price as they choose to consider proper, are at once seen to be an absurdity. The fact is that authorship is not a monopoly, any more than is the exclusive ownership of all property. The public wants land, for instance, in a crowded city like New York, quite as much as it wants books ; but, except in certain communistic quarters, it is not argued from this that the Astor family are "monopolists," and that their land should after a limited time of enjoyment be taken away from them.

Our space forbids us to pursue the subject further here, and we must again refer the reader to the interesting and valuable pages of the work whose title stands at the head of this notice. There has been, until the appearance of Mr. Drone's work, no thoroughly good legal treatise on copyright in existence. Curtis on copyright was somewhat out of date, Mr. James Appleton Morgan's work on Literary Property too hastily written to be thoroughly reliable, and Mr. Copinger's work necessarily confined to English readers. Mr. Drone's book supplies a want long felt by students of the subject in America, as well as by practising lawyers, better on the whole than any work with which we are familiar. The chief difficulty which we have to find with it is that he does not, for a lawyer, sufficiently distinguish between his own views of what the law ought to be and what the courts have declared it to be. But as it was evidently his purpose in writing this book to help to mould the law of copyright in accordance with sound principles, rather than to make a mere digest, we shall leave this objection to be taken by professional critics.

TREATISES ON *ÆSTHETICS*¹ are not, as a rule, taken up by the general reader with lively anticipations of enjoyment. The mind does not go out to meet them with a ready interest. This backwardness, however, is not due, we think, to a positive rejection of all standards and principles of judgment in matters of art : we all of us have our principles and standards, — somewhat vague, perhaps, but real, — and to a certain extent we expect other people to share them ; we appeal to the judgment of persons interested in such matters with a confidence which, within certain limits, is unhesitating. Nor would most people deny the possibility of stating these principles. Only we do not care to have them stated ; and when the attempt is made, we do not much care to inquire whether the statement is true or not. A certain deadness of intellectual curiosity seems to attend the perception of beauty ; we are content to feel, and rather resent the attempt to reduce the feeling to a formula. It is quite different with matters of intellectual perception ; here this stage is soon outgrown. It is only in childhood that the bare physical facts — the brightness of light, the wetness

¹ "*Æsthetics*." By Eugène Véron. Translated by W. H. Armstrong, B. A. (Oxon). London : Chapman & Hall. Philadelphia : J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1879. 16mo. pp. xxxi and 423. [Library of Contemporary Science.]

of water, the swiftness and range of projectiles — delight us by their mere existence ; and it is only by a recurrence to the child's state of mind that the grown man can long occupy himself with dropping pebbles into a well, or skipping stones upon a smooth sheet of water, without seeking to learn any thing from his facts, or to give them a general expression. But the sense of beauty clings lovingly to its fact, expatiates in it to the last hue and fibre, and cannot bear to sacrifice any particularity to the needs of a precise statement. Only writers like M. Viollet-le-Duc, who present their principles as it were in concrete shape, can win our attention.

We cannot expect for M. Véron's attempt any better fate than the usual one. He has many merits ; he is never vague or tedious ; he has the lucid order of his countrymen ; he abjures metaphysics and the Beautiful ; he contrives to give incidentally a good deal of information of an interesting sort ; and, what has no doubt given the book a place in this series, he is in full sympathy with the methods of modern science. All this we fear will not save it. It will be looked into and approved by the like-minded ; but it will not be read. We have all heard something like it before ; for although, as we said, he abjures metaphysics, yet it is, after all, for the sake of a metaphysics of his own.

Art, he says, is nothing but a natural result of man's organization, and finds its explanation, therefore, in the two sciences pertaining to the study of the organs of sight and hearing ; namely, optics and acoustics. Unhappily, however, these sciences are not yet sufficiently advanced to throw much light on the connection of the physical phenomena with the sense of beauty, so that "in most cases we are compelled to content ourselves with pure empiricism, — the statement and registration of facts, and their classification in the order most probable." But, we should like to ask, what is meant by the "most probable" ? Have we not here a plain token of our old acquaintance, metaphysics, with its *a priori* assumptions, protruding from under the lion's skin of modern science ?

From our facts, when we have classified them in the order which we think most probable, we are able, M. Véron says, to deduce a principle of the utmost importance ; namely, that the value of a work of art rests entirely upon the degree of energy with which it manifests the intellectual character and æsthetic impressions of its author. Does M. Véron mean that the energetic expression, in a work of art, of the intellectual character and æsthetic impressions of a Hottentot would make it beautiful ? It seems so ; for he tells us that only those rules that spring from the physiological necessities of our nature are certain and definitive, and these must, we suppose, be the same for the Bushman and for Phidias. It is true there is another rule, the observance of which is necessary for the artist's success ; namely, that the work must conform to the mode of thinking and feeling of the public to which it appeals. That is to say, the Bushman artist must be judged by the Bushman stand-

ard, and Phidias by the Greek. But this conformity has nothing to do, he says, with the intrinsic value of the work. Obviously ; for since the merit of a work of art is that it gives pleasure, and since all pleasure is the excitation of nervous fibres, which are common to us all, but more or less easily excited in different individuals, — it follows that the *degree* of excitation which one or the other person may experience at the sight of a picture or a statue, and which measures the intrinsic value of the work, can be known to him alone, and can neither be contested nor used to contest the judgment of another person. We may indeed suppose, if we like, that the number of fibres excited, and their sensibility, are greater in some persons than in others. But as to this, M. Véron confesses that science is still without sufficient means of verification, which it is hoped the new *société d'autopsie mutuelle* may furnish ; yet one hardly sees how, since, when the brains are out and the man is dead, there cannot be any first-hand evidence as to his sensibilities, even if the number of his fibres could be counted. Meanwhile, as there is no common measure of sensations, we are left without any foundation for judgment in matters of art, and have to content ourselves with the persuasion that the better work must be due somehow to the more fitly organized brain, — a result which we should have reached, perhaps, without any aid from modern science.

Further than the attempt, which we cannot account successful, to provide a scientific basis for æsthetic criticism, there is little in the book that calls for special remark. It is the work of a well-informed, judicious man, of practised eye, and habits of intercourse with artists. It is comprehensive, and at the same time compendious, — going over the whole range of the fine arts, including among them Dancing, with many acute and sensible remarks concerning their mutual relations and the particular conditions and aim of each ; and all within the compass of four hundred pages.

We have not been able to compare the translation with the original ; but we should judge it to be well executed, bating a few French words which might be replaced by English equivalents, and one or two Gallicisms, — such as *denounces* (“analysis denounces inferiority”) for *marks* or *announces*. The proper names seem to have suffered in the printing ; at least, we should venture, in default of further information, to substitute Broca, Ch. Levêque, G. Planche, and De Ronsard, for Brorea, Ch. Sevêyne, G. Planché, and De Rousard.

THE AGE OF THE ANTONINES¹ forms the sixth volume of the “Epochs of Ancient History.” It is a continuation of the history of the first century, by the same author, and is designed, like the rest of the series, to meet

¹ “The Roman Empire of the Second Century ; or, The Age of the Antonines.” By the Rev. W. W. Capes. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons. 1879.

the wants of those who desire a superficial acquaintance with the period of which it treats.

Mr. Capes has been fortunate in his choice of a subject. The second century is a period of strange contradictions, — of splendid names and inglorious deeds ; of a culture whose excess of refinement carried it over into the beginnings of decay, and of a laxity in thought which led men gladly into the calm, unwavering faith of the infant Church. So that here, perhaps, better even than in the century following, one may study that process of simultaneous decline and growth which is the most grateful object of the historian's labors.

The impression of these conflicting movements which one receives from this little book is, in the main, clear and accurate. The larger part is devoted to sketches of the personal character and actions of the emperors, from Trajan to Marcus Aurelius. These portraits are drawn with a graceful hand, though the tendency to anecdote occasionally disturbs the general effect. The style suffers from the disease of all English historical composition since Gibbon, — the effort for fine writing at the expense of sharpness of outline. The narrative flows on so smoothly, in such well-rounded periods, that one has to rouse oneself, from time to time, in order to reduce these phrases to statements which one can hold. This defect of style is perhaps less marked in the second part of the book, which consists of separate treatises on the religious, literary, and administrative forms of the day. Of these, the chapters on the Christian and other imported religions are the best, while that on the forms of administration is the least satisfactory. One gains from the former a good view of the decline of the ancient faith, the search for novelty and excitement in the Oriental forms of worship, and the gradual advance of the Christian sect in dignity and power. It is in the final chapter, upon the political administration, that the faults of the narrative form become especially troublesome. We do not find the nature of the different powers sharply defined, nor their origin clearly traced. The use of modern terms is often misleading, even when strictly accurate, — as, for instance, *guild* for a college of priests.

What we miss most, however, is some clear and consistent account of the original sources and later histories of the period, — an account which every historian, and, above all, every writer of manuals to-day, owes to his readers. A meagre list of original authorities, without comment, is all that is offered us in this instance ; and we are left to gather from scattered passages throughout the book the nature of the works upon which the present narrative is based. Of the multitude of modern treatises on this most interesting period, no mention whatever is made. This omission is due, certainly not to a lack of acquaintance with the sources, but probably to the general theory, with which we do not agree, that such matters cannot be made useful or attractive to the general reader.

The form of the book leaves little to be desired. Especially useful in a rapid survey is the connected index of topics in the margin; and the two maps give a clear enough idea of the most important military operations. On the whole, if a series of historical sketches in narrative form has any excuse for existence, the present volume fills its place in such a series excellently. A writer on the literature of the second century says: "The necessity of condensing the treasures of the past into a small compass was becoming greater and greater." The phrase might have been used of our own day as well.

RAILROAD AND MUNICIPAL BONDS¹ are a subject of painful interest to a considerable part of the community. Corporate debts are endless, and the corporate creditors are usually supplied with prettily-engraved documents, ironically called securities, which purport to convey large amounts of real and personal property as pledges for the payment of such debts. Thus the securities secure the debts; but the unhappy creditor is too often brought to the inquiry, *quis custodiet ipsos custodes*,—who shall secure the securities? If Mr. Jones could but answer this, he would be a wise man indeed; but his book, excellent though it is, and worthy of the reputation which his former one has earned for him in the legal profession, is not likely to do much to console the unlearned reader for his unpaid coupons. Such a reader will find small comfort in the good advice of a learned judge of the Supreme Court of Kansas: "Look not thou upon the voting of municipal bonds when it is new, for at the last it biteth like a serpent;" nor in the law and practice of that speedy and searching remedy, a railway foreclosure suit; nor in the fact that a receiver is entitled to a large salary,—though he may have some pleasure in reflecting on the number of his companions in misfortune, when he learns that the railroads in the United States are generally mortgaged.

On the whole, therefore, we do not commend this book to the reading public at large; but if any who hold bonds of insolvent roads should be guilty of the further extravagance of taking legal advice as to collecting their claims, the adviser will surely need this book to enable him to give an opinion. There is no other treatise on the subject; and this is so complete that there will be no room for another at present. Here, if anywhere, relief will ultimately be found. But even if the law fails, still railroad securities may have a value. They teach an instructive moral lesson as to rash speculation; and we have seen them converted into an ingenious and pleasing pattern of wall-paper, of an effect quite novel and striking, and different from any thing mentioned in the books on household art.

¹ "A Treatise on the Law of Railroad and other Corporate Securities, including Municipal Aid Bonds." By Leonard A. Jones, Author of a Treatise on Mortgages. Boston: Houghton, Osgood, & Co. 1879.

ROSCHER'S POLITICAL ECONOMY.¹ — Not the least clever thing in Macaulay's analysis of the character of James II. was the explanation of that king's wholly contradictory acts by the inconsistency of man. In studies based on the feelings of man, it must probably be recognized that he is what mathematicians call a "variable" and not a "constant." An observed economic fact is the resultant of so many complex forces, that it can never be quite safe to assign as its cause any one or any part of one element with any degree of certainty. We must be willing to face the matter, and confess that political economy is only a *quasi* exact science. And it is here that the different methods of investigation in political economy diverge. Professor Jevons affirms the simplest principles of the human mind to be such that a complete mathematical theory can be based upon them. But we are hardly ready to admit that mental feelings can be expressed in "quantitative forms," or that pleasure and pain can be laced down to the precision of an algebraic *plus* and *minus*. On the other hand, the English school has used the so-called "logical method," — beginning with provisional generalizations, which, if corroborated by experience and observation, were to be accepted as laws. Political economy, as it stands to-day, is largely the product of this method. But we are now called upon to take note of a new and interesting movement. There comes into the economic field a new school, — the Historical ; marshalled by a leader of marked ability, capable of unwearied and painful research, and armed with the prestige of success in his own country.

William Roscher, the professor of political economy at the University of Leipsic, is now the acknowledged head of a large school of economists. His career has been one of rapid success. At twenty-one, he was a doctor ; at twenty-six, a professor at Göttingen ; but since 1848 he has remained at Leipsic, resisting all attempts to lure him away. A hard-working, indefatigable scholar, the list of his writings is long. But it is to the present work that Roscher probably looks as the means of claiming whatever he may covet of satisfaction and distinction. His two chief colleagues are Kries of Freiburg and Hildebrand of Zürich, who have both written under the inspiration of the historical method.

The historical method itself has a history of no common interest, but, unfortunately, not very well told in the essay by Wolowski in the first of the two volumes before us. It would be better to go to the date of its birth, 1814, and read Savigny's vigorous pamphlet, protesting against the common civil code for Germany, and teaching the doctrine that the institutions of a

¹ "Principles of Political Economy." By William Roscher. From the thirteenth (1877) German edition. With chapters on Paper Money, International Trade, and the Protective System ; and an Essay on the Historical Method in Political Economy, by L. Wolowski. The whole Translated by John J. Lalor, A. M. 2 vols. 8vo. Chicago : Callaghan & Co. 1878.

people were stamped with the peculiarities of their habits and customs ; that, as law and institution were thrown off in the centuries of their political life, they could not be applied indifferently to any country at will. Starting hence, the historical method created the science of comparative philology ; and next the system of comparative jurisprudence.

But we are not to conclude that because the method has done yeoman's service in law, it is therefore competent in political economy. Good political economy, as a science, unlike law, is equally applicable to all peoples. To establish its claims here, therefore, as against the hitherto-successful logical method, the advocates of the historical method must prove its necessity, either by the discovery of new laws, or by some general evidence of its peculiar fitness. They would have the investigator go to the facts free from previous abstractions, and allow the observation of phenomena only to furnish him with economic laws. By this process, the variable element in man would be given full and sufficient importance ; and the observation of changing society would give more truth to economic laws. As yet, however, we have seen nothing to cause us to change our belief that this cannot be achieved. The want of feasibility is a fatal defect ; and Roscher's two volumes have not removed this objection. An example of his methods, taken quite at random, will go to confirm our view. In the chapter on Credit (b. i. ch. vi. p. 269), the conclusion is reached (presumably based only on observation of facts) that in despotisms "personal credit stands higher than any other." Now, every curb-stone broker knows that credit is affected by a thousand varying and insignificant items. Therefore, what right has Roscher to attribute this fact to despotism, rather than to any other of the thousand and one complex elements which go to establish credit (i. e. confidence) ? The danger is, then, that we are left dependent simply on the good judgment and authority of the investigator ; and, in such cases, not even Roscher's high authority ought to be accepted by sincere students. But, even in the example given, Roscher has not, as a matter of fact, arrived at his conclusion historically. The preceding sentences of his own text show a deductive process which, one is inclined to believe, his mind has unconsciously gone through in all such reasoning : "The longer the time between the making of the promise and the period fixed for its fulfilment, the less certain is the latter, where the security is simply the person of the debtor." Then this deduction is followed by the above conclusion. What could be more unhistorical ? Then his notes, which are the repository of facts, statistics, and opinions, contain the collection of accessible information bearing on the question. A comparison of these with the text, in this as in other cases, will convince the candid reader that Roscher makes his deduction, and then goes to the facts for support and confirmation, as the English school has done. (For other illustrations, cf. i. p. 294, and i. p. 336.)

What the new method is in practice must, in the necessity of things, be very different from the same in theory. Moreover, the extraordinary correspondence between the results of the historical and logical method is a remarkable, not to say a suspicious, occurrence for a new system of investigation. If it is true, as has been suggested above, that Roscher has been influenced unconsciously and necessarily by deductions, his is not a new method ; and it explains why he has reached the same results. His accumulation of facts, classified under each topic, make up the most laborious task yet undertaken in the economic field in general ; but they are not, therefore, new. They are greater in degree than what has been done by the disciples of the old method, but not different in kind.

Roscher's long exposition of the historical method in his introductory chapters is only beating the air. The "idealists," who would separate pure from applied economy, are put to rout with the greatest ease. This treatise, of course, as a statement of accepted doctrine, and not viewed as the challenge of a new school, is beyond mere captious criticism, and will have strong influence here, where even fundamental principles require the support of all the authority they can get. But the author need not have wasted so much paper on the Idealists, unless there were reasons for it in Germany which do not hold elsewhere. We cannot but feel that he ought to have boldly measured himself with the logical school, which alone has produced any thing worthy the name of a science. Neither he nor Wolowski has thought this worth while. Mr. Cairnes is the best known living representative of this school, and of him Roscher seems to be ignorant. Yet on the Cost of Production and on the treatment of Value, Roscher might well sit at Cairnes's feet.

Though offering nothing new in principles, these two volumes contain evidences of a conception of political economy different from that usually accepted, — a fact which seems the chief characteristic of the new school. Political economy becomes with them a National Economy, embracing the whole study of morals and government ; indeed, it is impossible to say, nor are the disciples themselves agreed, what may not come to be included within it. Roscher says that the present is but one part of a comprehensive system. "The second will contain the national economy of agriculture and the related branches of natural production ; the third, the national economy of industry and commerce ; the fourth, of the economy of the State and commune."

Even to those, however, who refuse to accept the new method, this book must be of value and interest. The question of Slavery (ch. iv.), because it is rather a matter of institutions than of economic principle, comes out boldly and successfully under the historical treatment ; and, together with the chapters on Communism, Population, and Rent, make the book well worth the attention of American readers. The progress of change from the serf to the

domestic servant is instructive ; communists are left without a leg to stand on ; Malthus's theory of Population is accepted and well put ; and, in spite of the Philadelphia school, Ricardo's theory of Rent is fully accepted. The authority of Roscher is given also to the doctrine of Free Trade. But the value of the book lies chiefly in its collation of facts and references, which, in some cases, form an elaborate history of opinion in connection with the principle in the text. In the chapter on Money, he finds it necessary to search out the financial opinions of our early settlers. Hackluyt and Purchas and Garcilasso de la Vega are as familiar to him as the Scriptures ; and, on calling to mind the "Bland bill," we feel inexpressibly relieved when, after his investigation, Roscher pronounces our earliest forefathers, notwithstanding their irredeemable paper, sound on the money question.

With regard to the translation, one is inclined, when the difficulties of the task are considered, to be lenient and charitable. But in the interest of a good understanding of our subject, we must confess that the translation is treacherous. We have been so often deceived, that at last we have come to feel, when examining an important statement, that it is not safe to go on without recourse to the original. To those, therefore, who have not the original (or even Wolowski's French translation) at hand, this is a serious defect. The errors in proof-reading, also, are too numerous to mention, and are a disgrace to such good book-making. The book not only needs an index, but would be much improved were the German system of reference in the table of contents by sections replaced by page references.

ENTR' ACTES.¹ — Although M. Dumas has written many a novel and pamphlet and preface, he is known to the world as a dramatist, and he looks at all things with the eye of a dramatist. There is, therefore, an obvious fitness in the name by which he has chosen to call this collection of prose essays. They are truly "entr' actes," — the result of intermissions in the more serious work of making plays. Into these three volumes, by way of clearing out his literary workshop, M. Dumas has gathered all his fugitive papers of the past twenty years, from the brief letter in a newspaper to the carefully-considered essay, called "L'Homme-Femme," which, when originally published as a pamphlet, ran rapidly through more than forty editions.

There are about forty pieces of one kind or another in the three volumes, written at different times within the past thirty years ; and they divide themselves naturally into four nearly equal classes, — politics, morals, literature, and the drama. Of the political essays, some of which date back to the troublous times of 1849, and others are as late as 1870, the acute and well-informed Parisian correspondent of the "Nation" has spoken in terms of high praise. The incursions into the field of morals are all undertaken to

¹ "Entr' Actes." Par Alexandre Dumas, fils, de l'Académie Française. Three Series. Paris : Calmann Lévy. 1878-79.

ventilate some of the pungent and peculiar views of M. Dumas on what we call the "Woman question," — views which lead the author to conclude that there are circumstances when a man should kill his wife, as he sought to prove in prose in "L'Homme-Femme," and as he set upon the stage in the final, fatal shot by which the "Femme de Claude" is killed. The purely literary papers include his reception speech at the Academy, and his much talked-about prefaces to "Faust," to "Manon Lescaut," and to "Daphnis et Chloé." Of the one surviving and ever fresh tale of the Abbé Prévost, the author of the "Dame aux Camélias" could not but write well and with sympathetic appreciation. The introduction to Amyot's translation into French of the love-story of "Daphnis et Chloé" is written in the archaic French of the old translator; but the language of another age flows as freely and with as much spirit from M. Dumas's pen as it did from Thackeray's when he wrote "Esmond," and from Balzac's when he brought forth the marvellous "Contes Drolatiques," — in which he imitated Rabelais much as M. Dumas here imitates Amyot. But, fine as these various essays in their several ways may be, the papers on purely professional topics are by far the most valuable in the volume. Upon all subjects connected with the stage, M. Dumas speaks with the voice of a master.

Perhaps the most characteristic and, to the general reader, the most interesting article in these books, is the essay reprinted from the "Paris Guide," of 1867, on the "Premières Représentations," — the famous first nights of the Parisian stage, — of which M. Dumas writes with a due sense of awe, and no slight portion of ill-concealed satire. Next in importance to this, — and possibly surpassing it, — are two letters; one of them to M. Francisque Sarcey, the foremost dramatic critic of Paris, in which Dumas declares his discontent with the current views of the dramatist's work, and announces his intention to use the stage as a moral engine; in short, to make each and every play a dramatized *Tendenz-Roman*; to insist upon putting a lamp in the hand or on the head of every statue, — or otherwise what excuse has it for its being? These letters are dated in 1869 (strangely misprinted 1859 in the copy before us); and just what results M. Dumas has achieved as a dramatist before and since he evolved this theory of the playwright's duties, can be seen by even a cursory comparison of the almost perfect form of his early "Demi-Monde" and "Fils Naturel" with the illogical ending of the later "Princesse Georges" and the inchoate composition of "L'Etrangère."

Two other of the more or less technical papers deserve mention. One is a letter on the much-vexed question of dramatic collaboration; and the other is the history of the "Supplice d'une Femme," in which M. Dumas describes how he came to re-write, and to make theatrically possible, the utterly impossible play of M. Emile de Girardin, — a service for which he got neither thanks nor pay, and did get great ingratitude. Incidentally, in the course of the perfectly polite but thoroughly effective retort upon M.

de Girardin, M. Dumas discusses the art of the dramatist, and lays bare the principles of playmaking in a masterly manner. There is more to be learned of the art of the dramatic author from this essay, than from any other one book with which we are acquainted. Times have changed since Lessing and Schlegel wrote about the drama, and the stage has moved forward with the years. M. Dumas has not only the advantage over the German critics that he writes *now*, and from the fulness of the experience of the nineteenth century, but his work as criticism merely is worthy to stand by the side of theirs.

JOAN THE MAID,¹ is a book which disarms criticism at the outset by addressing itself to the most uncritical of all classes of people. It is written for that great public, to whom the repetition of pious phrases brings a comfort wholly independent of the meaning contained in them; to whom the sound of antiquated words and forms of expression conveys a great sense of dignity; and who find in a certain background of history a moral support for their emotions, which no pure fiction can supply. The book is supposed to be written in alternate portions by the son, the daughter, and the "wright" of a wild baron's family on the west coast of England. The brother is a pensive youth, driven against his will into the exercise of arms; the sister, with a deformed body, is a girl of saintly spirit; the serving-man is half demagogue and half Puritan. It will be perceived from the characters that this is not a cheerful book. Through a hundred pages or so, we are told of the wild robber-life in the strange old castle by the sea, and it is only an undertone of disconnected allusion which reminds us of the true subject of the story. The youth Percival goes finally with his half wicked, thoroughly wholesome brother Owen to the French wars, and learns there of the wondrous maid who is inspiring the armies of France to a new resistance. Then follows a sketch of "the Maid's" career, based upon recent evidence, probably upon Michelet's well known chapter, and drawing sparingly upon the published reports of her trial and execution.

It is difficult to grasp the purpose of the author. The strongest impression one gets from the book is that of a divine life on earth, extending its influence not only over the councils and the armies of King Charles, but over every one else who has ever, even in far-off England, heard her name. She appears not merely as a messenger to the state of France, but as a representative of the great movement of popular and intellectual liberty, which under Wycklyffe's influence was sweeping over western Europe. In spite of the lofty theme, however, the book is little more than one prolonged agony of mental and moral struggle. All its goodness wears a sickly hue: it is only the badness of the reckless brother that claims our

¹ "Joan the Maid." By the author of the Schönberg-Cotta Family. New York: Dodd, Mead, & Co. 1879.

interest, and even he is "goodified" at the end. Enough gratuitous misery is concentrated here to furnish a half-dozen well-regulated novels; and the worst of it is that all the people concerned seem to enjoy it. It must be a wonderfully good story that can bear the weight of a truly historical foundation, and this story is good in little but intention. We recommend it as harmless for those children of all ages to whom the historical novel especially appeals.

RECENT ENGLISH BOOKS.

THE chief literary event of the moment, in England, is the publication of Mr. Browning's new volume, "Dramatic Idyls" (Smith, Elder, & Co.). It is open to the same criticism as all its author's previous works, — that it is involved in expression, and in parts the meaning and intention can be gathered only with great difficulty. But there is unquestionable genius in these idyls, which breaks forth again and again like flashes of lightning, illuminating the pages. The poems are six in number, and all are charged with a strong dramatic human interest. The first, "Martin Relph," is a story of King George's time, when a good deal of treason was afoot. In a country village, where loyal troops are stationed, one Rosamond Page is arrested for writing a treasonable letter to her lover, and condemned to be shot. A week's grace is given, and a message is sent to the lover Vincent Parkes, to come and save Rosamond if she is innocent. Parkes makes superhuman efforts to procure a pardon from the king, and is successful: with this he hastens to the far-off village. But the fatal morning arrives, and he does not appear. Relph, from the hill-top, however, perceives him running, waving aloft the pardon. There is time to arrest the execution; but Relph (also a lover of Rosamond Page, as we are led to suppose) feels the temptation too strong upon him, and he allows the tragedy to go forward. Parkes hears the fatal volley, and himself falls dead by the way. In his hand is found clenched the paper proving the condemned one innocent. Relph would now give all the world to recall the last few moments; but repentance is in vain: he will henceforth bear the burden of his remorse to the grave. His soliloquy is a very powerful piece of writing. "Pheidippides," the second idyl, is concerned with the Persian defeat at Marathon. "Halbert and Hob," its immediate successor, is intended to prove that in the most hardened and debased natures there is some touch of humanity. The most graphic of all the idyls is "Ivàn Ivànovitch," a story of Peter the Great's time. A Russian woman, travelling through the forest in a sledge, is attacked by wolves. One by one, she sacrifices her three

children to save her own life, — though according to her narrative they have been riven from her by the insatiate monsters. Ivàn Ivànovitch knows her story to be false, and, solemnly raising his carpenter's axe, he cleaves her head from her body at one blow. The whole village is instantly in a commotion, wondering what will become of the murderer. The chief magistrate decides that he must die for thus summarily exacting vengeance ; but the venerable priest of the village defends him, and proclaims him God's servant : he is justified in thus taking the life of one who had abandoned all the instincts of motherhood, and put a new outrage upon humanity. The chief magistrate yields to this view, and Ivàn is saved. There are several very striking passages, impregnated with the true dramatic spirit, in this poem. "Tray" is a different kind of idyl, recording the noble services of a dog, and concluding with a reflection upon the vivisectionists. The last poem, "Ned Bratts," relates the conversion of two desperate characters — a publican and his wife — in Bunyan's time. They have been so impressed by the Tinker and his "Pilgrim's Progress," that they force their way into the Assize Court, where the judges are sitting, and implore to be hanged, as some kind of reparation for the crimes they have committed. When they have told their story, there is not a dry eye in the court. They are hanged in the very place where Bunyan's statue now stands, and where formerly stood his jail. These narratives are exceedingly graphic, and if they are not equal in genius to some of Mr. Browning's earlier dramatic romances, they are certainly distinguished for their knowledge of humanity, and their concentrated passion and power of expression.

Messrs. Cassell, Petter, and Galpin have published two works which demand some mention. The first is their "Household Guide," now reissued in four volumes, but greatly enlarged as compared with the original work. Many new subjects have been added, and it may fairly be said that there is no other work which can compare with this, for the exhaustiveness with which it treats of all matters affecting the household, — matters useful, necessary, and ornamental. The list of topics dealt with amounts to many thousands, and a more useful work could scarcely be conceived. The second publication is the serial now in course of issue, entitled "The Countries of the World," which is written by Dr. Robert Brown, M.A. Of this work, three volumes have now been published, and every page bears testimony to the thoroughness with which the undertaking is being executed. Dr. Brown is not only a literary man of considerable standing here, but the extent of his personal travels gives him an additional qualification for the writing of a popular work of this kind. When completed, it will present a comprehensive and accurate survey of the various continents, islands, rivers, seas, and peoples of the globe.

Mr. Hepworth Dixon, one of the ablest and pleasantest of our book-makers, has just published a new work on "British Cyprus" (Chapman &

Hall). Mr. Dixon has been travelling in Cyprus, so that his impressions of the island are gained first hand. He has not much to say for the character of the inhabitants, describing the Cypriotes as an indolent, careless, and mimetic people, without a spark of Turkish fire, without a touch of Grecian taste. They have neither beauty of body, nor sense of beauty in the mind; they are simple "voluptuaries of the sun and the sea, holding on by simple animal tenacity through tempests which have wrecked the nobler races of mankind." With regard to the administrative changes which have taken place in Cyprus, since it passed into English hands, Mr. Dixon reports that generally the Turkish laws and local institutions have been retained, and that if there is a noticeable change for the better, this change is due almost solely to the strict and honest execution of these laws. An excellent change has been effected by abolishing the old council of the Turkish governor, and substituting for it the new council of the British High Commissioner. Several reforms have already resulted from this change. Mr. Dixon corroborates previous writers as to the extraordinary natural resources of the island, and its great productiveness. He gives many facts, however, concerning Cyprus which are quite new.

Under the title of "Our New Protectorate," Mr. McCoan has written a work upon Turkey in Asia; its Geography, Races, Resources, and Government (Chapman & Hall). Mr. McCoan was already favorably known as the author of "Egypt as it Is," and this second work will be welcomed as doing for Asiatic Turkey what was previously done for Egypt; namely, popularizing the subject, and giving within the compass of two volumes a mass of geographical, statistical, and other information. Turkey having been beaten in Europe, interest naturally centred upon the Ottoman possessions in Asia; and Mr. McCoan is quite right in thinking that neither Captain Barnaby's "Ride" from Scutari to Kars, nor Mr. Grattan Geary's record of his journey from Bagdad to Alexandretta supplies all the information necessary upon this subject. Mr. McCoan tells the reader much concerning Armenia and Kurdistan, Mesopotamia and Irak, Syria and Palestine and Western Arabia, and the races, religions, and government of the peoples. He is also exhaustive upon public works, public instruction, trade centres, agriculture, slavery, and polygamy, the ulema, the laws affecting foreigners, and the reforms which the writer believes to be necessary. He hopes that even-handed justice and fair taxation may politically unite the Moslem, the Christian, and the Jew, and prepare them for a better governed future.

In Fiction, there is not much worth recording. Wilhelmine Von Hillern's story, "The Hour will Come," has been translated by Miss Clara Bell (Sampson Low, Marston & Co.). The task was well worth undertaking, for this tale of an Alpine cloister is a very attractive one. It is not only admirable from the point of view of the individuality of its characters, but

its touches of description are of a high order. The German seems to have been well rendered into English, and altogether we have a novel which deserves to be read. Similar praise may be awarded to a story of quite another type, namely, "Quaker Cousins," by Mrs. Macdonell (Hurst & Blackett). There is real power in this work, which is a great advance upon any thing that its author has yet written. The scene is fixed in a country town in the north of England, and the lives of the Quaker cousins are traced with sympathetic power. There are many passages of true pathos in the story. Mrs. Macdonell has not only realized her characters in her own mind, but has made them human and palpable to her readers. A singular novel is that called "In a Rash Moment," by Jessie McLaren (Sampson Low, Marston & Co.). We behold here a curious mixture of piety and slang. Yet the book is not without its merits. There is something dashing in the style, and piquant in the narrative. Miss McLaren has a keenly observant eye, and her impressions have a good deal of life and vigor in them. But many of her expressions will take the reader somewhat aback by their *abandon*, if not actual vulgarity. By careful pruning, this novel might have been made very acceptable. It shows that the author is capable of something much better.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

OUR METHODS OF LEGISLATION AND THEIR DEFECTS. By Simon Sterne.

Published by order of New York Municipal Society. New York: 1879.

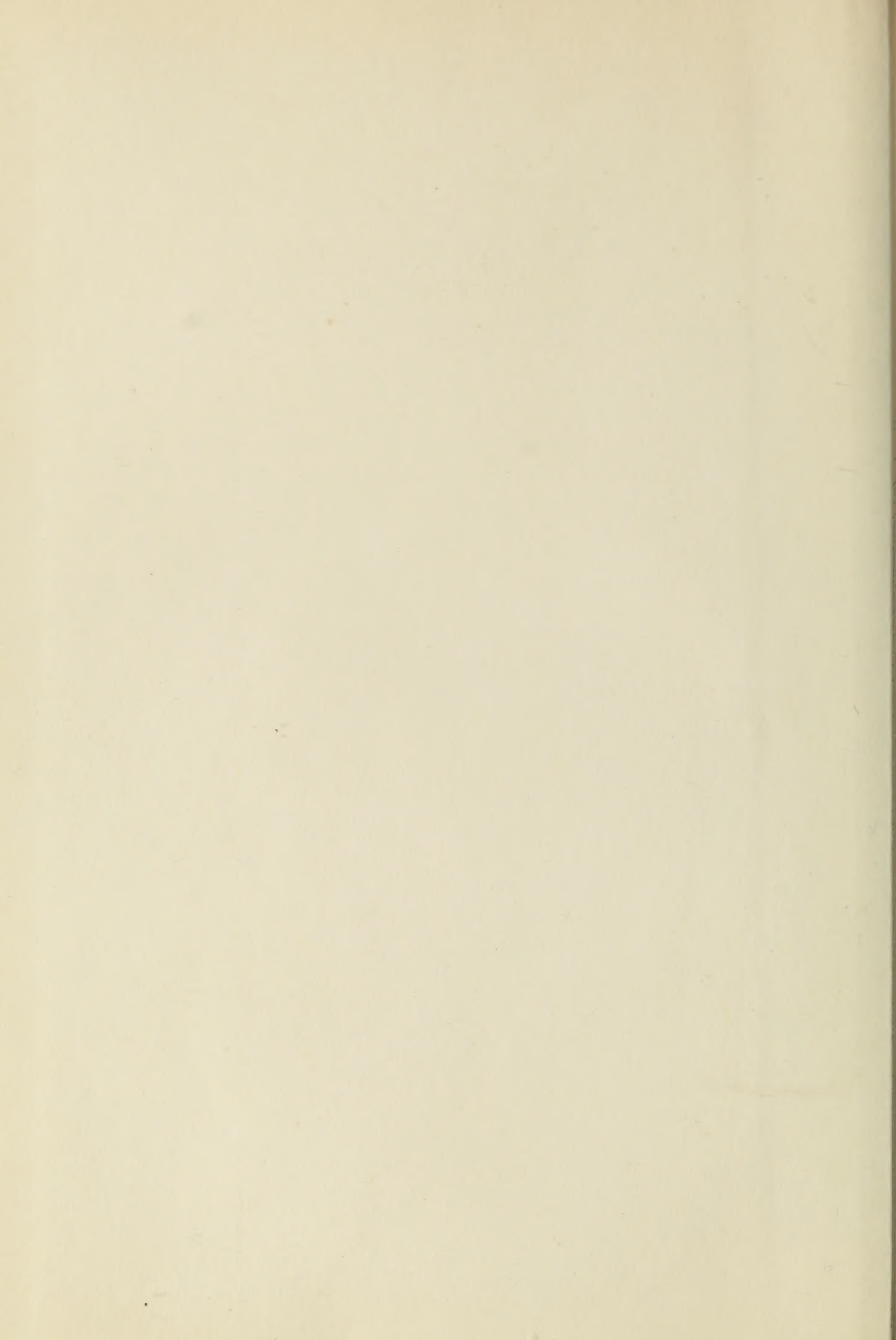
GREEK HERO STORIES. By Barthold Georg Niebuhr. With Illustrations, by Augustus Hoppin. Translated by Benjamin Hoppin. New York: Dodd, Mead, & Co. 1879.

AT A HIGH PRICE. From the German of E. Werner. Translated by Mary Stuart Smith. Author's Edition. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. 1879.

CONFERENCE PAPERS. By Charles Hodge, D.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1879.

A VOYAGE WITH DEATH AND OTHER POEMS. By Adair Welcker. Oakland, Cal.: Strickland & Co., Publishers.

End of Volume



AP
2
I78
v.6

The International review

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY
